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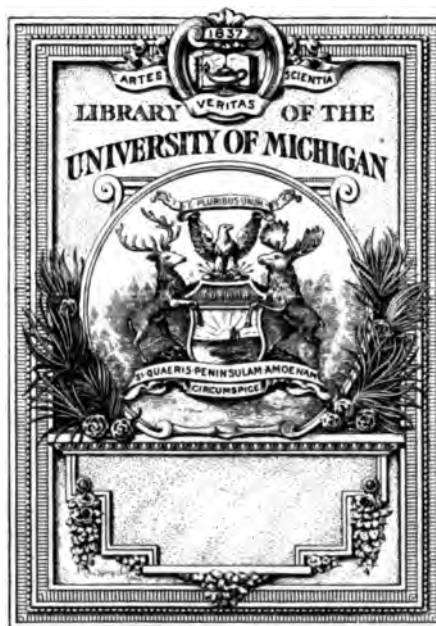
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MAGAZINE  
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AMERICAN HISTORY  
WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

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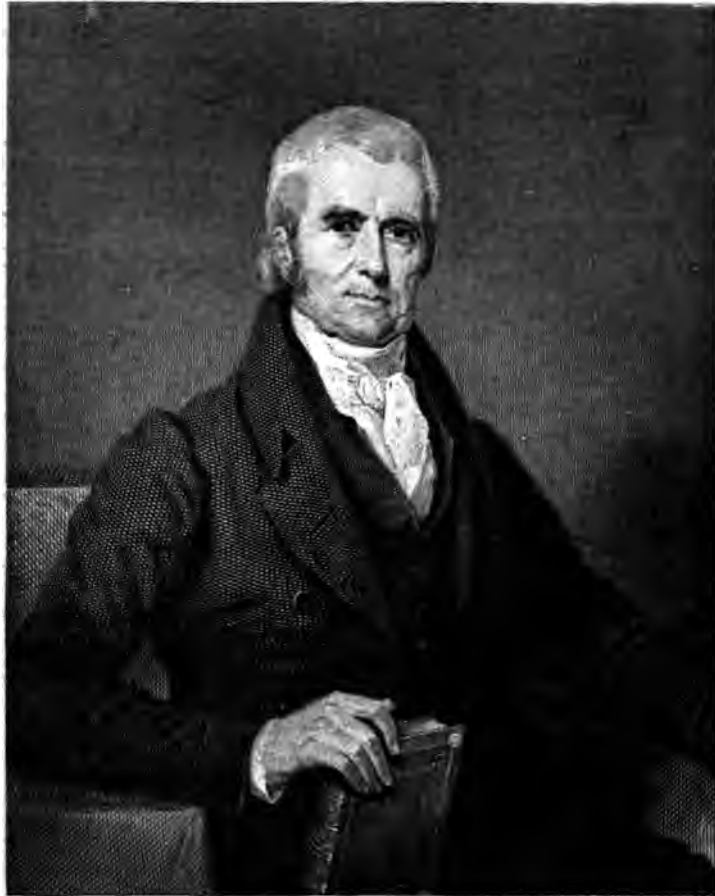
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*John Marshall*

*From a painting by Henry Inman.*







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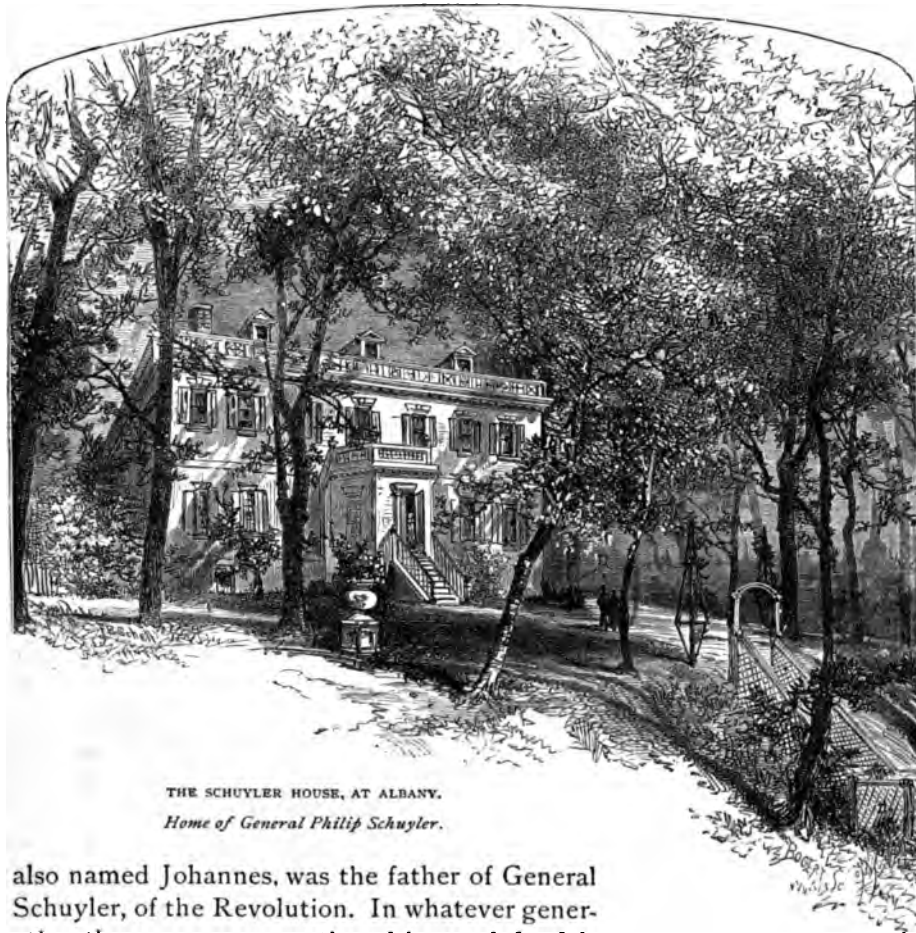
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## HISTORIC HOMES

### THE SCHUYLER HOUSE, AT ALBANY

ONE hundred years ago, Major-General Philip Schuyler was resting on his laurels as the most efficient and untiring soldier in the Northern Department. Justice—in his case thrice leaden-footed—had at last asserted herself against the wiles of smaller souls whose patriotism was bounded by a geographical line, and who condemned the gallant officer because his sympathies were with his neighbors in the State of New York. Thoroughly vindicated against the charge of narrowness regarding the boundary with New England, General Schuyler, after long years of waiting, found himself also vindicated in respect to his conduct of the campaign when he was one of the four major-generals in the American army of the Revolution. A character less strong and generous than his would not have concealed its resentment when, after months of preparation in sowing, another commander was put forward to reap the victory—*tulit alter honores*. But time, the conservator of all that is true, showed that the victory at Saratoga—which gained the alliance of France—was due to the conscientious work of Schuyler, thus bearing out the comment of Chancellor Kent that “his military life was one of utility and not of brilliancy.”

For several generations the Schuyler family had exerted a powerful influence over the Indians, and so completely had they won the confidence of the red-men that no invasions of Albany were ever attempted. The influence of the family was always thrown upon the side of law and order, even in those early days when the progenitor, Philip Pietersen, sustained the Patroon against the claim of Governor Stuyvesant that the jurisdiction of the fort on the hill extended over the area that could be swept by a cannon-ball. It was Johannes, a son of the progenitor—brother to Peter, the first Mayor of Albany—who led the Mohawks into Canada in retaliation for the massacre at Schenectady. A son of this Johannes,



THE SCHUYLER HOUSE, AT ALBANY.  
*Home of General Philip Schuyler.*

also named Johannes, was the father of General Schuyler, of the Revolution. In whatever generation the name was mentioned it stood for fair dealing with the Indian and for loyalty to the existing powers. Among the early mayors of Albany, the Schuyler family gave Peter, Johannes, and Johannes, Jr.; and among the soldiers of the last French and Indian war young Philip Schuyler gave his best service to Sir William Johnson, at Fort Edward, and to Abercrombie, at Ticonderoga. But when resistance to former friends seemed inevitable, young Schuyler shared with George Clinton and Philip Livingston the honor of carrying through the Assembly of New York a series of resolutions against the British Parliament. Henceforth his efforts with the Indians were often rendered of no avail by the craft of the Johnsons, and yet the fact is too often overlooked that the

Revolutionary war might have been much prolonged if General Schuyler had not, to some extent, pacified the Mohawks, and especially the Oneidas.

It was an intensely active life, that of General Schuyler during the Revolution. We may imagine his forebodings at the age of 41, when Washington ordered him to watch Governor Tryon at the South, Colonel Guy Johnson at the West, and to provision the posts on Lake Champlain at the North. Then we see him joining the New England troops in their advance upon Montreal and Quebec, but forced to give up the command to Montgomery on account of illness. Still later, and after pledging his own personal credit for the public wants, we see him preparing to meet the invading army of Burgoyne, sending help to Fort Schuyler when it could with difficulty be spared, and retiring from the command when the line of defense had been made secure. In civil life we also discover him in the legislative bodies of both the



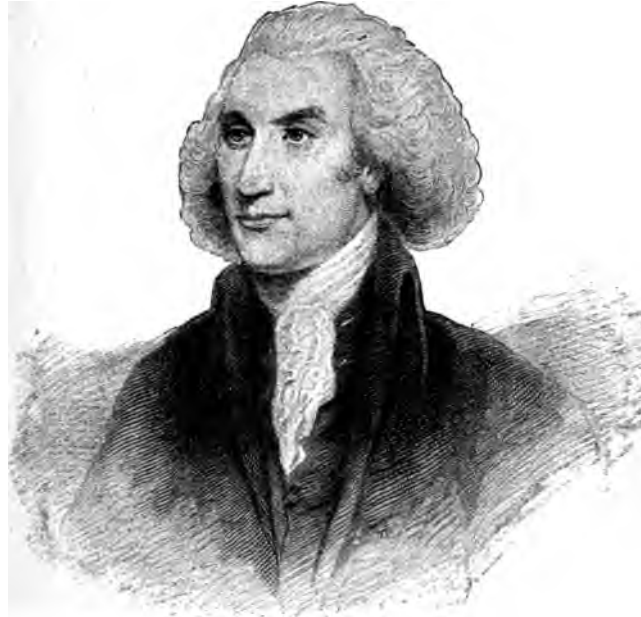
CATHARINE VAN RENSSELAER SCHUYLER.

State and the nation, urging forward the re-formation of the army, planning an improvement of the State revenues, and laying the foundation of that system of inland navigation which developed into the Erie Canal.

The home life of a public man of such prominence as General Schuyler must always be interesting and instructive. The stormy days of war left him but little time for the duties of the fireside, but after the conflict was over, we can imagine how satisfactorily he rested from his toil, and how gratefully he worshiped in the old Dutch Church, lighted up with the fenestral arms of his own family and those of the Wendells, Jacobsens, and



Van Rensselaers. In the councils of State his faith rested upon a newly-devised government that should be strong enough to resist decay by the political elements that might war against it, and his strict Federalism had its influence upon the maturing mind of Alexander Hamilton. And when the citizens of Albany celebrated the ratification of the Constitution of the



*Ph. Schuyler*

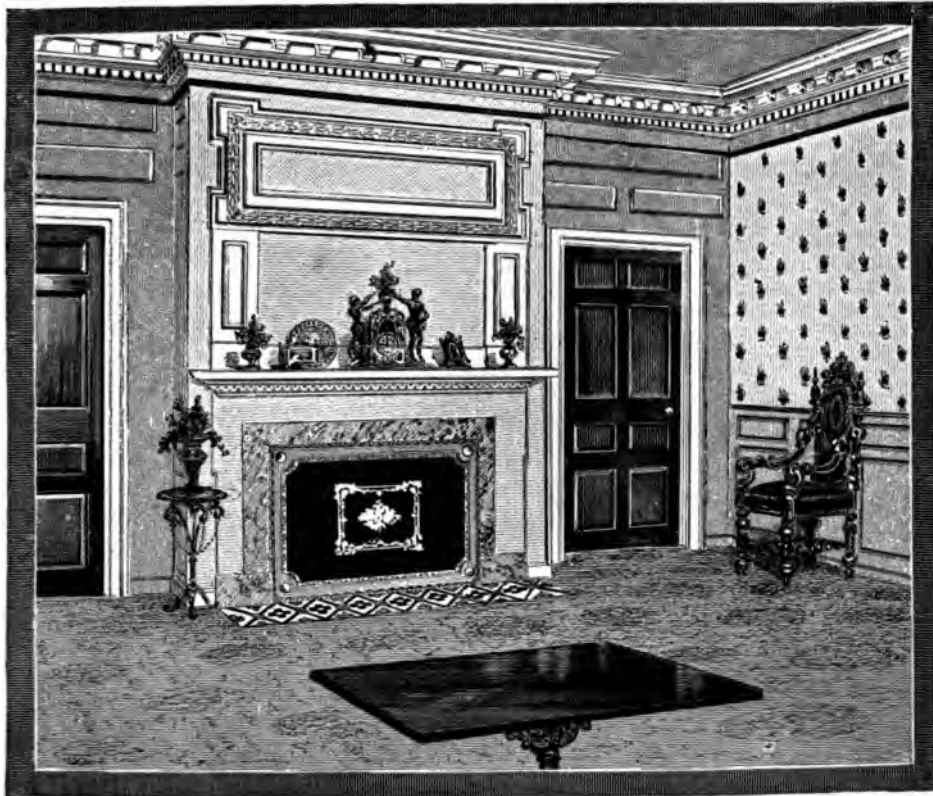
United States with a great procession, we learn that General Schuyler, on horseback, bore aloft "the Constitution neatly engrossed on parchment, and suspended on a decorated staff," quite as proudly as he wore his sidearms during the shock of battle.

There are three Schuyler houses, or mansions, known to history, and they are all in existence to-day. The oldest, and on many accounts the most interesting, is the house at "the flats," on the west bank of the Hudson four miles north of Albany.

This estate was cleared by Arent Van

Corlear for Richard Van Rensselaer, a son of the original Patroon. More than 200 years ago it was sold to Philip Pietersen Schuyler, whose descendants—through Peter, the first mayor of Albany—occupy it still. Across the lane is the private burial-ground, where rest the remains of the earlier members of the family. Here is the grave of Philip Schuyler, who married "the American lady" of social and historic fame, and whose grave is said to be close at hand. Here, also, are the remains of Johannes,

the father of General Philip Schuyler. The house itself was originally of stone, and steep-roofed in the Dutch style. It was large and roomy, and hither came many of the British officers, as to a home, during the long



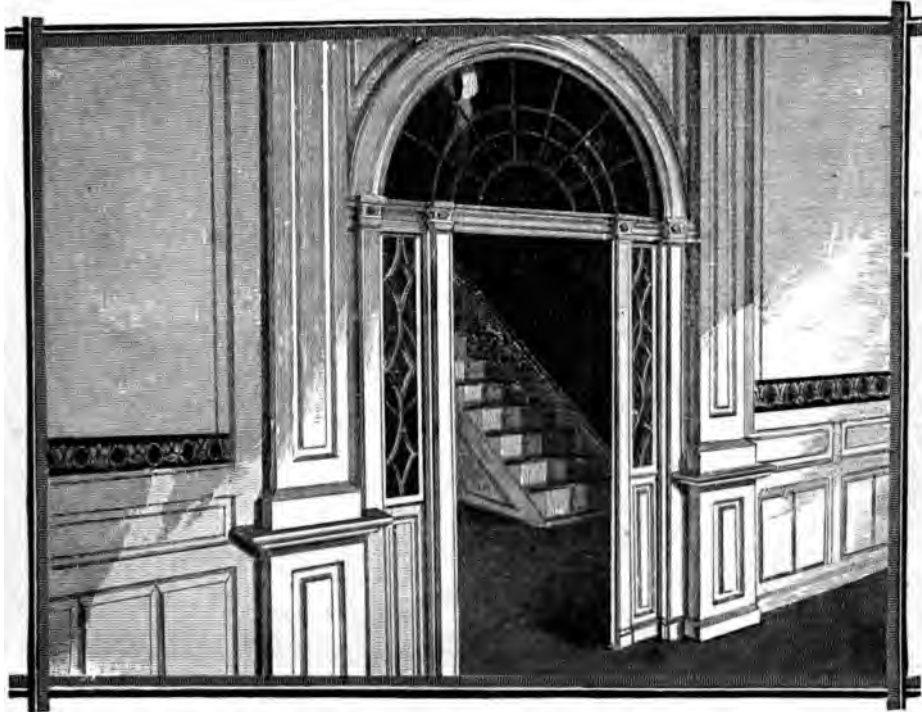
THE DRAWING ROOM.

*[Scene of the marriage of Alexander Hamilton to Elisabeth Schuyler. Also, at a later date, of Ex-President Fillmore to Mrs. McIntosh.]*

wars with France. The hospitality within its walls gave tone to society in the city of Albany when "Aunt" Schuyler, or "the Madame," as she was sometimes called, was the presiding genius of the house. But the closing days of French power beheld Lord Howe's corpse in the mansion which he had often visited as a guest; and the barns turned into hospitals for the defeated forces of Abercrombie. Then, in more peaceful times, the house was burned, and afterward restored to something like its original proportions just before the war of the Revolution.



The second Schuyler house is the one at Schuylerville, which was known as General Schuyler's country place at Saratoga. The original house belonged to an uncle of the General's, who was burned in the house by the French and Indians under Marin. This uncle bequeathed his estate to General Schuyler, who also came into possession of several parts of other estates in that locality. A new house was erected near the site of the one that was burned, and the water-power was used by the construction of saw and grist mills. When Burgoyne swept down from the North



THE HISTORIC STAIRCASE.

General Schuyler had already taken out 6,000 logs, which were directly in the path of the invader, and were lost by fire, together with the mills and the new residence. The fact that the logs were there is claimed by some to prove that Burgoyne was not expected to advance so far to the southward before being stopped. Just after the surrender, General Schuyler built the present edifice, of wood, but it is not occupied to-day by any of his descendants or relatives.

The third "Schuyler house" is the one which has passed into history with that distinctive name. Although it has not the earlier associations

of the other two, yet its memories of the Revolution entitle it to the prominence that it has received, and make it worthy to be sketched by both the pencil and the pen. The Albany of the Revolution was still a stockaded city. To the northward were "the flats," to the southward were "the pastures," where the city herdsman cared for the cattle and drove them home at night. At a distance of half a mile from the stockade, and just beyond the pastures, stood the mansion of General Schuyler. It was



THE NOTABLE CHAMBER.

of honest brick throughout, and not, like most of the city houses, a wooden structure with a veneered front of bricks "brought from Holland." To-day the walls and the oaken window-sills show no reason why they might not last for centuries to come, unless the onward march of business shall demand the destruction of the relic. So long as it lasts the Schuyler mansion stands as a link between the past and the present. At the time it was built, just before the Revolution, there were still standing, and since destroyed: the Wendell house on the south side of State Street, near Pearl,



GERTRUDE SCHUYLER, WIFE OF DR. JOHN COCHRANE.\*

*[From an original sketch made by Madame de Newville, wife of the French Ambassador, while seated on the floor at the feet of Mrs. Cochrane.]*

modest Pruyn homestead, close by; the Gansevoort house, in Broadway, where Stanwix Hall now stands; the mansion of David Fonda close at hand; and the house of Teunis Van Vechten, nearly opposite. All of these, and many more, have been destroyed, or have been disguised with modern fronts. Even "the Whitehall" mansion, which the Tories of the Revolution made their headquarters, has lately fallen by fire. The surviv-

with its warehouse door in the center; the Stevenson house, with its broad expanse of front and its spacious hall; the Yates house a little way up the hill; the Killian Van Rensselaer house on the corner of Lodge Street; the Caldwell mansion near the foot of the hill; the residence of Philip Livingston, a signer of the Declaration, on the opposite side of the street; the famous Lydius house, a veteran "gable-ender," on the corner of Pearl Street; the Vanderheyden Palace, in North Pearl Street, with its terraced gables and elaborate weather-vanes; the more

\* Only sister of Gen. Philip Schuyler, whose early life was closely identified with the Albany house.

ing residences of the same age as the Schuyler mansion are, the Corning house, on the corner of State and Chapel Streets, which was so long occupied by Philip S. Van Rensselaer, and the manor house of the last of the Patroons in North Broadway. There are a few rickety buildings about town of greater age, but they were never conspicuous, save the Pemberton house in North Pearl Street, which shows the figures "1710," and was noted as the headquarters of the Indians who came to trade. One other building, and the veteran of all, still stands on the southeast corner of State and Pearl Streets. The western half of the building has been removed to widen the roadway in Pearl Street. The remaining portion has the iron letters "*anno,*" the "*Domini*" having been upon the portion removed. When the building had well turned the first century of its existence the owner removed the date of its building, "1667," because it made out the edifice too antiquated to suit him. In the half of the building now remaining lived the father of General Schuyler; there the General himself was born; and here he spent the earlier part of his married life, before he bought the Schuyler mansion of the Bradstreet estate, of which he was the executor.



The mansion was built by General Bradstreet about the time of his success at Fort Frontenac. It was not built by Mrs. Schuyler during the absence of her husband in Europe, as has been so often stated. Nor is it probable that the grounds extended to the river, a quarter of a mile distant, or that there was a subterranean passage thither, for a large portion of the tract thereabout was a common pasturage. The grounds were ample,



however, and the General's garden and orchard were famed. Especial pride was taken in his pears, which bore his name and were the envy of every horticulturist. The story runs that many an applicant for scions was put off with grafts of an inferior quality of fruit.

The busy Albany of the present day has crowded about and even upon the four acres of land that immediately surround the Schuyler mansion. The stranger may go by within a few rods and not discover the old yellow



*Riedesel*

building behind the rows of huge horse-chestnut trees that line the terrace. A fringe of lilacs along the crest of the slope is hidden by a huge fence of boards, the gate of which has been nailed for many years. Entrance must be made at the rear. Once within the inclosure, the building shows a main part about 60 feet square, with the front entrance toward the east. A hexagon, of later date than General Schuyler, forms a vestibule, or outer hall. The contour of the roof is of the "double-hip" pattern, pierced with small dormers and two square chimneys. Balustrades are carried all about the roof and across the dormers. A row of seven large windows, with

panes of glass, unusually generous for those days, pierces the front wall above. Antiquated steps, protected by equally antiquated railings of wrought iron, lead from the terrace up to the vestibule. The main hall is 30 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 12 feet high. Narrow windows on either side of the double doors, give such light as does not come through the hexagon. A paneled wainscoting of wood, painted white, conforms with the carved wooden cornices. The modern decorator has set off the white



BARONESS RIEDESEL.

[From a painting by Tischbein.]

to advantage by an intensely blue paper upon the wall. At the farther end of the main hall, and directly opposite the entrance, a smaller door, with glazed transom and leaden sashes, leads to the rear hall and the historic stairway. There are only two other doors in the main hall. The one on the north leads to what was evidently a sitting-room. The one on the south leads to the drawing-room, in which General Schuyler's second daughter, Elizabeth, married Alexander Hamilton, then the aid and military secretary of General Washington. In this room, also, ex-President Fillmore married Mrs. McIntosh, a subsequent owner of the property.

As the eye runs over the interior adornments of the room, rich in carved





wood and well lighted by four deeply cased windows, it is an easy matter to imagine the scene of Mrs. Hamilton's wedding and to note the guests who were present. It is said to have been the only wedding in his family that was really enjoyed by General Schuyler. His time was so fully occupied with public business and with his own private affairs, that he had



MRS. GRANT OF LAGGAN. AUTHOR OF "AN AMERICAN LADY."

*[From a miniature painted by K. Macleay, R. S. A.]*

little opportunity to look after his children. We are told that his other four daughters married without his consent, and away from home. The eldest, Angelica, married John B. Church, whom the General did not like because he was a foreigner and a stranger. Church was known as John Barker, but his incognito did not conceal him from an English officer who had known him in London and who told the story of his flight because of a duel.

John Barker then assumed his real name, that of a respected and wealthy family, returned to England, and was afterward a member of Parliament. The third daughter, Margaret, married Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last of the Patroons, before he had reached his majority, and had come into the possession of his estate. The engagement was consented to with the understanding that they should wait, but their haste obliged them to live for a time in a small house in North Pearl Street, until the Patroon could claim the Manor house as his own. The romantic marriage of Cornelia with Washington Morton, and the marriage of Catharine—"My Kitty," as she was called by her father—with Samuel Malcolm, are both said to have been away from home and without the consent of the General, though for what reasons are not stated. At the baptism of Catharine, General and Mrs. Washington were two of the sponsors, but it is doubtful if they were present on that occasion, except by proxy.

In the rear of the drawing-room, and entered from the smaller hall at the west, is the private room of General Schuyler, which is connected with a retiring room. Accurate measurements have shown that a space of about four feet square close to one of the great chimneys cannot be accounted for in any other way than that it forms the access to a concealed way that led underground to the barrack, or fortified house, about fifteen rods distant. The recent caving in of this covered way has revealed its location and direction, but the secret passage in the house cannot be explored without materially damaging the building.

An emergency, which would have called for the use of the secret passage, if there had been time, occurred just before the close of the Revolution. General Schuyler had left the army as soon as the campaigns of the North were at an end, and he was charged with the duty of intercepting all communication between the British Generals Clinton in New York and Haldimand in Canada. The General had been warned of attempts that would be made to capture him, and he had several guards about the place. A band of Tories and Indians organized themselves under Waltermeyer, at the Whitehall farm, and burst in upon the General's premises while the guards were asleep. Their arms had been removed to the cellar by Mrs. Church through a mistake. General Schuyler retreated to an upper room and fired a pistol to alarm the garrison half a mile distant. The family were all gathered in the room with the General, when their babe, Catharine, was missed. Mrs. Schuyler attempted to go after her, but was detained by her husband. The daughter Margaret slipped by and felt her way through the darkness to the cradle, on the first floor. Although the enemy had entered the house, no one saw her till she had reached the stairs on



her return. An Indian then threw a tomahawk, which cut the dress of the girl and buried itself in the railing of the stairway, where the mark is still visible. The girl fled to the upper room, having told the raiders that the General had gone to alarm the town. The raiders continued to plunder until the sound of the General's voice above appeared to be giving orders to some of his followers outside. Then they fled with what they had secured, and with three of the General's guards, and they did not stop short of Canada. None of the stolen plate was ever returned, but some of it was afterward used in Canada with the comment, "This came from General Schuyler's house." Attempts were also made to capture Colonel Van Vechten and other prominent officers, the leaders being the notorious Joe

Bettys and Thomas Lovelace, afterward executed.



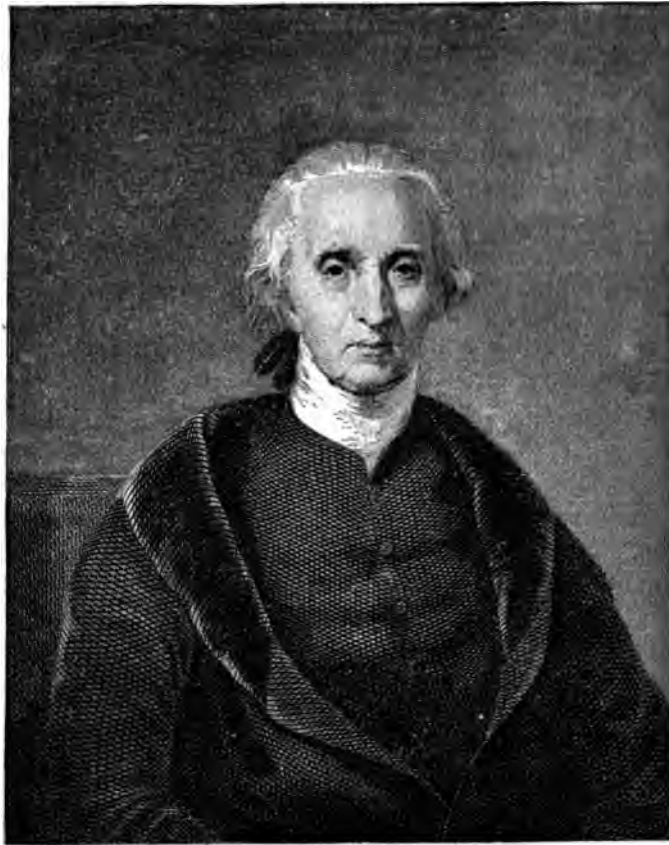
DR. FRANKLIN.

At the foot of the staircase a door leads to an apartment in the north-west corner of the main building. It was the dining-room of General Schuyler, where he entertained Burgoyne so handsomely, after the surrender, as to call forth the remark: "You show me great kindness, though I have done you much injury." The staircase itself is protected by a dark railing and white balustrades, carved in various curiously twisted designs. A short flight of steps leads to a square landing. Three or four steps

more lead to the rear part of the building on the west. A similar short flight leads to a second square landing on the south, whence a longer flight brings one to the floor above. The upper hall is longer than the lower, and the ceilings are not as high. Everywhere we see the white wainscotings and cornices, the heavy doors painted to resemble mahogany, the deeply recessed window-casings that offer inviting seats, and the heavy brass knobs and locks which were so common three generations ago. The heavy pine floors are good for centuries to come, although they have been grooved for electric bells and cut for gas-pipes. The door at the south-west opens into an entry, and thence to a small chamber on the one hand, and on the other to a stairway that leads into the attic, where one can study the architectural science which framed so heavy a structure out of hand-wrought timbers and made it fast with wooden pegs.

On the northern side of the upper hall there are two generous chambers. The one at the southeast corner, directly over the drawing-room, is famed as that in which General Burgoyne and several of

his officers slept when they were prisoners of war. General Schuyler was renowned for his hospitality. During the early part of the Revolution he entertained Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, delegates from Congress with a mission to persuade the Canadians



*Ch Carroll of Carrollton*

to join the Americans. Carroll gave a Marylander's view of General Schuyler in these words: "He behaved to us with great civility; lives in pretty style; has two daughters (Betsy and Peggy), lively, agreeable, black-eyed girls." The three commissioners were escorted to the summer home in Saratoga and entertained there also. When Lady Harriet Ack-



land and the Baroness Riedesel, with her children, had nowhere to go after the defeat of Burgoyne, General Schuyler sent Colonel Varick to Mrs. Schuyler to announce their arrival as his guests. The ladies did not enter Albany as victors, but they were captivated by the charming hospitality of the Schuyler mansion. The generosity of the host broke over all petty opposition and welcomed General Gates, even when the latter was ready to remove him by all the arts in his power. La Fayette, Baron Steuben, Rochambeau, and a long list of eminent Americans enjoyed the genial disposition of the host and shared his bounty. Thither came Aaron Burr, with a letter of introduction from New York; and he, too, became a guest of the General before undertaking the practice of law in Albany. How strangely did he repay that hospitality! Washington, also, in the closing months of the war, came hither with Governor Clinton and was entertained on his way to view the Northern battle-fields and to examine the remarkable topography of the country.

But, in spite of all these pleasing associations, the downward side of General Schuyler's life began to show itself. His daughter Margaret, the wife of the Patroon, died. Then, after a brief interval, his wife, the daughter of Colonel John Van Rensselaer, of Claverack, and known as "Sweet Kitty Van Rensselaer," also left him. His powerful but slender frame had already become somewhat bent when a further blow was dealt in the death of Hamilton. It was the third trial in less than three years. Mrs. Hamilton returned to the old family mansion, but her father lingered only a few months.

The mansion and grounds, after a few years, passed out of the hands of the heirs, and they have remained outside of the family ever since. They are now offered for sale "to manufacturers," and it is announced that the grounds "will be divided to suit purchasers." The chances are that the house must soon live in memory only, unless the State, city, or some private individual shall prevent its destruction. But nothing can destroy the reminiscences of all that is patriotic to an American when he reviews the scenes of the Revolution; and no mere razing of a building can efface the sweet and kindly influences that emanated from the old mansion when it was the home of General Philip Schuyler and his beautiful wife.

*Frederic G. Mather.*

## A BUSINESS FIRM IN THE REVOLUTION

BARNABAS DEANE & CO.

Silas Deane was born in Groton, Connecticut, where his grandfather, John Dean, had settled, on a formal invitation from the town, in 1712, to practice his trade as a smith. Silas, the eldest son of John, inherited the homestead and the trade, and earned money to send his son and namesake to Yale College. Silas, the younger, graduated in 1758; taught school for a while; then married Mrs. Mehetable Webb, a prosperous widow of Wethersfield, and established himself in a profitable business there as a merchant and general trader. His father died in 1760. Silas Deane found employment at Wethersfield and in Hartford for his younger brothers, Barnabas and two or three others, who became masters and part-owners of vessels employed in the coasting trade and in voyages to the West Indies and Surinam. By a second marriage, with a daughter of Col. Gurdon Saltonstall, of New London, Silas Deane made further advance in social position and political influence. In the spring of 1773 he was chosen one of the Committee for Correspondence for Connecticut, and soon became widely known as an able, zealous and most efficient promoter of measures for the union of the Colonies and of preparations for resistance to Great Britain. In July, 1774, he was appointed a delegate to the Congress at Philadelphia. His subsequent career belongs to history—though history seems to have cared little for the trust. It has not yet thoroughly wiped out the unfounded suspicions of his integrity and patriotism: it has persistently ignored or barely admitted the "great and important services" which—as his colleague and constant friend, Dr. Franklin, testified—he rendered to his country, as "a faithful, active, and able minister" to France: it has not even been at the pains of ascertaining the date or the place of his death. \* More than fifty years after he died in obscurity and poverty—having been to the last refused an opportunity of disproving the

\* He died, Wednesday, Sept. 23, 1789, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on board the Boston packet ship on which he had, a few hours previously, embarked for America. See Dr. Edward Bancroft's letter to Dr. Priestley, in Priestley's "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham," pt. v., p. 54, and the Gentleman's Magazine, for September, 1789 (vol. lviii., p. 866). The biographical dictionaries, encyclopædias, etc., either omit the precise date or fix it as August 23d, "at Deal."



slander which had branded him a defaulter—Congress made grudging atonement for national ingratitude and injustice by paying to his heirs, without interest, the large balance which an examination of his accounts with the Treasury showed to have been due him since 1778.

When Mr. Deane went to the Congress in the summer of 1774, he intrusted the management of his business at Wethersfield and Hartford to his brother Barnabas. The latter had served an apprenticeship to trade, as master and supercargo in several voyages to the southern colonies and the West Indies, in some of which Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford had an interest. He had a good reputation for ability and patriotism, and in April, 1775, he was chosen lieutenant of the Wethersfield company of volunteers, commanded by Capt. John Chester, that marched for Boston after receiving the news of the fighting at Concord and Lexington. When the expedition against Ticonderoga, which was planned at Hartford and of which Silas Deane was one of the chief managers, had succeeded in the capture of the fort and of Crown Point, Lieut. Deane was sent as one of the Connecticut commissioners to provide supplies for the garrison. He was, subsequently, often employed in similar services, by appointment of the Governor and council or by contract with the colonial commissaries. In 1779 he was a thriving merchant, in fair way to a fortune.

The firm of Barnabas Deane & Co. was formed in March or April, 1779, a firm which owes its historical interest to its silent partners rather than to its nominal head. Its origin is briefly mentioned in the last chapter of G. W. Greene's *Life of Major-Gen. Nathaniel Greene* (vol. iii., p. 518). The expenses of General Greene's position and the irregularity of his pay, had, as his biographer states, made serious inroads upon his small fortune, during the first years of the war: "As quartermaster-general his position was materially changed. How reluctantly he accepted that office, how generously he offered to conduct the military department of it for a year without any other compensation than his regular pay as major-general and the expenses of his military family, has already been seen. But having accepted it, what was he to do with the profits? There were no stocks to invest them in. The government credit was running low. To keep them by him in continental bills which were depreciating daily, involved a present sacrifice of the interest, and a prospective sacrifice of the principal. Nor had he time to give to private business, with such a weight of public business upon his mind. Under these circumstances he formed with Colonel Wadsworth, commissary-general, the firm under the name of Barnabas Deane & Co., he and Wadsworth supplying the greater part of the capital, and Deane undertaking the active management of the business."

That so little has been known of this firm and its operations, even by the most diligent students of the history of the Revolution, is owing to the extraordinary precautions that were taken to conceal the fact that the quartermaster-general and commissary-general of the United States were the silent partners and capitalists. General Greene insisted—as will be shown presently—on absolute secrecy, stipulating that “no mortal should be acquainted with the names of the persons forming the Company,” and engaging on his own part to give no information on the subject even “to the nearest friend he had in the world.”

Several years ago, a portion of the correspondence between the partners and statements of the business of the firm from time to time, came to my notice. Among the letters of General Greene were half a dozen which have escaped the search of his biographers—and of even his detractors. The time when their publication could harm the memory of their writer is past. Washington's estimate of Greene is accepted as the verdict of history. “Persuaded as I always have been,” he wrote, “of General Greene's integrity and worth, I spurned those reports which tended to calumniate his conduct in the connection with Banks [a contractor for supplies to the army of the South]; being persuaded that, whenever the matter should be investigated, his motives for entering into it would appear pure and unimpeachable.”\* And if Mr. Bancroft, in his ninth volume, was too sparing of praise, he made amends in his tenth by the admission that “in the opinion of his country Greene gained for himself as a general in the American army, the place next to Washington.”† *Next* to Washington. As a soldier, perhaps Washington's equal, but not his equal in discretion and scrupulous avoidance of whatsoever might afford his rivals and enemies even the semblance of a foundation for calumny.

General Greene was appointed quartermaster-general, March 2, 1778. Some weeks before he had consented to accept this post, Congress had summoned Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Hartford, to Philadelphia, to invite him to take the office of commissary-general of purchases. He consented, on condition of the repeal of all the restrictions and regulations with which Congress had embarrassed the administration of the commissary's department and had compelled the first commissary-general (Joseph Trumbull) to resign.

\* Sparks' *Writings of Washington*, vol. ix., p. 20. In a letter to Mr. Jefferson, in 1786, after Greene's death, Washington wrote: “You will, in common with your countrymen, have regretted so great and so honest a man,” and alludes to him as one of “the pillars of the Revolution.” *Ibid.*, ix., 187.

† *History of the United States* (Centen. Ed.), vi., 409.



Wadsworth was already familiar with the duties of his office. From the beginning of the war he had been one of the commissaries for supplying provisions and military stores for the Connecticut troops, and in December, 1776, he was made commissary-general of the State. He was a prosperous merchant in Hartford, and had been engaged in a considerable trade with the West Indies and the Southern States. The Chevalier de Chastellux describes him (in 1780) as "about thirty-two years of age, very tall and very well made, and of a noble as well as an agreeable countenance." After remarking that the departments of the quartermaster and commissary-general "had not been exempt from abuses and even blame," Chastellux bears testimony to the high reputation and the universal popularity of Col. Wadsworth, by asserting that "throughout all America there is not a voice against him, and that his name is never pronounced without the homage due to his talents and his probity."

Greene and Wadsworth were brought by their official duties into intimate relations and very soon became warm friends. "Energy, activity, system, and sound judgment," writes Greene's biographer, "were Wadsworth's business characteristics; cheerfulness, sympathy, and sincerity, his recommendations as a friend. His vigorous and intelligent co-operation was of great service to Greene in many trying emergencies." \*

In January, 1779, both Greene and Wadsworth were in Philadelphia, and it is probable that about this time the arrangement for a business partnership was made. Jan. 26, Greene wrote to Colonel Bowen, his deputy for Rhode Island: "If Mr. Jacob Greene should have occasion to draw on you for cash to enable him to complete some orders sent him lately, you will please to furnish him. I shall send him a supply of cash soon, when he can repay your office." †

This may have been intended to make provision for the draft on his brother Jacob which is mentioned in the following letter to Wadsworth, written after the formation of the partnership:

CAMP, April 14th, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 4th I have receiv'd; and that of the 8th also, with the enclos'd papers; which I have sign'd and return'd.

You may remember I wrote you some time since, that I was desirous that this co-partnership between Mr. Dean, you, and myself, should be kept a secret. I must beg leave to impress this matter upon you again; and to request you to enjoin it upon Mr. Dean. The nearest friend I have in the world shall not know it from me, and it is my

\* Greene's *Life of Major-Gen. Greene*, vol. ii., p. 50.

† Ibid., p. 167.

wish that no mortal should be acquainted with the persons forming the Company except us three. I would not wish Mr. Dean even to let his brother know it. Not that I apprehend any injury from him ; but he may inadvertently let it out into the broad World ; and then I am persuaded it would work us a public injury.

While we continue in the offices we hold, I think it is prudent to appear as little in trade as possible. For however just and upright our conduct may be, the world will have suspicions to our disadvantage.

By keeping the affair a secret, I am confident we shall have it more in our power to serve the commercial connection than by publishing it. I have wrote to my brother Jacob Green to pay you £5,000, without informing him for what purpose or on what account. If you would advance the other £5,000 until you come to camp, it would be very agreeable to me. If not I must take some other way of sending it.

General Sullivan arrived in Camp a few days since, but has not said a word to your prejudice that I can learn. I believe he is willing to play children's play with you—if you will let him alone, he will you. He dined with me yesterday ; and paid great compliments to the Staff at Providence, without discriminating. He is to have the command of the Indian Expedition. I wish he may succeed better than heretofore—For altho' he has never met with any signal disgrace, he has not been remarkably fortunate in success.

I am glad your *Song* did not come out, upon the whole, as it would have created a perpetual war. However I expected something of the kind, which made me write you that I thought he had given a fair opening.

We expect the Minister of France [M. Gérard] here to-morrow or next day, when there is to be great doings. The cannon is to fire, and the troops to parade, and all the general officers are to ride out to meet him, to welcome him to camp. I am afraid we shall make but a skurvy appearance, as our force is but small, and those very ragged.

Mrs. Greene is gone to Trenton to a Tea frolick given by Betsey Pettit. Mr. Lott, Cornelia, Major Blodget and Burnet are all gone. There is to be a number of ladies from Philadelphia, and some members of Congress.

Col. Cox is very ill. I was to see him about eight or ten days since. He has got a relapse of the same disorder he had in Philadelphia. I am really doubtful of his recovery. It is very unfortunate to me, at this critical season. I must take a ministerial comfort ; all things work together for good.

Col. Meade has just returned from Virginia, and says your Letter writing fellow has made rascally work in the department in Virginia. A prodigious quantity of meal is upon the spoil ; and every thing in disorder and confusion. He gives great praises to my agents there.

I had a letter from Major Forsyth a few days past. He stands ready to engage with you, if you think proper to give him an appointment. But I am afraid you'll find old agents are like old chronick diseases, difficult to shake off. Major Forsyth I am sure would answer your purpose extremely well, providing you was fairly rid of —. But I am afraid it will be some time before you can get rid of him.

Mr. Flint\* dined with me to-day, and is brave and hearty. We wish for another feast of Salmon. When may we expect it ? Should they arrive while the Minister is here, they will be doubly welcome. I sent one of the last that came to Mr. Jay, President of Congress. Mrs. Greene sent another to President Read's family.

\* Mr. Royal Flint, of Hartford, one of Col. Wadsworth's deputy-commissaries.



I am glad to hear your Assembly are entering into spirited measures in aid of the Commissary's and Quartermaster's Department.\* Unless the States will give more aid than they have done to these Departments, for some time past, I think the wheels will stop.†

This State grows more and more litigious. The pettefogging lawyers, like frogs in the spring, begin to peep, in great plenty. Besides this pest of creatures not less pernicious to the peace and welfare of a State than the locusts was to the growth of the herbage in Egypt, there is a great multitude of Justices of the Peace who parade with Constables at their heels, and are as formidable in numbers as a Roman legion.‡ This class of men, to shew their learning and improve their genius, swarm about us like birds of prey, seeking whom they may devour. You may remember I made an armor-bearer of one, upon my first coming to this ground, and I intend to keep them running upon every occasion. If they want business they shall have it.

General Arnold is married.§ He has lately bought a House and farm near the City of Philadelphia. It belonged to McPherson. It is said he can have 10,000 pounds for his bargain. If so, his trade is better than all the Commissary and Quartermaster's profits put together.

Mrs. Biddle || has got back to Camp again, with a fine son. You have been informed that Doctor Hutcheson ¶ is married to Miss Lydia Biddle. She is coming to Camp soon. Mrs. Shippen \*\* is already here, and the Doctor's daughter. I hope you will bring Mrs. Wadsworth, which will form an agreeable set.

\* March 6th, Greene had written to Wadsworth: "I wish to hear from the Eastward, what the voice of the People is respecting the business of our two departments—whether they think our Agents conduct their affairs with honor, honesty, and economy—or whether there is high charges of villainy and prostitution of public trust."

† "The local policy of all the States," wrote Greene to Gen. Varnum, of Rhode Island, Feb. 9, 1779, "is directly opposed to the great national plan; and if they continue to persevere in it, God knows what the consequence will be. *There is a terrible falling off in public virtue since the commencement of the present contest.* [The italics are mine.] The loss of morals and the want of public spirit leaves us almost like a rope of sand." Greene's *Life of Gen. Greene*, ii., 168.

‡ Washington, writing from Middlebrook, March 3d, 1779, to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, in reply to a communication "indorsing the depositions of several inhabitants and civil officers, respecting ill-treatment received from sundry officers of the army, and a refusal in some of them to submit to the civil process," said: "I am every now and then embarrassed by disputes between the officers and inhabitants, which generally originate from the latter coming into camp with liquor, selling it to the soldiers, and, as the officers allege, taking clothing, provisions, or accoutrements in pay. There being no civil redress, that I know of, for a grievance of this nature, the officers undertake to punish those suspected of such practices, sometimes with reason, and probably sometimes without foundation," etc. Sparks' *Writings of Washington*, vi., 180, 181.

§ To Miss Margaret Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen. See Reed's *Life of Joseph Reed*, ii., 53.

|| Wife of Col. Clement Biddle, of Philadelphia, who was commissary-general of forage under Gen. Greene.

¶ Dr. James Hutchinson, a surgeon and physician in the army, afterward a professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

\*\* Wife of Dr. William Shippen, of the medical department of the army.

I believe your patience will be exhausted before you get through this long and disagreeable letter. Please to present my compliments to Mrs. Wadsworth, and I'll bid you good night.

Yours sincerely,

N. GREENE.

As an additional precaution against discovery, it was agreed that the correspondence between the partners should be conducted partly in cipher. April 30th, 1779, Greene wrote to Wadsworth, from the camp at Middlebrook, as follows :

Dear Sir,

I have received your two last letters with the inclosed Alphabet of figures \* to correspond with. The plan is very agreeable which is proposed. But in addition to this, will it not be best to take upon us a fictitious name? This will draw another shade of obscurity over the business and render it impossible to find out the connection. The busy world will be prying into the connection and nature of the business ; and more especially as a letter of Mr. Deane's has lately been intercepted in which it is pretended great things are discovered and dangerous combinations formed. Whether there *has* been any letter intercepted—and, if there has, whether it contains anything of the kind that is represented, I am by no means certain. It is said he is forming one of the greatest Commercial Houses in the world, and has a plan for Land jobbing of equal extent. I know not what it all means, but believe it is the effects of malice and detraction, which I can assure you was never more prevalent.

I have just return'd from Philadelphia, where I have been to settle matters with Congress respecting my department : The fixing the pay of waggoners and staff officers. But my principal business was to lay before the Treasury the impossibility of executing the General's orders without a more punctual and liberal supply of cash. Former promises have been renew'd ; but the truth of the affair is, the plan for striking money is really incompetent to the demand, with the greatest degree of industry ; and there is no great share of that. The great Departments of the Army press the Treasury on every side. The South Carolina expedition has created great drafts upon the Board and embarrasses their affairs. The Lord knows what will be the consequence.

I find that certain Members of Congress are endeavoring to spread among the people that the avarice and extravagance of the Staff are the principal causes of all the depreciation of the money ; and I saw a report of the Treasury Board to the Congress to this amount, altho' not in the same terms.

Inclos'd is a Letter I wrote the Congress upon the subject. There was great professions and assurances of the most perfect confidence of Congress in the ability, fidelity, care, attention, and integrity of the principals of each Department ; but as these were only personal assurances by individual members, and not as a body, I thought it most prudent to write them the enclos'd copy of a letter. I have received no answer to it yet. What it will produce is difficult to conjecture.

There is great disputes in Congress, and there has been warm work between them and the State of Pennsylvania respecting the Courts of Admiralty.

\* Barnabas Deane's manuscript copy of this "alphabet of figures," or numerical cipher, is now before me.

I shall be happy to see you here as soon as you can render it convenient. I think it will be necessary both for your interest and reputation. The General enquires after you with great earnestness. Things don't go on well in the preparations for the Indian Expedition upon the Susquehannah.

Mrs. Greene's and my best respects to Mrs. Wadsworth. I am, with sincere regard,

Your most obedient

humble serv't

Col. Wadsworth.

N. GREENE.

The next letter from Greene to Wadsworth, though it makes only a passing allusion to their "money matters," is so characteristic of the writer that I must not omit it here. Greene loved plain speaking too well to tolerate the restraint imposed on friendly correspondence by the "alphabet of figures." Overworked, contending with "difficulties and prejudices innumerable," disheartened by the inactivity of Congress, and sharing Washington's conviction (expressed, three months earlier, in his letter to Benjamin Harrison)\* that "our affairs were in a more distressed, ruinous, and deplorable condition than they had been since the commencement of the war," and that "party disputes and personal quarrels were the great business of the day,"—and indignant at the suspicion manifested, in and out of Congress, of the administration of his own and the Commissary departments and at the obstacles that jealousy and intrigue were continually interposing to the successful discharge of his duties—he could not stop to weigh his words or measure his denunciations in his confidential letters to Wadsworth.

Camp, May 14th, 1779.

Dear Sir :

Your favor of the 7th I have receiv'd. Your Express is just setting out, which prevents my writing you more fully upon money matters than the present opportunity will permit me.

I wish you to return to Camp as soon as possible. A late letter which you have wrote to the Treasury Board gives great offence, and it is said has been laid before the Congress ; but of this I am not certain. I wish you to take no notice of the affair until I see you.

The midnight politician which we have often talked about for his duplicity, who used to lodge with you in the same house in Philadelphia, thinks and says we are a set of rascals ; that we are folding our arms and swimming with the tide, secure in our emoluments and regardless of the ruin and fate of our Country. He thinks if we had the least spark of public virtue we should offer our service gratis ; upon the foundation of which they would work a general reformation. He further adds, if the people won't save themselves they may all go to h— and be damn'd.

This is a most extraordinary sentiment, and plainly indicates the light in which they

\* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vi. 150.

view our services. I can tell you abundance more, but time won't permit. You must be patient, and stand still and see the Salvation of the Lord !

If I could be convinced in the least degree that my services gratis would lay the foundation for such a general reformation as they predict, I should not hesitate a moment to engage upon that footing, but I have no idea of any greater public benefit resulting from it than the saving of my commissions or salary.

The Gentleman maledicts exceedingly the alternative we have put our future services upon, viz. : that of the continuance of the commission, or a salary payable in Sterling money.

My Department is distressed beyond measure for want of money, and new difficulties arise daily in getting money. What I shall do, I know not. It is said the Congress is setting upon another egg of Finance. I wish it may produce some good ; but I am greatly apprehensive that there are such opposite measures and opposite views in Congress that nothing effectual will take place.

I am with esteem & regard

Your sincere friend & humble Serv't

NATH<sup>L</sup> GREENE.

Col. Wadsworth.

In December, 1779, Greene tendered to Congress his resignation of the office of Quartermaster-general, and requested that early measures should be taken to fill his place. The only answer he received was by the appointment, in January, of a commission to inquire into the condition of the general staff and introduce such reforms as might be deemed necessary. Gen. Schuyler, Timothy Pickering, and Gen. Mifflin were named on this commission. Schuyler declined to serve. On the 6th of April, "the report of the commissioners on the arrangement of the staff departments of the army" was referred by Congress to a special committee of three—Gen. Schuyler, John Mathews (of South Carolina) and Nathaniel Peabody (of New Hampshire). Greene went from the Camp to Philadelphia, March 23d,\* and remained in attendance on Congress and the committee till April 5th. After his return to Morristown, he wrote the following letter to Wadsworth. In it, as will be seen, he makes large use of the "alphabet of figures," and I have supplied, italicized and in brackets, the corresponding words of the key.

\* Washington wrote to Schuyler, March 22d : "Our affairs seem to be verging so fast to a stagnation in every branch, even provisions, that I have not only consented, but advised General Greene, as I shall do the Commissary when he arrives, to repair to Philadelphia, and endeavour to know with precision what is to be depended on in their respective departments. The new system adopted by Congress for conducting the business of these departments may have originated from two causes, necessity and choice ; the first, from inability for want of money to proceed any further in the old track ; the second, from a desire to change the old system on account of the commission, it being thought, and I fear with too much reason, exceedingly expensive and disgusting to the people at large."—*Sparks' Writings of Washington*, vi., 489.

Morristown, 11th of April, 1780.

Dear Sir :

I returned to this place last night from 2010 [*Philadelphia*]. The 332 [*Congress*] are as great a set of 1012 [*rascals*] as ever got together. The 166 of 1292 [*Board of the Treasury*] are 1404 [*worse*] than the former. One of them I am sure is nothing less than a 1286 [*traitor*]; he belongs to 332 [*Congress*] and is from N 2013 [*North Carolina*].

You may depend upon it that your information is good, and that it is the intention of 1292 [*the Treasury*] not to let any 232 [*cash*] go through your hands, with a view of saving the 292 [*commission*]. They propose the same thing with regard to me, and I believe will attempt to carry it into execution. You cannot conceive the 781 [*ignorance*] and the 802 [*injustice*] of those two 909s [*orders*] of 931 [*people*].

You may depend upon it that great pains is taking to 240 [*censure*] you and me. The plan is not to attack us personally; this they know will not answer; but to accuse the 1232 [*system*] of each, as producing all the consequential [*sic*] we now feel. The scheme is plausible, and if artfully managed will have its effects. Truth and righteousness is of no account with these 931 [*people*]. Any claim of merit for past services is not only laughed [at] but the person who should be foolish enough to make it would be severely *ridiculed*.

Be upon the 1367 [*watch*] and be upon your 718 [*guard*], for depend upon it the hand of Joab is in all these things.

I think our affairs are verging to something like 1054 [*revolt*]. It is publicly said at 2010 [*Philadelphia*] that 332 [*Congress*] have no longer the 327 [*confidence*] of 931 [*the people*] and that there is nothing left to save 1192 [*the State*] from being no more a 875 [*Nation*]. Take care what you 1411 [*write*], as every possible advantage will be made of it. How stands our 298-37 [*Company-affair*] with B. D.? Let me know as particularly as you can. Send the information in one letter, and what you say upon it in another.

Yours, you know who,

N 713 [*Greene*].

This letter was filed by Col. Wadsworth, "N. G—, April 11, 1780."

July 15th, 1780, Congress approved the new system for the Quartermaster's department, and immediately on the receipt of their action Greene sent a renewal of his resignation—now made definite and peremptory. He was not, however, relieved of the duties of his office till Sept. 30th, though Pickering was appointed to succeed him August 5th. On the 14th of September Greene was appointed by Washington to the command of the Army of the South; and this appointment is perhaps justly regarded by his biographer not only as "an open avowal of confidence at a moment of peculiar delicacy," but as "a public declaration that the charges against his administration of the Quartermaster's department were false." \*

\* A letter of President Joseph Reed to Gen. Greene, written August 19th, 1780, after the peremptory resignation by the latter of his office of Quartermaster-general, supplies all needful comment on the resignation itself, and on the letter of Greene to Wadsworth of April 11th: "You have undoubtedly great reason to complain of the public gratitude; so have the best men in all

Just how long after this Greene retained his interest in the firm of Barnabas Deane & Co., does not appear. He had certainly withdrawn from the partnership before the end of 1781. As his name had never appeared as a partner on the books of the firm, no entry shows when his connection with it terminated. The last reference that I find to it, in his correspondence with Colonel Wadsworth, is in a letter of July 18th, 1781, written from "High Hills, Santee, South Carolina," in which he asks: "How goes on our Commerce? Please to give me an account by the Table [*i.e.* in cipher], as letters are frequently intercepted." In this letter he gives a humorous sketch of his southern campaign: "Our army has been frequently beaten, and, like a stock-fish, grows the better for it. . . . I had a letter some time since from Mr. John Trumbull ['M'Fingal'] wherein he asserts that, with all my talents for war, I am deficient in the great art of making a timely retreat. I hope I have convinced the world to the contrary, for there are few Generals that have run oftener or more lustily than I have done. But I have taken care not to run too far, and, commonly, have run as fast forward as backward, to convince our Enemy that we were like a Crab, that could run *either* way."

His correspondence with Wadsworth was continued, and I have seen a letter written from Philadelphia, Nov. 4th, 1783, in which the latter is reminded of an old "agreement to enter into business at New York after the war was over," and is asked "how his mind may now stand in this business." "I have not"—he writes—"fully determined upon my plan of future life, and only wait to see or hear from you, to fix upon my ultimate determination." But Wadsworth had already entered into other business engagements, and his partnership with Greene was not renewed. His connection with the firm of Barnabas Deane and Company was not, however, dissolved until the death of Mr. Deane in 1794.

The business of this firm was that of general traders. During the war they dealt largely in the staples and manufactures that were most needed

ages; but it is not the *present men*, or at least a majority of them, of whom you have most reason to complain. You perhaps will be surprised when I assure you that in my opinion you never had fewer enemies in Congress than at present. A keen and a just sense of ill-treatment has drawn from you expressions which *would have been properly applied to some members of Congress now gone*, and perhaps to a few that remain;" etc.—*Life and Corresp. of Joseph Reed*, vol. ii., p. 240. (The *italics* are mine.) To this Greene replied, August 29th: "Upon the whole, I considered myself as cruelly and oppressively treated. I did not wish to desert the business at a critical hour, nor did I wish to go into a quarrel with Congress. My letter of resignation may have had more tartness in it than was prudent; but I am far from thinking it merited the severity with which they regarded it, for I am well informed it was seven days in agitation to dismiss me from the service altogether."—*Ibid.*, p. 242.





for the use of the army, or that could be most advantageously exchanged for provisions and forage. They were owners, or part owners, of distilleries of "country rum" and "Geneva;" tried, not very successfully, to establish salt-works; owned grist-mills; were interested in one or two privateers; imported salt from the Bermudas, through the southern colonies, or otherwise; and bought and sold or bartered wool, grain and flour, country produce and domestic manufactures. The business reputation of the firm was high, at home and abroad; the integrity and honor of its partners, without stain; nor is there a vestige of evidence that its founders took undue advantage of their official positions to extend the business or increase the profits of the firm.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. Hammond Trumbull". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the main text block.

## FRENCH SPOILIATIONS BEFORE 1801

Our relations with France, at the close of the last century, is a part of our national history now seldom considered.

It is intended to give a brief sketch of what are known as the spoiliations committed by France on the commerce of the United States anterior to the ratification of the convention with that country in 1801. These spoiliations, and the claims growing out of them, are not of a mere private character. They are national and historic.

They form a part of the exciting public events of the time; they are associated with our early national struggles; they recall the dark days of the Revolution; they are connected with the period of the birth of our liberty—with its dawning and wavering fortunes, its victories and its defeats, its despondency,—and, finally, with its triumph and the vindication of the principles of free government.

They are associated, too, with the period of the formative life of our nation, with its infant industries and its struggling but enterprising commerce.

They have relation, too, to the bloody period of the French Revolution, and to the great war of nations that for over twenty years desolated Europe and disturbed the peace and commerce of all civilization. All the principal statesmen and jurists of our early national life come picturesquely before us, also, in their relation to these spoiliations. Washington, Franklin, Adams and Jefferson, Pinckney, Madison and Monroe had their part in their history; and the names of Talleyrand, Bonaparte, and the various members of the French Directory figure prominently on the French side of the historic scene.

During the war for our independence France had given us her alliance in very material shape. Her blood and her money were freely expended for and with us; and she asked no pay or indemnity other than our fulfillment of the treaty obligations we assumed, of guaranteeing to her the possession of her French colonies in this hemisphere, and of opening our ports to her privateers and their prizes, in exclusion of the privateers of her enemies and their prizes.

These concessions by treaty were in expression of our gratitude to France, and in return for her coming to our relief in the darkest period of our struggle, when, as Washington announced in a letter to Congress,



"that unless some great and capital change takes place, the army must be reduced to the one or the other of three things—starve, dissolve, or disperse."

The alliance with France broke like a ray of light through the ominous darkness. The blood of nobleman and commoner of France was alike shed in our cause, and her assistance in arms retrieved our falling fortunes.

She, too, in her turn became fascinated with the dawning principle of liberty, whose rays, soon to be in her own realm lurid and terrible, were penetrating into the dark recesses of feudal dominion, and bringing to light the oppressed, the lowly, the ignorant of mankind, on a new plane of sympathy and human brotherhood.

According to the report of the French Bureau of Finance, the war in which France assisted us in obtaining our independence cost that country about \$280,000,000. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, to the allied forces under Washington and Rochambeau, was the crowning and critical triumph of the war, and insured the independence for which for seven dreary years the colonies had struggled.

After the independence of the United States was secured, and, during the latter period of the last century, the country was being rapidly nationalized and strengthened.

The new constitutional compact bound the people together in patriotic links.

The scars of the terrible struggle were being healed. Peace smiled over the land, and the war-worn soldier gladly had exchanged his sword for the plow and the pruning-hook. Infant commerce unfurled her sails and boldly sought far distant seas, and industry and activity in every phase displayed the energy, the force, and the ingenuity of an indomitable people.

In order fully to comprehend the relations between the two countries, the causes which led to the spoliations upon our Merchant Marine by France, and the grounds upon which the claims for indemnity against her were founded, it will be necessary briefly to refer to the treaties made by us with that country.

By the treaty with France of February 6, 1778, made by the thirteen States, by name, France was to assist in effecting the independence of the United States, and both parties were to unite their efforts against Great Britain, the common enemy.

By the 10th Article of the Treaty, the United States guarantees to the French King from that time and "*forever*, against all other powers, the present possessions of the Crown of France in America, as well as those it

may acquire by the future treaty of peace." In return, the King of France guarantees to the United States their "liberty, sovereignty and independence, *absolute and unlimited*," and also their possessions and any additions or conquests obtained through the then war from Great Britain.

It was also provided that in case of a rupture between France and England, the reciprocal guarantee declared as above should have its full force and effect the moment such war should break out.

This treaty of alliance was signed at Paris by Benj<sup>n</sup> Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee.

A Treaty of Commerce between the then United States and France was also concluded, at the above date.

This provided for a firm peace and friendship between the two countries, and neither party was to grant any commercial favors to other nations that should not be enjoyed by the other party.

France stipulated to protect vessels of the United States within her ports or jurisdiction and to restore them if captured therein.

There were also provisions in the Treaty that, in case of war, the French cruisers and prizes were to have the use of our ports to the exclusion of others, and that free ships were to make free goods, even enemies' goods or persons, except goods contraband of war, and, by Article 27, no capture, molestation, or search of an American vessel was to be made under any circumstances whatever.

It was also provided that ships of war and privateers of either party are to do no injury to property of the other party.


Liberty was given to either party to trade with a nation at war with the other.

If either party were to be engaged in war the vessels of the other were to be furnished with sea letters, passports, and certificates of the cargo; and visitations of vessels at sea were to be made, peaceably, in boats, and beyond cannon shot.

These treaties with France were, of course, hailed throughout the United States with the greatest enthusiasm.

By the above treaties it will be seen that the United States, in return for the assistance France was to give in the War of Independence, positively guaranteed to France its possessions in America.

The possessions of France in America at the time of the above treaties consisted of about eleven of the West India Islands, and also Cayenne. The most important of the islands were St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadeloupe and St. Lucia.



In 1792, when war was breaking out between France and England, the United States were embarrassed what to do.

On the one hand, there were the treaties by which we guaranteed to France her possessions in America, the feelings of sympathy for a people struggling for freedom from a long established tyranny, and also the feelings of gratitude toward that people for their timely assistance to us in the days of our doubt and peril.

On the other hand were the terrors and the hardships of a war, whose duration would be great, and for which we were totally unprepared. We had neither army nor navy to protect our commerce or our ports, much less for aggressive action. It was considered, too, that if the strict construction of the treaties were carried out, the United States might be led into extreme complications and obligations never contemplated when the treaties were made. The *status* of France, too, had changed. She had deposed and executed her king; her condition was almost one of anarchy, and the war was considered an offensive one by her against England, which sort of war the Cabinet of President Washington considered was not contemplated by the treaties.

The guarantees, therefore, in the treaties were a source of great embarrassment to the Executive.

The government foresaw that when a war broke out between the new Republic of France and the powers of Europe, the struggle would be prolonged and terrible, and that the exact fulfillment of our treaty guarantees would place us at war with Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the other powers leagued against France, a condition, in our then weak state, that would have been probably fatal to our national existence.

The President, therefore, on April 22d, 1793, made a proclamation of strict neutrality, as between the contending powers.

This action of neutrality was, politically speaking, a virtual violation of our treaties with France, who repeatedly demanded their strict execution.

She expected from us both sympathy and assistance, attacked as she was by nearly all the powers of Europe, and naturally complained of our declaration of neutrality and of our refusal to assist her in retaining her possessions in America. England, at the same time, took umbrage at our concessions to France of a right to use our ports for privateers and their prizes.

Genet, the new French minister, landed in Charleston in April, 1793, with instructions to study the views of our government as to its adhesion to the treaties of 1778; "as the just price of the independence which the

French nation had secured to the United States," and to endeavor to enforce the views of France.

Genet's career, as minister, was turbulent. He issued privateers' commissions and established consular prize tribunals in our ports. He conducted himself in a manner arrogant and insulting; the *modus* of his diplomacy was ill calculated to promote the success of his mission.

In one of his communications he demands "that the Federal Government should observe the public engagements contracted, and give to the world the example of a true neutrality, which does not consist in the cowardly abandonment of friends and at the moment when danger threatens."

Genet put himself at the head of a French party or faction in the United States, and fought the administration with pamphlets, newspapers, clubs, and all kinds of intrigue. He called upon the people at large to assist him and favor the cause of France, and set up in the ports of the United States a regular privateering warfare against the commerce of Great Britain. In the meanwhile the English fleets swept the seas, and, in a little more than a month, took possession of nearly all the French West India possessions.

In 1794 the troublesome Genet was recalled, under the urgent request of our government. He was of the Girondin French faction, and, as Danton, Robespierre, and the Jacobins had come into power, the new French Executive was not disposed to favor him or consider him as a martyr to his patriotic zeal.

He did not choose to risk his neck by returning to France, and avoided the guillotine by settling as a resident of New York; and took refuge from his political cares in the charms of matrimony, contracted with a daughter of Governor Clinton.

We come down now to the celebrated treaty with Great Britain, commonly called the Jay Treaty, which, although negotiated in November, 1794, was not ratified and promulgated until far into the year 1796.

Its negotiation had been kept secret; for great apprehension was entertained by the Executive as to how it would be received by the American people, who, apparently, were generally opposed to it, and the demonstrations against its ratification were loud, and even violent.

This treaty with Great Britain first provides for a firm and inviolable peace between the two countries, and that all British troops are to be withdrawn from within the United States boundaries. There is provision for free and unrestricted commerce and entry into each other's ports; and also that the privateers of either may bring prizes into the ports of the



other country, and it is provided "that no shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such vessels as have made a prize upon the subjects or citizens of either of said parties." But these regulations are expressed to be subject to existing treaties with other nations.

This treaty with Great Britain was interpreted and declared by us as a virtual abrogation of our treaty with France as to her right to use our ports as provided in our treaty with her. Against this view, of course, France protested with earnest remonstrance.

The exclusion of French privateers and their prizes from our ports was a serious matter for France, inasmuch as Great Britain had taken possession of nearly all her West India Islands; and she was left with only one or two ports of resort in America for refuge or condemnation of prizes, while our ports, by the treaty with England of 1796, were open to England for that purpose.

On the news of the negotiations for this treaty with Great Britain coming to the United States, great sympathy was expressed for France, especially by the Anti-Federalist or Democratic party, as it began then to be called, under its leaders, Jefferson and Monroe.

Chief-Justice Marshall wrote thus: "The Federalists were overwhelmed with reproaches and charges of attachment to England. The causes of complaint against Great Britain were made the daily topic of excited denunciation, while the flagrant violations of treaty and the open depredation upon our commerce by France were passed over in silence, or treated as the natural results of the conduct of her enemies."

So strong was the sympathy with France at this time, and opposition to the Jay treaty, that mobs threatened violence to its supporters—Mr. Jay was burnt in effigy—the British Minister was insulted—and, in New York, Mr. Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting. Many of the State legislatures protested against it, and the debates in Congress upon it were bitter and denunciatory. And subsequently, when war was threatening with France, the tricolored cockade was sported in the streets in opposition to the black cockade adopted by the Federalists and the troops who were being enrolled for the purpose of defense against French aggressions.

#### THE DEPREDATIONS.

Irritated by the unfriendly action of the United States government in the above procedures, France took no pains to conceal her feelings of indignation, which manifested themselves in the attacks on our commerce, which began as early as 1792, and continued down through the year 1800.

These attacks are familiarly known as the "French spoliations before

1801," or, more specifically speaking, prior to July 31st, 1801, the date of the ratification of the Convention with France hereafter referred to.

The early seizures of our merchantmen by the French were made, it was claimed, on the ground of unavoidable necessity. It will be remembered that in 1792 France was in the throes of a horrible civil contention, which threatened her annihilation. Her crops had failed; her manufactures, trade, and commerce were paralyzed; nearly all Europe rose up against her in horror and wrath; and, with the intention of starving her into submission, her ports were blockaded, and all channels of supply were closed. Neutral vessels were prevented from taking cargo within her territories, and, under the British orders in Council, were seized if they endeavored to do so. At least 478 American vessels were captured in seeking French ports, by the British, during this period. Thus our commerce became a prey to both French and English attack.

In a communication from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs of April 14, 1793, in response to a letter of remonstrance from our then Minister at Paris, he thus feebly explains the attacks on our vessels:

"The enemies of France have openly usurped the right of seizing all the provisions which are destined to it, and even all the Frenchmen found on neutral vessels; and the Republic will so act against them, by way of reprisal. We hope that the Government of the United States will attribute to their true cause the abuses of which you complain, as well as other violations of which our cruisers may render themselves guilty, in the course of the present war. It must perceive how difficult it is to contain, within just limits, the indignation of our marines and in general of all French patriots against a people who speak the same language, and having the same habits, as the free Americans. The difficulty of distinguishing our allies from our enemies has often been the cause of offenses committed on board your vessels."

The depredations committed by France, made while she was in this state of emergency, went on increasing in numbers and violence, as her emergency became greater, and as she became more and more isolated under the pressure of war.

As the French Government, to a certain extent, recognized these depredations as unlawful, and made promise of indemnity, our Government seems to have tolerated them, with but feeble remonstrance.

But, in 1796, after the ratification and promulgation of our treaty with England opening our ports to her, the wrath of France was so increased, that full license seems to have been given to her privateers for unlimited attacks on our commerce.

M. Adet, the French Plenipotentiary in Philadelphia, wrote as follows to our Secretary of State:



"The undersigned, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, now fulfills to the Secretary of State of the United States, a painful but sacred duty. He claims, in the name of American honor, in the name of the faith of treaties, the execution of that contract which assured to the United States their existence and which France regarded as the pledge of the most sacred Union between two people, the freest upon Earth."

French privateers now attacked our merchantmen everywhere, and almost swept our commerce from the seas. The French Government, even, hired out its vessels of war, as privateers, and the French Commissioners in St. Domingo and other ports still held by France, not only encouraged but instigated these depredations. They declared that the Americans were perfidious, corrupt, and the friends of England, and that, therefore, their vessels should no longer enter French ports, unless carried in by force.

From every French and Spanish colonial port cruisers started out for the direct purpose of seizing American ships; and the administration of many colonies subsisted, and individuals became enriched from the proceeds of these prizes.

These operations resulted in the seizure of more than 1500 American vessels—every one of which was illegally captured; in the teeth of existing treaties, and of all principles of international law.

Often the captured vessels were taken into our own ports, and condemned under the very eyes of the government, by self-constituted French consular tribunals.

The agents of France at St. Domingo reported to the home government "that having found no resource, in finance, and knowing the unfriendly disposition of the Americans, and, to avoid perishing in distress, they had armed for cruising; and that already 87 cruisers were at sea."

These colonial commissioners at St. Domingo also issued orders to take all vessels bound to or from English ports; and condemned them without the formality of trial, or through tribunals composed often of the owners of the capturing privateers. Captures were also made of American vessels going from a neutral to a French port; and the proceedings, if any, before the prize tribunals were wholly *ex parte*, the owners not being allowed to make defense. In fact American vessels, at this time, and their cargoes were seized and appropriated without any shadow of law or justice.

In every mercantile town near our coast, merchants and ship-owners were ruined, and respectable and thriving families reduced to poverty.

Many were made insane under their losses, or were turned into almshouses or otherwise became burdens on the charity of the public.

The crews of vessels taken were turned out in foreign ports to starve—

or marched off, as English prisoners, or as prisoners for debt, to French prisons, and their effects stolen.

The French government made arbitrary and obscure regulations requiring all American vessels on the seas to have ship's rolls in a certain form, and also a sea letter or passport, certified to by a French consul. It was no excuse if the vessel had observed every United States regulation, or that her papers were entirely correct according to them.

The French privateers accordingly treated as an enemy all American vessels not having the above papers, and seized all the cargo, whether belonging to neutrals or not.

They gave no notice or warning of what was required, and vessels were summarily taken and disposed of, whose officers were entirely ignorant of any of the new regulations.

It was said that Merlin, when Minister of Justice, received 4,000 louis from the owners of privateers for a ruling or direction in their favor, concerning the possession by vessels of the roll of the crew.

In a letter from Mr. Pinckney, of March 23d, 1797, to the Secretary of State of the United States, speaking of the seizure and condemnation of three American vessels for some want of compliance with the French regulations, he says:

"A French privateer of St. Malo has captured and sent into Isle de Bas an American brig from New York, bound to London, with a very valuable cargo of sugars. The pretense for capturing her has not yet been communicated to me; but, as the French seem determined to distress our commerce as much as they can, pretenses for condemnation are easily fabricated. I feel poignantly these continual violences offered to our trade and property, and that I am so situated that I cannot afford my countrymen the protection they ought to receive from our Government, nor show them that I even remonstrate against the power which oppresses them. To prevent hearing the firm representations which our American Minister would have found himself obliged to present on account of these rapacious depredations, is one reason, I presume, that the Directory will not permit any one in that capacity to reside in France."

On April 4th, 1797, the Secretary of State wrote to Mr. Pinckney as follows:

"The depredations of the French in the West Indies are continued with increased outrage, and we have advices of captures and condemnations in Europe which apply to no principle heretofore known and acknowledged in the civilized world. You say that a late emigrant, now at Paris, has assured the French Government that the United States are not of greater consequence, nor ought to be treated with more respect, than Geneva or Genoa. But, is it possible that the Directory can credit his opinion? And must we be obliged to think that such an idea of our weakness regulates the conduct of the French towards this country?"



"You know how ill-founded is the emigrant's opinion, and have the means of appreciating the motives that influence the Directory. You do not name the emigrant; we conjecture that *you mean Talleyrand*."

In March, 1798, Talleyrand, acting for the French Government, made a formal complaint to the American envoys who were first sent over to settle these differences, but who failed to come to any agreement. Among other things, he says:

"That, from the moment the English treaty was made, the United States seemed to feel itself freed from the necessity of keeping any measures with France, notwithstanding the assurances that had been given to its Ministers that the treaty would in no respect change the existing state of neutrality of the United States; yet, in 1796, notice was given to the French cruisers that they could no longer, as had then been practised, be permitted to sell their prizes within the ports of the United States."

In a report of the Secretary of State to Congress, in January, 1799, it was stated that these depredations then amounted to over \$20,000,000 in value, and besides that American citizens had been subjected to insults, stripes, wounds, torture and imprisonment.

Further, to add to these insults and outrages, France, by a decree of the Directory, declared that all American seamen, when making part of the crew of an enemy's ship, even if put on board it by force, should be deemed *pirates*, and treated as such.

In spite of these hostile declarations and subsequent acts of retaliation on the part of our Government, the French Government, although it had laid an embargo on our vessels in their ports, did not consider that there was war between the two countries. The French Government officials declared, "such is the repugnance of the French Government to consider the United States as enemies, that notwithstanding their hostile depredations, it means to wait until it be irresistibly forced to it by real hostilities."

#### RETALIATION BY THE UNITED STATES.

All these decrees and acts of the French Government, and the outrages committed by its citizens, demonstrated to our Government that decisive steps should be taken.

It was degrading to the country any longer to submit to such indignity. The time for sentimental sympathy with France was passed. By various acts of Congress, passed in 1798, provision was made for active resistance. The public vessels of the United States were directed to seize any armed vessels hovering on our coasts, or any which had committed depredations.

In June, 1798, an act was passed prohibiting our vessels from trading

with France, and also forfeiting French vessels or cargoes if found within the United States. An act was also passed, allowing merchant vessels to defend themselves and oppose searches, to repel assaults, and capture any armed French vessels.

By act of July 7, 1798, the treaties with France were declared annulled, with a preamble asserting that the "just claims of the United States, for the reparation of injuries, had been refused, and their attempts to negotiate an amicable adjustment of all complaints between the two nations, had been repelled with indignity."

France, on her part, claimed that according to principles of international law we had no right to cancel our obligations under the Treaty of Alliance of 1778, without her consent.

The hostile attitude of the two parties became daily more serious; but war was not declared, nor, in fact, did a state of war actually exist. If it had, no claim could have been made for compensation for the depredations in question.

The fact that a state of war did not exist, is abundantly proved by the statements of the two Governments and their diplomatic agents, both then and subsequently.

The two countries, however, heretofore so amicable, breathed against each other the spirit of fiercest hostility.

The United States were not passive. The celebrated alien and sedition laws were passed by Congress; and Washington, like another Cincinnatus, was taken from the plow, and confirmed as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all armies to be raised in the United States. Hamilton, Pinckney and Knox were appointed Major-Generals; and a large number of Brigadier-Generals were appointed from among the Revolutionary heroes.

Bills were passed appropriating moneys for cannon foundries, for supplying arms and military stores—a naval department was established, and appropriations made for building vessels of war, for harbor defense, and for enlisting troops and raising volunteers; and an act was passed prohibiting the exportation of arms.

All this was done under an active opposition in Congress, and the protests of the anti-Federalists and French sympathizers.

Our infant navy obtained its earliest prestige and some of its choicest laurels at this time in conflicts with the French men of war and privateers in the West India seas.

Bainbridge, Barry, Truxton, Decatur, Jones and Stewart vindicated the honor of their country and substantially put a stop to these French out-



rages. The French frigate "*L'Insurgente*" struck her colors to Truxton, in the *Constellation*, off St. Kitts, and "*La Vengeance*" was crippled and driven a wreck into Curaçoa, by Truxton, also in the *Constellation*. Our well-known frigates the *United States*, the *Boston*, and the *Constitution* also began their career of glory during these difficulties.

The effect of our threatening attitude, and active preparations for war, became apparent in the modified and mollifying tone of the communications from the French Government, through the astute Talleyrand; in which a desire to preserve peace, and to open negotiations for a settlement of all questions in difference, was manifest.

The Directory, now, had ceased to exist. Bonaparte was First Consul. His policy was to conciliate America, in furtherance of his desire to unite all other nations in a league against Great Britain.

#### THE CONVENTION OF 1801.

Finally, to avoid a war, that seemed imminent, it was agreed to settle all differences and claims, on either side, by a convention.

The negotiations for this convention were conducted at Paris.

On the proposition of the United States envoys, a clause was inserted in the articles of convention known as the article "Second." It provided that, as the plenipotentiaries of the two Governments were not then able to agree respecting the treaties of alliance and commerce of February 6, 1778, nor upon the indemnities mutually due or claimed, the consideration of these subjects should be postponed; and until further considerations an agreement that the said *treaties of 1778 should have no operation*.

The Senate of the United States ratified the terms of the convention *with the exception* of the said second article, which was to be expunged, and with the addition that the convention should be in force for eight years.

The convention was then ratified by the President of the United States on the 18th February, 1801, and by Bonaparte, First Consul, for the French Republic, on the 31st of July of that year. The following important clause, however, was added by Bonaparte, as a part and condition of his ratification.

This clause is important as laying the foundation for the present claim as against the United States Government. It is as follows:

"The Gov<sup>t</sup> of the U. S. having added to its ratification that the convention should be in force for the space of 8 years, and *having omitted the 2d article* the Gov<sup>t</sup> of the French Repub<sup>c</sup> consents to accept, ratify and confirm the above convention with the addition importing that the convention shall be in force for the space of 8 years, and with the *retrench-*

*ment of the 2<sup>d</sup> article: provided, that by this retrenchment, the two States renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of the said article."*

The mutual ratifications of the convention were thereupon exchanged on the basis of the French proviso, on the said 31st July, 1801, at Paris. The United States Senate subsequently ratified the convention as above concluded, and the President promulgated it as a ratified and binding contract on the 19th of December, 1801.

It will be seen, therefore, that the purport and effect of this convention of 1801 was, that the mutual claims by the two governments against each other were to be deemed balanced.

That this was the interpretation and effect of the convention and the suppression of the 2d article, and the *proviso* inserted in behalf of France, is abundantly testified by the leading statesmen of that time and thereafter.

In a letter of instructions from Mr. Madison (then Secretary of State, under President Jefferson) to Mr. Pinckney, our Minister to Spain, of February 6, 1804, the secretary states:

"The claims from which France was released were admitted by France, and the release was for a *valuable consideration* in a correspondent release of the United States from certain claims on them."

In a letter from Timothy Pickering, who was Secretary of State between the years 1795 and 1800, to the late James H. Cansten, he writes:

"Thus the Government of the U. States *bartered* the just claims of our merchants on France to obtain a relinquishment of the French claim for a restoration of the old treaties, especially the burdensome treaty of alliance by which we were bound to guaranty the French Territories in America."

The ex-Emperor Napoleon, among his statements at St. Helena, said:

"The suppression of the 2d article of the convention of 1800 at once put an end to the privileges which France had possessed by the treaty of 1778, and annulled the just claims which America might have made for injuries done in time of peace."

In February, 1807, a report was made to the House of Representatives, in which are these words:

"From a mature consideration of the subject, and from the best judgment your committee have been able to form on the case, they are of opinion that this Government, by the second article of our convention with France, of the 30th Sep., 1800, became bound to indemnify the memorialists for their just claims which they otherwise would rightfully have had on the Government of France, for the spoliations committed on their commerce by the illegal captures by the cruisers of France, and other armed vessels of that power, in violation of the law of nations, and in breach of treaties then existing between the two nations; which claims they were, by the rejection of the said article of the convention, forever barred from referring to the Govt. of France for compensation."



The effect of this convention therefore was that the mutual claims of France and America against each other were compromised and settled in this way, *viz.*: That the claims by France against the United States Government by reason of the violation on the part of the United States of the terms of its treaties with France of 1778, were to be liquidated and balanced by the claims due citizens of the United States upon France.

The gain to this country was great, by this barter or compromise of these mutual claims. The United States gained relief from her onerous obligations to France of a defensive alliance against Great Britain, and the guaranty of her possessions in this hemisphere, and from all claim for indemnification for liabilities incurred by other treaty violations.

It also paid her for the timely aid she gave us in the Revolutionary War—for her blood and treasure expended for us, without which we would probably not have now waving above us the Stars and Stripes that indicate us a nation.

As a matter of right the United States Government could not avail itself of these claims without a return compensation; for it is a provision of Constitutional as well as of moral law, that private property cannot be taken for a public purpose without due compensation. Now, that property, to wit, these claims, was taken 85 years ago, and the compensation has never been made.

#### THE CLAIMS.

Now a few words as to the claims of our people for these spoliations.

Our Government has, at various times, put its estimate upon the amount due under these claims. It has estimated them at from fifteen to twenty millions of dollars.

At the first session of the 7th Congress in 1802 memorials were put in from about 270 claimants, residing in towns from Portland in Maine to Norfolk in Virginia. All these were destroyed by fire when the British army burned the Capitol, in 1814.

From the 7th Congress to the 35th about 4,500 more memorials were presented.

There has been no *laches* on the part of the claimants. Those interested in various ways, in vessel and cargo, amounted a few years ago, according to lists filed, to upward of six thousand.

The claims, as is sometimes alleged, are not held by purchasers and speculators, but they are still owned, as heirlooms, by the descendants and legal representatives of the enterprising merchants and mariners who sought to develop our infant commerce and fearlessly plowed the seas.

The names of some few of the claimants are given from the list of memorialists.

We find from Salem the names of Cabot, Chase, Derby, Crowninshield, Goodhue, and Coffin. From Portsmouth and Newburyport, the names of Cutts, Coffin, Coolidge, Chase, Lunt, and Peabody. From Charleston, De Pau, De Sassure, Hamilton, Hargraves, and Morris. From New York we find Hoffman, Seton, Rhineland, Gracie, Hoyt, Roosevelt, Aspinwall, Bowne, Bleecker, Minturn, Classon, Cruger, Howland, Champlin, De Peyster, Goelet, Gibbs, Kemble, Lawrence, Livingston, Laight, Murray, Van Horn, Verplank, Gouverneur, and McEvers. We find Brooks, Gray, Hancock, Goddard, and Thorndike from Boston, and Beverly and other old names from Virginia. From Connecticut we find Griswold, Goodrich, and Fitch. From Philadelphia, Biddle, Coxe, Fisher, McAlister, Stewart, and Girard. From Baltimore, Barney, Hoffman, Oliver, Rogers, and Stewart. And along the coast from every port from Maine to Alabama are found names of familiar and historic sound comprised among these claimants.

A single merchant from Gloucester, Massachusetts, is among the claimants as a loser of 23 vessels and their cargoes.

For the last eighty years the subject has been presented to Congress in many shapes, and over forty-two reports have been made by committees of Congress in favor of the validity and justice of the claims. Some of the committees reported also bills to be acted upon by Congress appropriating \$5,000,000 for the payment of the claims. Inasmuch, however, as the losses amount to between fifteen and twenty millions there is no good reason why \$5,000,000 should be forced upon the claimants.

It looks as if Congress took advantage of its absolute powers to make a forced compromise with creditors who were to be treated like beggars. There is no reason why the receivers of stolen goods should be entitled to keep three-fourths, and hand over the balance to the victim in full condonation.

Reports to Congress have been made in favor of these claims by our most learned jurists and statesmen. Among them are one by Henry Clay, three by Edward Everett, three by Edward Livingston, one by Daniel Webster, three by Caleb Cushing, three by Rufus Choate, four by Truman Smith, and three by Charles Sumner, the last of his reports being made in ——— 1874. The Legislatures of the thirteen original States have also at various times passed resolutions urging the passage of a bill in favor of the claimants.

Senator Sumner says in his report :



"The appeal of these claimant creditors is enhanced beyond the pecuniary interests involved when we consider the nature of their assumption by the Government, and especially that in this way our country obtained a final release from embarrassing stipulations with France, contracted in the war for national independence, and is the only part remaining unpaid."

Very lately, in May, 1882, Mr. Frye, from the Committee on Claims of the Senate, made an elaborate report in favor of a bill for the payment of these claims, and expressed an opinion that the gravity of the case, and justice both to the claimants and the Government, demanded an immediate and final settlement of the vexed questions involved.

A bill for the relief of these claims passed the Senate in 1883, but was not taken up in the House.

It has been introduced into both Houses of Congress during the present session of 1884.

But this being a political or presidential session, the chance for its passage is not great.

#### THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION.

Now, is it to be considered that this great Government intended to make compensation to these claimants and has merely delayed it, or that it intended to shirk its obligations under the treaty of alliance with France, and absolve itself from all reclamation, by a trick played upon its own citizens, creeping out, at the same time, of the national obligation every government owes to its citizens to enforce their lawful rights?

In either aspect the position of this Government is contemptible; for a delay of eighty years in doing justice is tantamount to a denial of it; and the delay to make compensation is a virtual repudiation of the debt, no matter what was the original design.

The United States stands now in the position of the Receiver of Stolen Goods, which goods it has used to pay its national obligations.

Since 1800 we have compelled the payment of the claims of our citizens against many nations, as matters of national duty and national right. Many millions from England, \$5,000,000 from France in 1831, \$2,000,000 from Naples, and large amounts from Mexico, from Denmark, and Spain; and latterly again from England in the "Alabama" claims. And yet, we who persistently make others pay their debts do not feel obliged to pay our own.

The moral logic of all this is not clear; the practical result, however, is national spoliation and repudiation.

There may be possibly a partially philosophic basis for this virtual re-

pudiation. The sense of moral obligation, like the sense of danger, becomes weakened when the obligation or the danger is shared by many.

What is the duty of all appears, at times, the duty of none; and the claims of conscience seem less urgent when the responsibility is divided and the conscientiousness diffused.

Charles Sumner, in closing his report to the Senate made in January, 1870, says:

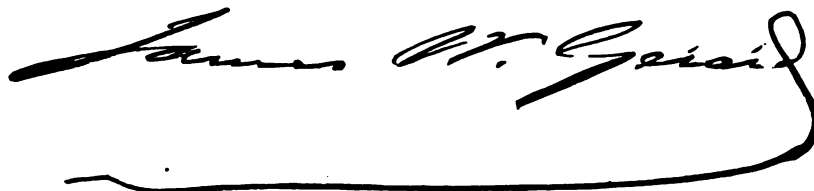
"But how can these claimants forbear to exclaim at the sacrifice that has been required of them, that they alone, the pioneers of our commercial flag, are compelled 'in suing long to bide,' while a part of the debt of national independence is cast upon their shoulders, and the whole country enjoys priceless benefits at their expense! Well may these disappointed suitors, hurt by unfeeling indifference to their extensive losses and worn with infinite delay, cry out in bitterness of heart, 'Give us back our vessels!' But this cannot be done. It only remains that Congress should pay for them."

These claims are not held by speculators. The great Speculator, as Senator Sumner remarks, has been "*Death*"!

Time and Death have been active agents for the Government, which never dies; while owners and heirs have been crazed and beggared, and driven underground.

Time and Death have been active in destroying proofs of loss and in removing the unfortunate owners and their families.

I conclude this slight sketch with the remark that the facts connected with these claims should be spread broadcast throughout the land; and I assert that the honor, the dignity, the reputation of this Great Republic demand that these claims should be paid, and *at once*.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James M. Geisler". The signature is written in dark ink and is followed by a long, horizontal, slightly wavy line that extends to the right.

## ROUSSEAU IN PHILADELPHIA

"Your Declaration of Independence," said M. Drouyn de Lhuys to me one evening, "is not the work of Jefferson and Franklin, but of Rousseau and his school. All this talk about equality, popular rights, the laws of nature, is not American. It is French." This dictum, thus bluntly uttered, voices an opinion somewhat prevalent not only in France, but in England and America. Mr. James Russell Lowell, in one of his essays,\* calls Rousseau "the father . . . in politics of Jefferson and Thomas Paine." Mr. John Morley, in his monograph on the philosopher of the Hermitage, does not hesitate to say that "it was from Rousseau's writings that the Americans took the ideas and phrases of their great charter." Sir Henry Maine, in his masterly work on "Ancient Law" seems inclined to a similar view. "The American lawyers of the time," says he, "and especially those of Virginia, appear to have possessed a stock of knowledge which differed chiefly from that of their English contemporaries in including much which could only have been derived from the legal literature of continental Europe. A very few glances at the writing of Jefferson will show how strongly his mind was affected by the semi-juridic, semi-popular opinions which were fashionable in France."

These views of Lowell, of Morley, and of Maine, we hold, are not borne out by historic facts. An exhaustive study of the political literature of the Colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century discovers that French political philosophy was not strikingly influential, while, on the other hand, English political philosophy marks every other page.

It will be the object of this paper to present some of the facts tending to show that the doctrines of the Declaration of 1776, such as equality, popular rights, no taxation without representation, and the duty of revolution, were of Anglican and not of Gallican origin.

No two sections could well have been more widely different in institutions and laws, more thoroughly hostile in interests and politics, than were France and the British Colonies in the middle of the last century. They could not understand one another, and would not. They were as distant in sympathy as they were in space. The Anglo-Saxons in the North and the

\* Lowell: *Among My Books*, I. p. 353. Morley: *Rousseau*. I. Introduction. Maine: *Ancient Law* (Am. Ed.), p. 91.


South looked with distrust or hatred upon the French for their conduct in the then recent Franco-Indian war, and regarded them as the hereditary foes of the mother country; while the Huguenots, the Dutch, the Swedes, the Germans, scattered throughout the colonies, were ever mindful of the past policy of France toward their fathers and toward them.

The educated Americans of the period, the Franklins, Jeffersons, Dickinsons, cold and phlegmatic in temperament, like most sons of the North, simple and practical like most pioneers, were mainly bent on the material pursuits of daily life and little given to philosophic speculation. Born or raised in an Anglican environment which was republican in all but in name, they had the Anglican love of precedent and the Anglican horror of hasty innovation. "Before the Revolution," wrote Jefferson, "we were all good English Whigs."

The cultured citizens of Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux, versatile and brilliant like most of the Latin race, the subjects of a highly civilized and corrupt monarchy, contrasted the reported liberties of Greece and Rome with the arbitrary system under which they lived, and speculated boldly as to the means of returning to an assumed political state of pristine perfection. The Americans of education read the Bible, Milton, Sidney, the Treatise of Locke, the Tracts of Somers, for their political guidance. The French grew rapturous over Rousseau, Diderot, Raynal, Helvetius, D'Alembert. The American statesmen modified their laws gradually, and only then when there was great necessity. The French philosophers would have rashly overturned the existing order of things and placed society on a new basis.

When the speculative gentlemen who were wont to meet and discuss in the salons of Madame d'Houdetot or Madame d'Epinay framed their ideal constitutions for ideal states, they turned to the laws of Solon and Lycurgus. When the farmers and gentlemen who were assembled in Philadelphia drew up a Declaration, they went back to British precedent, to the Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, and read the counsels of experienced politicians. The man who drafted the great State paper of 1776, and the men who put to it their signatures, never considered their Declaration as anything but a statement of generally known axioms and a justification of past conduct.

The signers were matter-of-fact men, who did their work without flourish or parade. The Declaration conveyed neither to them nor apparently to their constituents doctrines that were either new or startling. Richard Henry Lee said so at the time, and John Adams said so years later. Had the paper been stamped with French ideas we should certainly have heard of it. As it was, the Declaration of Independence was



criticised by some as inopportune and inexpedient ; by no contemporary, however, was it denounced as a strange or dangerous importation.

We shall now proceed to indicate by extracts from certain works then popular in the colonies how clearly the doctrines, often the very phrases of the Declaration can be traced back to Anglican sources.

Literature of a theologico-political kind was much read in America during the eighteenth century, and this literature promulgated such sentiments as these :

"All men," said Samuel Sewell, in 1700, "as they are the sons of Adam are co-heirs, and have equal right unto liberty, and all other comforts of life."

"Nature having set all men upon a level and made them equals," said John Wise in 1717, "no servitude or subjection can be conceived without inequality, and this cannot be made without usurpation in others, or voluntary compliance in those who resign their freedom and give away their degree of natural being."

"The end of all good government," he says again, "is to cultivate humanity and promote the happiness of all, and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor and so forth."

The works of Wise, originally published in 1710 and 1717, were, at the patriots' request, reprinted in 1777, on the eve of the contest for constitutional liberty.

In the collections of the Massachusetts and New York Historical Societies there are scores of sermons and theological tracts which contain doctrines similar to those expounded by these divines. These men were among the heralds of the Declaration, and these heralds caught their inspiration from the Bible. Rousseau had learned his republicanism at Geneva—Sewell and Wise had, in a large measure, also learned it there—but the Americans preached and practiced it in the townships of New England years before Rousseau set pen to paper. The books of the Old and New Testaments were arsenals from which the American advocates of abstract rights drew some of their strongest weapons, and in doing this they but followed the example of the Puritans of the Commonwealth and the Englishmen of the Revolution.

Next in importance and influence to the theological tract in those times was the political pamphlet. Let us turn the pages of some of the most celebrated of these pamphlets and see whether they derived their political doctrines from France or from England. The "Defence of the New England Charters" by Jeremiah Dummer, was one of the most noteworthy literary productions of the American Colonies. The author, born in Boston and educated abroad, was an admirer of Bolingbroke.

There is in that pamphlet absolutely nothing which cannot be proved to rest on British precedent.

"The Rights of British America Asserted," a pamphlet by the impetuous James Otis, of Massachusetts, published in 1766, is more general than the pamphlet by Dummer. It touches the questions of original compact, compact between sovereign and people, and kindred topics, but it refers those "who want a full answer" to these questions to "Mr. Locke's discourse on Government, M. de Vattel's law of nature and nations and their own consciences." He holds that the theory of the British Constitution "comes nearest the idea of perfection of any that has been reduced to practice." He hopes for British ascendancy in European politics. He quotes "the great, the incomparable Harrington." He alludes once, also, to the "celebrated Rousseau," but only incidentally. He quotes him, not to state a principle but to confute Grotius. He alludes to Locke, however, and cites Locke again and again, as one would cite a master. The gist of the American's argument can be found in few words. "The colonists, being men," says Otis, "have a right to be considered as equally entitled to all the rights of nature with the Europeans."

Dummer based his arguments for the charters on precedents; Otis defended America with citations from Locke. Jefferson in his pamphlet, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," issued in 1774, was not a whit more Gallican than his predecessors. He spoke with pride of his "Saxon ancestors." He pleaded for law, natural justice and equality with a moderation equaled only by Locke. His foot-notes were dotted with British precedents. He was firm and bold even when addressing his sovereign. "Let those flatter who fear. It is not an American art." Thus, two years before the Declaration, in 1774, Jefferson, the pamphleteer, did not give the faintest indication of being the advocate of any doctrines, did not show himself the imitator of any phrase or expression that could not have been culled from Harrington or Sidney, Somers or Locke.

A man, especially a young man, who admires an author, quotes that author or imitates his manner or propagates his doctrine. Jefferson did not quote Rousseau, nor allude to him, nor disseminate his views more than those views were Locke's. He was, in 1776, an Englishman of the opposition, as Anglican, at bottom, as was John Adams. "The first time that you and I differed on any material question," the Massachusetts man wrote, in 1813, to the Virginian, "was after your arrival from Europe; and that point was the French Revolution;" and in his reply to this letter the Virginian acknowledged as much. "I have never read reasoning more absurd, sophistry more gross," continued Adams . . . "than the subtle



labor of Helvetius and Rousseau to demonstrate the natural equality of mankind." "I agree with you," replied Jefferson, "that there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents." He did not as much as defend the Rousseau of whom, in the year of the Declaration, he is alleged to have been the disciple.

The "Common Sense" of Thomas Paine, published in 1776, was the most popular pamphlet of the day. Did it contain the phrases and doctrines of Rousseau? Did it contain a single allusion to a school which, influential in Europe, has by some been assumed to have been equally influential in America? Let us see.

Paine was an English Radical who had chosen to settle in the Colonies, and who soon perceived that the traditions of Anglican liberty could there be more widely interpreted than in the mother country.

He saw about him a simple, agricultural community, with few social, and less political, distinctions. This community was slightly dependent on the parent state. Paine boldly pronounced for independence and a broader liberty. He backed his arguments in this cause, not with the opinions of the French philosophic school, but with those of the English. He quoted but one continental writer, Dragonetti, while he quoted several that were household words to his American readers—the Bible, Milton and Hume. The principle of equal representation he seems to have taken from Burgh, and Thomson, the poet of Liberty, who, according to Paine, "thirty years before Rousseau, had expressed all Rousseau's sentiments, almost in the same style," furnished him with the epigraph which he placed on his title-page:

"Man knows no master save creating Heaven,  
Or those whom chance and common good ordain."

It is indeed somewhat surprising that the political literature of the Colonies did not glow with the words of Rousseau. He was famous. His "Discourse on Inequality" and his "Social Compact" were adapted to revolutionary times. His style was impassioned and apt to move the masses. He was, in a word, eminently a quotable author. Yet the fact remains, as far as we have been able to see, that none of the prominent advocates of American rights strengthened their argument with any of those striking passages which they might have taken verbally from the gloomy philosopher who was even then causing kings to tremble on their thrones.

There is in the "Common Sense" of Paine, published in 1776, none of the French political philosophy so noticeable in his "Rights of Man" issued in 1791. The Paine of the early days of the American Revolution was, in

fact, as little the Paine of the French Revolution as Jefferson, the author of the Declaration, was the Jefferson who from 1785 to 1789 represented the United States at the Paris Legation. Both these men grew more radical and became more susceptible to foreign influence as they advanced in years. There is no evidence in the works of either of them that in 1776 they were anything but liberal English Whigs who construed English political principles in as broad a manner as possible, who adjusted what Adams called the "revolution principles" to the new conditions under which they lived.

The tracts of Sewell and Wise, and the pamphlets of Dummer, of Otis, of Jefferson and of Paine—productions typical of that time—we have seen, do not bear the impress of French influence, while, on the contrary, they clearly point to English influence by their reproductions of the English Bible or their quotations from British publicists.

An examination of the periodical writings of Franklin, Adams and Dickinson will, perhaps, discover traces of Gallican origin.

Dr. Franklin, though more especially a scientist, early in his career threw himself into the politics of his country. Before the eventful year of 1776 we find him writing witty apologues, issuing almanacs, contributing to popular periodicals. The education of youth interested him. In a list of books which he drew up for academic use we come upon the writings of Addison and of Tillotson, Cato's Letters, the works of Algernon Sidney. Franklin, up to the very outbreak of the Revolution, was a Briton of the Britons.

A perusal of his essay "On Government" and his essay "On Freedom of Speech and the Press," contributed to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* about 1736, amply proves this. He spoke of liberty, of "natural rights," of Sidney, "the sworn foe of tyranny," "a gentleman of noble family, of sublime understanding and exalted courage," "of that invaluable legacy his immortal discourses on government." Franklin was a man of wide reading, and it is natural to suppose that he was later acquainted with the works of Rousseau and his school, but there is no positive evidence that, prior to the Declaration, he had come under their sway. He alluded to Rousseau but once in his works, and then it was on a point of music and not a question of politics. The mind of Franklin was a practical not a speculative one. He would have agreed with Macaulay, "An acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia."

The writings of John Adams, prior to the charter of 1776, like those of Franklin, bear witness to broad scholarship, wide interest, and admiration for English men and English ways.

In his *Essay on Canon and Feudal Law*, sent forth in 1765, amid many other authors he once referred to Rousseau, the opponent of feudalism,



but his frequent references to Sidney and Locke, when discussing great principles, give some clue to the bent of his mind and indicate that the works of Englishmen, and not those of the Frenchmen, were his political guides. In a series of articles contributed to the *Boston Gazette*, in 1774, and signed Novanglus, Adams, by his arguments and his quotations, showed himself a good Whig of the old school. "Surely Grotius, Pufendorf (sic.), Barbeyrac, Locke, Sidney and Leclerc are writers of sufficient weight to put in the scale against the mercenary scribblers in New York and Boston." Why did John Adams mention neither Raynal nor Rousseau?

John Dickinson was a scholar. He had made a special study of history and political science. Montesquieu and Beccaria, the Scriptures and the Classics, Cato's Letters and Blackstone's Commentaries, Grotius and Machiavelli, Coke, Locke, and Hume were ever at his pen's end. But a careful collation of his various works has convinced me that British and classic authors are of most frequent and most striking occurrence in his notes. The English Bible and English history are his best-thumbed volumes. His sentences often sound as though they were taken entirely from the Scriptures, from Roundhead pamphlets, or from tracts like those of Sewell and Wise. Dickinson was, perhaps, the staunchest advocate of the abstract rights of the Colonists, and yet he went for his radicalism and his doctrines, not to Paris, but to Geneva; not to Rousseau, but the Bible; not to the popular writers of France, but to the classic authors of Greece and Rome. "To talk of your charters, gentlemen," he wrote in 1766, "is but weakening the cause by relying on false aids.

"Kings or parliaments could not give the rights essential to happiness, as you confess those invaded by the Stamp Act to be.

"We claim them from a higher source, from the King of kings and the Lord of all the earth. They are not annexed to us by parchments and seals. They are created in us by the decrees of Providence which establish the laws of our nature."

Such outspoken words, and more, were repeated by Dickinson in his famous *Farmer's Letters*, published in 1767 at Philadelphia, and in a translated form republished at Paris. He quoted French authorities when it suited his purpose, just as he quoted Dutch or English authorities, neither more nor less, as might be expected from a man of general culture. The French author whom he cited most frequently was Montesquieu, a writer who, even according to the historians of his own country, was imbued with Anglican ideas, and held up to admiration the Anglican system of government. It was probably for that very reason that the philosopher of the

*Spirit of the Laws* was congenial to the Americans of the eighteenth century. Nor did Dickinson neglect the writers of classic antiquity. Like most of the educated gentlemen of England and the Colonies, he was well versed in his Plutarch, his Cicero, and his Tacitus, and he culled from them as bold thoughts as did Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, or Diderot.

In an essay published in 1774, Dickinson thus placed his arguments on the basis of abstract right, and quoted the lines from the *Antigone* of Sophocles:

"I could never think  
A mortal's law of power or strength sufficient  
To abrogate the unwritten law divine,  
Immutable, eternal, not like these  
Of yesterday, but made ere time began."

The writings of Dickinson, then, cannot be said to be inspired by French prophets. They broach old English arguments in a new dress. If the internal evidence of this did not strike the reader as sufficiently strong, let him read the words of Diderot, written when he saw the French translation of the *Farmer's Letters*. They are the words of a man who welcomes an original revelation. If the *Farmer's Letters* had been French in tone, we may be sure a Parisian would have been the first to discover and glory in the fact.

"I was a little surprised to see a translation of these letters appear here. I know of no work more apt to instruct the nations in their inalienable rights, and to inspire them with an ardent love of liberty." After quoting a few stirring sentences from the last "Letter," he continues: "They allow us to read such things, and then they are astonished to find us at the end of ten years such changed men. Do they not feel with what facility generous souls drink in these sentiments and intoxicate themselves with them? Ah, my friend, happily tyrants are more stupid than they are wicked."

We have now glanced over the pages of tracts, pamphlets, and periodical writings dating from 1700 to 1776.

Had the influence of the French philosopher been as great as some would have us believe, quotations from and direct allusions to Rousseau should have been more frequent in the literature of the Colonies; as it is, the author most quoted will be found to have been John Locke.

If we examine the diaries and private correspondence of Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Lee, Jay, we find just as little reference to the reading of French political writers as in their printed works we have found traces of the influence of these writers. College-bred Americans almost invariably alluded to French scientists, not to French politicians, when mentioning



the French at all in their letters, while the mass of the Colonists knew as little about the then fashionable political axioms of Paris as a backwoodsman of Kentucky to-day knows of the social theories of Saint Simon, or the poetry of Charles Baudelaire.

The works, diaries, and correspondence of the fathers of the American Revolution attest as clearly, by their silence, that Rousseau and his coterie had no influence in America, as, on the other hand, the correspondence, memoirs and works of the fathers of the French Revolution, by their quotations and eulogies, prove the power which Rousseau and his disciples wielded over public opinion in France. The Colonists went for most of their great political lessons to men of their own race, or to men who as disciples had spread these lessons of their fellow-citizens broadcast. There was probably not an American who would not, under the circumstances, have made the bequest and uttered the words which Josiah Quincy, in February, 1774, put into his last will and testament, "I give to my son, when he shall arrive at the age of fifteen years, Algernon Sidney's Works, John Locke's Works, Lord Bacon's Works, Gordon's Tacitus, and Cato's Letters. May the Spirit of Liberty rest upon him!"

These, and not the works of Rousseau, left their imprint on the ante-revolutionary literature of the Colonies; these were cited, alluded to, commented upon and eulogized. In that list none were more popular with the Signers than the treatises of Sidney and Locke.

"God leaves to man," wrote Sidney, "the choice of forms in government, and those who constitute one form may abrogate it." "No man comes to command many, unless by consent or by force." "Liberty produceth virtue, order, and stability; slavery is accompanied with vice, weakness, and misery. All just ministerial power is from the people." "Government is not instituted for the good of the governor, but of the governed." Locke, whose "little book on government," according to Jefferson, "is perfect, as far as it goes," advocated the following doctrines: Men were naturally in a state of perfect freedom. They were in a state also of equality. The cohesion of society is based on a compact between king and people. If the king violates this compact, the people are absolved from their allegiance. The king was chosen, not for his own good, but for the good of the people. Legislation contrary to the people's interests is void, and no change is inadmissible which is in accordance with those interests. The imposition of taxes without the consent of the governed is robbery. Sovereignty emanates from the people, and when bestowed by the people can by them be recalled at will.

After reading such dicta, and remembering how these dicta had been

popularized among the Colonists, we can understand why Jefferson wrote, and why the Signers found nothing strange in, the preamble of the Declaration.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government." It is surely more reasonable to conclude from all this, other things being equal, there being no positive proof to the contrary, that the signers of the Declaration, educated as they had been amid Anglican traditions, and interpreting those traditions in a liberal manner, were influenced by Englishmen rather than by a Frenchman who had adopted the germinal ideas of these Englishmen and embroidered them with his imagination. The Americans had no need to go to the literature of France for phrases and doctrines on popular sovereignty, equality before the law, the right and duty of revolution, when they found these phrases and doctrines just as suitable to their purpose in the literature of England. There is no positive proof that Rousseau influenced the Signers on any of these points. There is proof, positive and circumstantial, that the ideas, often the very words, of Sidney and of Locke, disseminated by preachers, pamphleteers, and publicists, exerted a preponderating influence on the Colonists. The philosopher regnant in Independence Hall was not Rousseau but Locke. The Declaration of Independence is not Gallican; it is Anglican.

*Lewis Rosenthal*



## WASHINGTON IN 1861

### THE PROPHECY CONCERNING THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN

Those who remember the general occurrences of May, 1861, will remember that the first advance into Virginia from Washington was made on the night of May 24th, and resulted in the Federal occupation of the city of Alexandria. Within a few days thereafter all the Virginia portion of the District of Columbia was firmly occupied by the troops of the Government under the command of Brigadier-General McDowell.

Then commenced, in a portion of the newspaper press in the North, an ignorant, unreasoning cry: "On to Richmond! On to Richmond!! On to Richmond!!!"

Such warlike cries, which have in them the ring of true patriotism and self-sacrifice when uttered by men in the front line of an army in the presence of the enemy, may be, and usually are, when shouted by men a few hundred miles in rear of the danger-line, mere clap-trap and demagoguism at best; and they are apt to cause mischief and disorder, if not disaster, by forcing the hand of responsible authority.

Such was the effect in 1861. These fierce cries came not from the soldiers who had taken their lives in their hands and voluntarily rushed to the front to guard and maintain the Government of their country. They came not from the officers who, with a full sense of the heavy responsibility which had fallen upon them, were striving day and night to organize and make efficient for the service of the country that mass of splendid material for an army which had voluntarily rushed to arms from every branch of society in the North, from every station, from every industry, from every profession, and were then arriving by tens of thousands to do battle for the land. These cries came from none of these. They came from men who, in safe positions and at a safe distance, made themselves active in urging *others* to go forward into danger, to shed their blood, widow their wives and orphan their children, but who placed so high an estimate on *their* own personal value and the importance of *their* own private affairs that they never deemed it *their* part to go vulgarly forth to stay the course of bullets, or make of their precious bodies a bulwark for the Government.

Not content with staying at home, and there reaping honor at the hands of their fellow-citizens for their loud, patriotic cries, they desired also to

direct in detail the course of the Government; and having urged their warm-blooded neighbors to volunteer to fight for them, tried also to force the Government to send these, their neighbors, immediately into battle, whether prepared for it or not.

The "On to Richmond" party had its powerful supporters in the capital of the country, in the Senate, and even in the President's cabinet. While it was well understood there that the President and Mr. Seward were disposed to act coolly and in conformity with the ideas of the responsible military chiefs in reference to military movements, it was also understood that Mr. Chase was a strong advocate for "immediate advance."

Lieutenant-General Scott, the general-in-chief of the army, while desiring prompt and vigorous action as soon as the proper means of procuring success could be organized, was earnestly opposed to a forward movement until such time as the national forces should be so reasonably organized as to make success at the least probable. Notwithstanding my appointment to the colonelcy of a new regiment (the 14th U. S. Infantry) I was still retained by General Scott as his inspector-general for the District and commander of the District of Columbia troops, and was acting directly under his orders.

At about 8 o'clock at evening on one of the last days of May (I think it was the 31st of May) I entered, as usual, the quarters of the aged general-in-chief to make my report for the day and to receive my orders for the night. As I entered, the general was seated at the head of his dinner table (which had been cleared), while the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase, occupied a seat opposite him, at the foot of the table. Habitually, the general-in-chief, on my entrance in the evening, courteously invited me to be seated; but now he seemed to have been engaged in earnest conversation, and as I advanced he said, quickly:

"Colonel Stone, how many men do you want to march on Richmond *by the way of Manassas?*"

I perceived that the general desired an instant reply; and said, promptly: "Forty thousand, general;" and then quickly added: "with fifteen thousand in reserve."

"Well, sir, suppose I give you that force, how soon could you move?"

"That, general, would depend upon the Quartermaster's and Subsistence Departments. I could move as soon as they could give me rations and transportation."

"Well, sir! suppose you had them. How fast would you advance?"

"Having all prepared, general, the advance guard of my force might be on the Rappahannock in three days, and——"



"Rappahannock! Rappahannock! what is that?"

"The Rappahannock River, general!"

"Oh! there is a *river* there, is there? The Rappahannock River, eh? I wish that everybody knew that! Well, sir! what then?"

"Should the bridge be burned——"

"Eh! there is a bridge over that river, and that bridge might be burned! I wish everybody knew *that*, too. Well, sir! if the bridges are burned?"

"Why, then, general, I would probably lose two or three days in forcing the passage of the fords. Then——" And so I continued to describe the advance.

The general interrupted me with: "Why, Colonel Stone, you are taking forty or fifty days to get to Richmond!"

"General, I think that I would be fortunate to arrive there in that time in the face of an active enemy fully acquainted with the country."

The old general said, as if thinking aloud, "I wish I could see General Totten. I wish I could see the Chief of Engineers."

I immediately left headquarters to find General Totten, the Chief of Engineers of the army. It was a rainy night, and to spare the aged general a damp walk, I took a carriage and drove to his house. Admitted immediately, I found the venerable General Totten and his gracious wife seated before the fireplace, in which a small fire had been kindled to keep away the dampness. Both welcomed me kindly and invited me to a seat between them; but I excused myself, and, apologizing for disturbing them on so damp an evening, said: "General, the general-in-chief desires to see you at his headquarters, and I have brought a carriage in order that you may respond to his desire with as little inconvenience as possible."

In one minute the careful wife of his youth had thrown a cloak over the old general's shoulders, and a few minutes later I ushered him into the presence of the general-in-chief.

There had been arrivals since my recent departure. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State; Mr. Cameron, Secretary of War, and General Thomas, Adjutant-General of the army, were there. All rose as General Totten entered, and a chair was placed for him at the table, between General Scott and Mr. Secretary Chase. Mr. Cameron seated himself between General Scott and General Totten, while Mr. Seward stretched his length upon a lounge near by.

After a few words of compliment had passed, General Scott said:

"General Totten, I regret to have disturbed you on so disagreeable an evening, but I greatly desired your opinion on a military matter which is

under consideration. How many troops would you consider it necessary to have to make a movement hence on Richmond, *by the way of Manassas?*"

General Totten, as he sat there, with his hands clasped on the table before him and his white head bending over his hands, in serious thought, looked the type of the scientific veteran general. He replied, carefully and deliberately: "General, I do not think it would be wise to undertake such an operation without a force of at least fifty thousand men."

General Scott—"Supposing such a force placed at your disposal, general, how soon could you make the advance?"

General Totten—"I suppose that the Ordnance Department would probably have supplies sufficient for such a force, and the Engineer Department would be ready quickly; the great question of time would depend upon the procurement of transportation and of subsistence stores, etc., etc."

Then came a series of questions and answers concerning the details of advance, almost identical with the questions which had been propounded to me, and to my great relief, General Totten's answers were singularly like those I had already given to similar questions.

The general-in-chief was greatly pleased. He turned to the cabinet ministers present and said: "Really, gentlemen, here is a most extraordinary unanimity of opinion. I address a certain set of questions to a young colonel, the youngest colonel, perhaps, in the army, in whom one might expect to find a youthful enthusiasm and a too sanguine view of matters, and I receive a certain set of answers. I address the same set of questions to the oldest and most distinguished of our scientific general officers, rich in the experience of two wars, and from him I receive almost identically the same set of answers! How can we explain such unanimity of opinion? Gentlemen, the only way I can explain it to myself is, *that it must be of their trade* that they have been speaking, and they speak from its principles!" Then, growing more serious, the aged general-in-chief said, impressively: "Gentlemen, this matter has now, unfortunately, gone beyond politics, and has become a military question. Most unfortunately it is so, most unfortunately! and now, soldiers must settle it. Such being the case, since, unfortunately, soldiers must settle it, you must allow the soldiers to do what they know they ought to do; and you must be careful not to force them to do what they know they ought not to do.

"There have now arrived and are in service seventy-five thousand three-months men. There are rapidly coming in three hundred thousand two-years and three-years men. What the soldiers know ought to be done is





this: The three-months men should be used to guard the District of Columbia—the whole District of Columbia. The two-years and the three-years men as they arrive and as they shall arrive, should be placed in large camps of instruction at strategic points along the frontier; say 16,000 men at Fort Washington on the Potomac; an equal force at Annapolis, Maryland; another here in the Capital. Another say at Frederick, Maryland; another at Cumberland, Maryland; perhaps another at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; certainly one at Wheeling, Virginia, and one at Marietta, Ohio; also at Cincinnati, Ohio; Louisville, Kentucky; Cairo, Illinois, and other points on the frontier. There they should *drill* and *drill* and *drill* and discipline, guarding always the frontier. Meantime, our gallant little navy should do all that it can to keep up a blockade of the entire Southern coast.

“By the last days of September, or the first days of October, we can have the gunboats ready on the Ohio River. By the way, Mr. Secretary,” said he, turning quickly to Mr. Cameron, “have you ordered for me that naval constructor I asked you for, to go under my orders to the West?”

“No, general, not yet,” said Mr. Cameron; “but, general, I can furnish you with as many steamboats as you want on the Ohio River, within seven days by contract.”

General Scott said, a little impatiently, “Mr. Secretary, I do not want there even *one* old rotten contract steamboat. I want *gunboats*, built to draw just as many feet of water as I say, to carry just as many guns as I say, and of just such caliber as I say. Sir, there is plenty of material for such gunboats on those Western waters; there is plenty of mechanical skill there, and, sir, there is *plenty of time!*”

Mr. Cameron hastened to say to the chief: “General, you shall have everything you want.”

General Scott—“Thanks! Mr. Secretary. Everything I want is all that I want! Thanks! Well, then, I want the best practical naval constructor in the United States sent immediately to Louisville, Kentucky, to design and see constructed *gunboats*. These boats can easily be finished before the first frost. Our Southern friends, seeing the Government apparently content with guarding the frontier, may not believe they are to be attacked, and *may* relax in their preparations. In any case, *our* preparations being made, on sound principles, I would have, by the first day of October next, assembled at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, *an army of 150,000 men!* not 150,000 armed men! and I would have *here* another *army of 150,000 men*. I would send that Western army, *accompanied by the gunboats*, down to the Gulf of Mexico! At the same time I would send *this* army of 150,000 men *hence to Richmond by the right road!*

"If you act thus, if you allow the soldiers to do what they know they ought to do, I will answer for it that the Government of the United States shall have its flag and its authority recognized throughout the land, over every inch of its territory, by the 4th day of next March, or at the latest by the 4th day of July following. If you do not thus act; if you make the soldiers do what they know they ought not to do; if you push these three-months men into battle just as they are all thinking of going home; if you push the two and three years men into battle just before they shall be organized, you will be beaten in the first general action of this war! You will consolidate what is now an insurrection, and make of it a rebellious government—which rebellious government you may be able to put down in two or three years; but I doubt it!"

Such were the words of America's greatest soldier in May, 1861. We all know the result. For the moment, he succeeded in delaying rash movement. But later on, the aged chieftain, worn out by the pressure brought to bear upon him, yielded to those in authority and those who assumed to direct the authorities, and he, in an evil hour, consented to see sound military principles set aside and replaced by ignorant assumption. The three-months men *were* pushed into battle "just as they were thinking of going home"; the two and three years men *were* pushed into battle, some of them, before they were fairly organized. We *were* beaten in the first general action of the war. The insurrection *did* become a strongly organized rebellious government, which the Government of the United States *did not* succeed in putting down in *two* or *three* years.

Might it not have been otherwise had the soldiers been allowed "to do what they knew they ought to do"?



FLUSHING, Long Island, *May*, 1884.



## CHIEF-JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL

[Extracts contributed to the Magazine, by the author, from the forthcoming "Life of John Marshall—Captain in the army of the Revolution, Member of the Virginia Legislature, Envoy to France, Member of Congress, Secretary of State, and Third CHIEF JUSTICE of the United States." Compiled from various authors and from private letters, by his great-granddaughter, Sallie Ewing Marshall.]

In 1557, at the siege of Calais there was a captain named John Marshall, who fought bravely under the banner of England. He was descended from the great Earl of Pembroke, the good and sagacious governor of the young king, Henry III. In 1642, this officer's grandson, also named John Marshall, fought at the battle of Edge Hill, and after the death of Charles I. came to Virginia, where his great-grandson, Thomas Marshall, the father of the chief-justice, was born. Col. Thomas Marshall was a brave and talented man, who served in both the French and Revolutionary wars with distinction. He married Mary Isham Keith, a lady of great force of character and strong religious faith, the daughter of Rev. James Keith, of the Episcopal Church—a grandson of William Keith, Earl Marshal of Scotland—and their children numbered fifteen, of whom John was the eldest, born in 1755. With illustrious lineage, as we have seen, the best of home training, a gentle, loving, studious boy—who is said never to have had any petty squabbles with his numerous brothers and sisters—the future jurist made good use of exceptional opportunities in preparing for his eventful career. Two years after his birth his parents removed thirty miles further west, settling in the beautiful region of the Blue Ridge mountains. To this climate and the vigorous exercise taken in his youthful years he attributed the good health he enjoyed through life.

His father directed his early studies, and he afterward received one year's instruction from a clergyman named Campbell, and was one year the pupil of a Mr. Thompson. At the age of twelve he had transcribed the whole of Pope's Essay on Man with some of his moral essays. "My father was a far abler man than any of his sons," he remarked in later years, "and to him I owe the solid foundation of my own success. He superintended the English part of my education, and to his care I am indebted for anything valuable I may have acquired in my youth. He was both a watchful parent and an affectionate, instructive friend." John Marshall continued through life a zealous student, and seems to have thought with

Aristotle, "to become eminent in any profession, study, and practice are necessary as nature." While his mind was being developed his physical education was not overlooked. Like most young men of his day, he served a term at surveying. Before he was twenty the struggle began between England and her colonies, and he was chosen lieutenant of a militia company, of which his father was captain, and in whose absence he diligently drilled the men. He was six feet tall, slender, with dark complexion, black hair and eyes. He walked ten miles, from his father's house to the muster-field, and the same distance in returning home after the drill. He wore "a round black hat, mounted with a buck's tail for a cockade, a purple hunting-shirt, and trousers of the same material fringed with white." He was ever simplicity itself. Through all the changes of his life he remained the same, and as Mr. Van Santvoord aptly says, "The chief-justice of the United States never ceased to be John Marshall." He was on the expedition to Norfolk, at the battle of the Great Bridge, to oppose Lord Dunmore, and there made his first appearance upon the scene of war. In 1776 he received an appointment as first lieutenant in the 11th Regiment of Continental troops, a great honor for so young a man. General Washington had written to Governor Henry, "I would, in the most urgent manner, recommend the utmost care and circumspection in your appointments. The true criterion to judge by when past services do not enter into competition, is to consider whether the candidate for office has a just pretension to the character of a gentleman, a proper sense of honor, and some reputation to lose." Young Marshall displayed great gallantry as a soldier. He was one of the noble band that followed Washington across the Delaware, December 25, 1776, and surprised Col. Rahl at Trenton. He was promoted to the rank of captain, and remained until the close of the year 1779 in active service; was at Brandywine and Germantown, in the terrible six weeks' struggle around Philadelphia. Here he first met Alexander Hamilton, and his admiration soon grew into love. It was one of the strongest evidences of the extreme justice of his character that he could so fairly and honestly sit in judgment upon Aaron Burr, the murderer of this dearly loved friend, as to cause his detractors to say he showed partiality to Burr. A contemporary thus describes John Marshall at Valley Forge: "By his appearance then we supposed him about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. Even so early in life we recollect that he appeared to us *primus inter pares*, for amidst the many commissioned officers he was distinguished for superior intelligence. He was often chosen arbiter in differences between the officers." He frequently acted as deputy judge advocate. He was greatly beloved and respected by both

officers and men. His conduct was always conciliatory and judicious, and naturally through life it brought him the unenvying love of men. Friendships formed during that terrible winter were among the most valued and lasting of his life. During 1779 he remained at the head of his company in the army under the immediate command of General Washington, and took part in the most brilliant actions of that year, the capture of Paulus Hook and of Stony Point. When the army went into winter quarters in 1779, there being too many officers in the Virginia line, he returned to Virginia and commenced a course of study in William and Mary's College, attending the law lectures of Professor, afterward Chancellor Wythe, and the lectures on Natural Philosophy of President, afterward Bishop Madison. In the summer of 1780 he received a license to practice law, and soon after returned to the army and continued actively engaged until after Arnold's invasion of Virginia, serving under Baron Steuben. This anecdote is told of Baron Steuben: While on duty before Yorktown, perceiving himself in danger from a shell thrown from the enemy, he threw himself suddenly into the trench. General Wayne, in the jeopardy and hurry of the moment, fell on him. The baron, turning up his eyes, saw it was his brigadier. "Ah! I always knew you were brave, General," said he, "but I did not know you were so perfect in every point of duty. You cover your general's retreat in the best manner possible."

John Marshall now resigned his commission and returned to the prosecution of his professional studies. After the surrender at Yorktown, he commenced the practice of law, in which he soon attained honorable distinction. He rapidly developed those powers of reasoning which subsequently made him so just a judge. He is described at this time as "Tall, gaunt, awkward, and ill-dressed; he made a striking figure among the fine gentlemen of the Virginia towns; but his talents were conspicuous, and he rose rapidly in his profession by his remarkable power of seizing the attention, extracting at once the kernel of a question, and producing conviction in the minds of his hearers. When he first appeared in Richmond to argue a case, he sauntered about the streets in a plain linen round-about, looking like a slouchy country bumpkin; but once in court, he astonished the judge and the bar by his wonderful powers of analysis." He soon became widely esteemed for his ability and integrity, and endeared to the bar by his amiable qualities. In 1782 he was a member of the Legislature of Virginia. His skill and ardor made him a valuable member of that body. In the same year he occupied a seat in the State Executive Council.

On the 3d of January, 1783, he married Miss Mary Willis Ambler, to

whom he had become attached before leaving the army. A Welsh parson once said: "A bride should have nine qualifications beginning with the letter p—viz., piety, person and parts; patience, prudence and providence; privilege, parentage and portion; but that which should be first of all in consideration, which is piety, is now always thought of last of all, and by many not at all, and that which should be least of all and last of all in consideration, which is portion, is now become first and most of all, and by some, all in all." Miss Ambler possessed these nine qualifications, and in the right order, for she was very pious. John Marshall's marriage was one of the three events of his life which he deemed worthy of commemoration in the simple inscription, which, two days before his death, he wrote to be placed upon his tomb-stone. His birth, marriage, and death. He lived with his wife nearly fifty years, and was a most devoted husband. "Her death," says Judge Story, "cast a gloom over his thoughts, from which he never recovered." Mrs. Marshall's father, Colonel Jacquelin Ambler, was a direct descendant of the celebrated Jacquelines of France, and a man greatly beloved and respected. He was Treasurer of Virginia. Her mother was Miss Rebecca Burwell, daughter of a gentleman of Gloucester County, Virginia, and one of the greatest beauties of her day. She discarded Thomas Jefferson to marry Colonel Ambler. Miss Randolph gives this account of Jefferson's courtship of Miss Burwell: "He is a boy, and is indisputably in love in this good year 1763, and he courts and sighs, and tries to capture his pretty little sweetheart, as pious, it is said, as she was beautiful, but like his friend, George Washington, fails, the young lady will not be captured." He wrote to his friend, John Page, "I would fain ask Miss Becca Burwell to give me another watch-paper of her own cutting, which I should esteem much more, though it were a plain one, than the nicest in the world cut by other hands." It is a somewhat notable fact that Miss Mary Cary, who discarded George Washington, married Edward Ambler, brother of the gentleman preferred to Thomas Jefferson. The great men of that day were unfortunate, and seem to have been taught by sad experience that "kissing goes by favor." The story goes that Washington, a short time before his marriage to Mrs. Curtis, wrote to Miss Cary, telling her it was not even then too late for her to change her mind, that if she would consent to marry him he would break off his engagement with Mrs. Curtis.

Mr. Marshall was fortunate in his wife, who was not only a companion, but both friend and counselor, contributing not a little to his successes. She was amiable and accomplished, and had, like her husband, enjoyed the advantage of an education under the inspection of a talented father. Hers,

too, was an illustrious lineage. Love, pure and profound, alone prompted the union. Like her husband she had been bred in the creed and rites of the Episcopal Church, so they were one in faith as in everything else. Their youngest son wrote of them and their marriage: "In the year 1783, after leaving the Revolutionary army, father courted Miss Mary Ambler, a beautiful girl of Yorktown, Virginia, who was very young, being only fifteen years of age. His courtship upon the first trial was unsuccessful, Miss Ambler being so young and bashful that she said 'No,' when she meant to say 'Yes.' The mistake was, however, corrected some short time after, by a cousin, a Mr. Ambler, sending to her disappointed lover a lock of hair cut without her knowledge, upon which the lover renewed his suit, and they were soon married. My mother died in 1831. My father surviving her some three or four years, and feeling her loss severely, proposed to move from Richmond to Fauquier, where his children and brother resided; with that purpose was building an addition to his son James' house, Leeds Manor, expecting his new residence to be ready for him that summer, from which he was cut off by his death, July 6, 1835. It was an interesting exhibition of father's devotion to the memory of my mother, who was buried near Richmond, that he habitually walked to her grave every Sunday afternoon, a distance of one and a half miles. Upon one Sunday afternoon, suffering with the malady which led to his decease, he was taking his accustomed walk, when he fell from exhaustion on the 'commons' outside the city and was unable to proceed. He was fortunately seen by two negro men [everybody knew him] and was carried in their arms to his home in Richmond, whence he went to Philadelphia and placed himself under the care of the celebrated doctors Physick and Chapman; without avail, however, as in a few weeks his body was brought to Richmond and interred by the side of his dear wife."

He was a member of the convention in 1788 assembled for the ratification of the Federal Constitution, and was a warm advocate of the Constitution, but the majority of the voters in his county were opposed to it. When he was a candidate for election to the Virginia convention he was assured that all opposition would be withdrawn, if would pledge himself to vote against its adoption; otherwise he would be strenuously opposed. He refused to pledge himself, and it was found that no opposition could withstand his personal popularity. In the debates of the convention he took active part. His speeches on the power of Taxation, the power of the Judiciary and that on the power of the militia, are thoroughly characteristic of the great mind which never failed in clearness of perception. He was a member of the Legislature until 1792, and was confessedly one of

the leaders of that body, and always on the side of a liberal construction of the Constitution. His law practice increased so rapidly that finally he found it necessary to devote himself exclusively to his profession, turning his back upon political life. In his extreme modesty he attributed his rapid advancement to the extensive acquaintances he had made during the war among men from all States. He became engaged in many of the leading cases in the State and national tribunals. "However high might be the reputation of a counsel engaged in a cause of great difficulty, he considered it no disparagement to call to his aid the ponderous strength, and avail himself of the close logic of Marshall, and this at a period when to occupy a front rank amid such an array as the bar of Virginia then presented, was no empty honor, but above them all towered Marshall—a Colossus in intellectual strength." In 1795 Gen. Washington offered him the office of Attorney-General of the United States, which he declined. General Washington consulted him frequently on many subjects. In 1796 he asked him to accept the place of Minister to France, on the recall of Mr. Monroe. This he also refused. "I then thought," said he, "my determination to remain at the bar unalterable—the situation appeared to me more independent and not less honorable than any other: my preference for it was decided." In 1797 he was appointed by President Adams as Envoy Extraordinary to France to endeavor, with the aid of Gen. Pinckney and Mr. Gerry, to settle our disputes with that country. He kept a journal of all that transpired and copies of letters, from which it is easy to see why the mission was fruitless. His handwriting is plain, easy to read, very indicative of the character of the man, as is the simple signature, J. Marshall, to all the papers, placed between Pinckney's and Gerry's. In vain "the Prince of Diplomats" brought his artful powers to bear upon these men. Talleyrand failed—balked by the honesty and the wisdom of Marshall. To such a man the character of Talleyrand must have been peculiarly repugnant, as the tide of affairs progressed and the part he was playing became more and more plain. On the 17th of June, 1798, Marshall returned to New York, "where he was received with the highest marks of respect." His entrance into Philadelphia, two days later, had all the éclat of a triumph. Escorted by the military from Frankfort to the city, he found himself, on his arrival, surrounded by crowds of citizens anxious to testify their respect and gratitude. Public addresses were made to him, a dinner was given to him by both houses of Congress, and the country at large responded with one voice to the sentiment pronounced at this celebration, "Millions for defense—but not a cent for tribute." The whole country sounded his praises, and even his greatest enemy, Thomas





Jefferson, had to openly add his testimony to the faithfulness with which Marshall had executed his mission, although at the same time secretly striving to ruin him. The following note was written by Mr. Jefferson, and in after years Marshall frequently laughed over it, saying, "Mr. Jefferson came very near writing me the truth, the added *un*, to lucky, policy alone demanded." Jefferson's note was as follows:—

"Thos. Jefferson presents his compliments to Genl. Marshal. He had the honor of calling at his lodgings twice this morning, but was so unlucky as to find that he was out on both occasions. He wished to have expressed in person his regret that a pre-engagement for to-day which could not be dispensed with, would prevent him the satisfaction of dining in company with Genl. Marshall, and therefore begs leave to place here the expressions of that respect which in company with his fellow citizens he bears him.

"Genl. Marshall at Oeller's Hotel. June 23rd, 1798."


In the year 1799, yielding to the wishes of Washington, Mr. Marshall became a candidate, and after a spirited political contest was elected a member of the Sixth Congress. In 1799 President Adams tendered him a seat on the Supreme Bench, which he declined. He was one of the committee to revise and amend the Judiciary system. He took a prominent part in all of the debates, and his arguments were so irresistible that they were often declared unanswerable. In 1800, Mr. Adams first offered him the position of Secretary of War, but before he had accepted, Mr. Adams removed Timothy Pickering from the head of his cabinet and appointed Mr. Marshall Secretary of State. On the 31st of January, 1801, Mr. Marshall was commissioned Chief Justice of the United States, having been appointed by Mr. Adams some time before. There was a perpetual clashing of opinion between the Executive and the Supreme Court during the following Administration. Jefferson and Marshall were repellant to each other.

Judge Bushrod Washington, immediately after the death of his uncle, George Washington, selected Chief Justice Marshall to write his biography. As a slight token of gratitude and appreciation for this work, Judge Washington gave him several books which had been the property of the President, among them an army register, containing the "Weekly State of the Continental troops," and a captured "English Order Book."

Chief Justice Marshall occupied the highest seat in the Supreme Court of the United States thirty-five years. His decisions are recorded and will ever be the noblest monument a man could have or wish. In reference to two of them, Judge Story says, "If all the acts of his judicial life or arguments had perished, his luminous judgments on these occasions would give an enviable immortality to his name." Judge Story said of the mode

of life of the judges at these general terms of the Court: "Our intercourse is perfectly familiar and unconstrained, and our social hours when undisturbed with the labors of law, are passed in gay and frank conversation, which at once enlivens and instructs. We take no part in Washington society. We dine once a year with the President and that is all. On other days we dine together, and discuss at table the questions which are argued before us. We are great ascetics, and even deny ourselves wine except in wet weather. What I say about the wine gives you our rule; but it does sometimes happen that the Chief Justice will say to me, when the cloth is removed, 'Brother Story, step to the window and see if it does not look like rain.' And if I tell him that the sun is shining brightly, Judge Marshall will sometimes reply, 'All the better, for our jurisdiction extends over so large a territory that the doctrine of chances makes it certain that it must be raining somewhere.' The Chief was brought up upon Federalism and Madeira, and he is not the man to outgrow his early prejudices." A granddaughter writes this of him: "From my father I learned veneration for him as a simple-hearted, good man; true, just and honorable. He knew from others I would hear my grandfather was a great man. Of this my father never spoke. My mother has often told me that numbers of the anecdotes told of him were without foundation, especially those indicating his slovenliness. He was extremely neat, but careless as to the style of his dress and always looked old-fashioned, I suppose."

One of the highest compliments to his profound learning was bestowed by John Randolph when commenting upon an opinion delivered by the Judge. He said, "It is all wrong, but there is no man in the United States who can show wherein it is wrong." His judicial duties called him annually to Raleigh, North Carolina, and on such occasions he would always stop with a certain landlord whose house was noted for its want of comfort and grew worse year by year. On one of his visits I learned from a gentleman that he saw the Chief Justice very early in the morning gathering an armful of wood at the wood-pile, which he carried into the house. Upon meeting him in the Capitol the same day, and telling him of having seen him in the morning, he answered: "Yes, I suppose it is not convenient for Mr. Cook to keep a servant, so I make up my own fires." In 1807 he presided at the famous trial of Aaron Burr. "Why did you not tell Chief Justice Marshall that the people of America demanded a conviction?" was the question put to Wirt after the trial. "Tell *him* that!" was the reply, "I would have as soon have gone to Herschel and told him that the people of America insisted that the moon had horns, as a reason why he should draw her with them." On one occasion, as he was riding down



Main Street in Richmond, and, as was his custom when on horseback, held in his hand a long, keen switch, a gentleman standing on the corner said to a friend, "What a long switch the Chief Justice carries." "Is it possible that is Judge Marshall," replied the other; "I'm determined I will know what he carries such a long switch for;" and he actually hurried after the old man, and stopping him, asked the question. With the greatest politeness the Chief Justice simply answered, "To cut my horse with," and rode on. The gentleman was so chagrined at his impertinent curiosity, and the quiet, dignified politeness of the Chief Justice that he wrote him an humble apology. Henry Clay called Marshall "the Father of the Judiciary." Robin, the Chief Justice's body servant and factotum, was almost as well known in Richmond as his master; finer manners or more faultless deportment could hardly be presented by the most educated and refined gentleman than characterized his bearing on all occasions. When walking the streets he was always dressed in a handsome suit of black; the coat with a large buff collar and wristbands, white vest and cravat, pants buttoned at the knee, and large silver buckles on highly polished shoes, finished his costume. With manners so polished as to attract the attention of strangers, some of whom have been known to return his graceful salutation and stop to inquire the name of his master, when Robin, beaming with pride and satisfaction, would answer, "Judge Marshall, sir—the Chief Justice of these United States." A niece of Judge Marshall's, who spent much time at his house, told me Robin worried the young ladies who happened to be staying there considerably by dismissing their beaux every day at dinner-time. In spite of all their entreaties the same thing occurred every day. Dinner was at half-past four. Regularly as the clock struck four Robin would appear, "ladies," he would say, "the judge has come from Court and gone to his room to prepare for dinner; gentlemen, we have arranged places for you and will be very glad if you will remain; dinner will be served in half an hour." Then he would throw open the door, and bold indeed would be the young man who could remain and detain the young ladies from their preparations for dinner in the face of this gentle but determined hint. The young ladies assured him they could hear the dressing-bell and needed no other warning, but it was all to no purpose. Uncle Robin had his ideas of propriety, and generally had his own way. A gentleman told me he met the Chief Justice one morning during harvest hurrying out to his farm. He had a large jug resting on the pommel of his saddle, and having lost the cork was holding his thumb in it for a stopper. It was whiskey for his hands. At a dinner he gave to a nephew and his bride, he drank this toast standing: "To all our

sweethearts." He presided for the last time in the Supreme Court in the winter session of 1835. During the latter part of this session his health was obviously failing. He was now eighty years old. It is said that "it was a touching and striking spectacle to see the tall, majestic, venerable man in his robe of office, move with firm step to his usual seat among his associates with his accustomed, dignified composure, and simple and artless grace of manner."

The righteous judge has given his last opinion, and has gone to appear at that bar the Judge of which "reserves to Himself the right to search the hearts of men." His tomb in Shocko Hill Cemetery consists of a marble slab, held by four upright columns. Upon the slab is the simple inscription he wrote two days before his death: "John Marshall, son of Thomas and Mary Marshall, was born on the 24th of September, 1755; intermarried with Mary Willis Ambler, the 3<sup>d</sup> of January 1783; departed this life the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, 1835. Justice Story said: "His proudest epitaph may be written in a single line—'Here lies the expounder of the Constitution of the United States.'"

S. E. M.

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky, *June* 6, 1884.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

*(Continued from page 544, Vol. XI.)*

*Intelligence from Rhode Island, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

On the 16<sup>th</sup> June, 300 Recruits arrived at Providence from Boston, being all that were fit to march out of 750.\* Two hundred came to Newport to relieve the same number of the old troops. On the 18<sup>th</sup> the first division of the French troops marched from Providence and the last on 21<sup>st</sup>. On the 19<sup>th</sup> the Concorde frigate arrived from Boston. The whole day spent in procuring pilots; they got *ten*. *Fourteen* it was said were on board from Boston. Of this I am not certain. Their destination for the West Indies, to pilot the *Count de Grassé's* squadron upon the Coast, who certainly comes with a powerful body of troops and ships. I conceive their design is to give Mr. Rodney the slip, and their object at present is certainly New York; if that is thought impracticable, Virginia. Should the Royal Army continue in that Province, Point Comfort should certainly be strongly fortified, as it commands the entrance of the River, and Hampton road.

The Concorde sailed the 20<sup>th</sup> with a fine wind; the same day communicated the circumstance to our friend, who I suppose informed you, as it must be of the greatest importance that Admiral Rodney should be in a state of Equipment with provisions and water, instantly to follow them. — The Fleet at Boston, consisting of The Sagittaire of 50, Hermione 36, Gentille 36, Astrea 36, and Ariel 20, are daily expected with some of the transports with flour, stores, provisions, &c. The State of the Province, † Discontent, Murmuring at the weight of Taxes which can never be raised. Many of the towns refuse both Men & Money.

The Fleet ‡ have salted up a considerable quantity of meat during the Winter, and as to flour, Connecticut and York Governments have been ransacked to supply them; a considerable quantity was got from Delaware.

\* This was the true strength. Gordon's History puts it at 1,500 men, other writers at different numbers, all which are errors, as proven by Blanchard, who says (*Journal*, 103), these reinforcements were, "two companies of artillery and five hundred men drawn from different regiments who were to fill up ours and be incorporated with them." They arrived at Boston on the 8th May, 1781.

† Massachusetts.

‡ French Fleet.

The Admiral is old ; appears to love ease and quiet ; but has the reputation of being brave.\*

Our numbers here consist of 450 French ; 300 Militia ; eight Field pieces, (four and three pounders) 2, 12 Ditto, in the Goat-Island Battery, and not a gun or platform in any of the Forts besides.

About 500 Sick belonging to the Fleet, in hospitals and tents. 300 altogether unfit for duty. The rest Scorbutic and Convalescents.

We are much mortified at the Conduct of the British Admiral ; Frigates, Privateers, Prizes, &c., pass in and out of the harbour without molestation : Guns and stores are transported along shore to Hartford, and our port [is] in every respect perfectly opened.†

*June 26<sup>th</sup>.*

P. S.—The Neptune, 76 ; L'Eviellè 64, and Romulus 44, have been under sailing orders since the 24<sup>th</sup> ; either to meet the expected fleet from Boston, or to look for the Concorde who 'tis reported, has been severely handled by a British Frigate, & unable to proceed on her voyage : if this is true it is lucky ; as your account of this may be dispatched first.

I have received both yours.

The bearer of the above intelligence reports, that the last division of the French Army, marched through Hartford last Saturday. The greater part of the Legion were at that time at Lebanon and Colchester, but were to move soon. Connecticut is now about raising 3000 three months men.

The French transported all their heavy cannon and baggage to Connecticut River by water.‡

*Intelligence, 8<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

*From Cap<sup>t</sup>. Marquard.*

Washington shifted his quarters yesterday, from Appleby's to Tho<sup>s</sup> Tompkins, 2½ miles this side of Young's house, on the direct road.§

Sheldon's Dragoons are with Washington. Their advanced post at the Widow Underhills on the Tucky-hoe road. N B. They shift their out-posts frequently from one place to another.

The heavy baggage that had been left at Peekskill arrived at Washington's camp the 6<sup>th</sup> July early. It was reported that 3000 men joined him at the same time : but it is rather [more] credible that it was the baggage Guard.

\* This was de Barras.

† The English naval commanders seem to have been paralyzed during the whole summer of 1781, almost, if not quite, as much as Sir Henry Clinton himself. Jealousy, suspicion and indecision, as well as corruption, reigned supreme, afloat as well as ashore.

‡ Though unsigned, this intelligence was most probably from Dr. Haliburton of Newport, several of whose letters have been given before.

§ See Marquard's letter, of 8th July, *ante* (June Mag. Am. Hist.). This was Washington's first change of his headquarters, after the junction of the French and American armies at White Plains.

Their provisions comes by water as far as Singing and Tarrytown; from whence it is carried in Waggon to their Camp.

Four heavy pieces of Cannon at Washingtons quarters.

The French Cavalry at the Plains,\* their advanced posts at Benj<sup>n</sup>. Underhills; on the direct road to Stephen Wards,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Court house.†

No account of the French Artillery; they are very strict, nobody being allowed to come into their Camp.

The Strength of the French & Rebels about 7000 men. The number of Cavalry from 350 to 400. The Rebels are very busy in cutting all the grass. All the wheat fields are priced, and the Inhabitants forbid to touch them.

One hundred and one wounded in the affair of the 3d July, were carried to Singing, from whence they were sent up the North River.‡

The position of the Rebel and French Army the same as the day before yesterday.

*From Cap<sup>t</sup>. Marquard, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

Agreeable to the Report of two deserters, the Armies of the French and Rebels consists of the following Regiments—

	Men.	Horses.	Guns.	Howitzers.
Bourbonnois.....	White with black.....1000.....	.....	4	
Soissonnois.....	“ “ Red.....1000.....	.....	4	
Saintonge.....	“ “ orange.....1000.....	.....	4	
Royal Deuxponts.....	Light blue with yellow.....1000.....	.....	4	
Legion de Lauzun.....	.....300.....	.....	4	
Huzzars §.....	.....	250.....	3	
Artillery.....	.....200.....	.....	50.....	32
Total French	4500	250	73	32
5 Connecticut Regiments.....	2000			
10 Massachusetts “.....	3000			
1 Rhode Island “.....	300			
2 New Hampshire “.....	600			
New England Line,	5,900			
Total 10,400 men, 400 horse.				

} 150 of Sheldon's horse besides some field pieces.

\* On Chatterton Hill at White Plains. † Towards Eastchester.

‡ These casualties in the fight with Lincoln, between Cortlandt House and Kingsbridge, were in addition to the four wounded prisoners sent to New York by the British, and the 19 killed, buried by them near Fort Independence, mentioned before in Capt. Marquard's letter of 4th July; thus making a total of 19 killed, and 105 wounded in that affair.

§ The following derivation of the word “hussar” appeared in an English paper in the opening of 1871, after the German successes in the war with France:—

“Most persons are by this time aware that the once mysterious word “uhlan,” from the Polish “ulan,” the bearer of a lance (“ula”), means nothing more nor less than a lancer. The hussar—coupled by Campbell with “the whiskered Pandour,” and emphatically styled “the fierce hussar”—was once no doubt as great an enigma as the “ubiquitous uhlan” of last autumn. A contributor to the National Zeitung, in some interesting “Travels in Hungary,” gives us the derivation of the

There are no other troops at the Plains\* at present.

Six men per company are left at Newport, 35 men of Bourbonnois left at Providence ; he don't know how many of the other Regiments. He says all their baggage is with them at the Plains.

The French Deserter seems to be damned cunning—I don't trust him at all.

Marquard.

*From Capt. Marquard, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

Washington's quarters are at Hammonds. The French General at White Plains at Falkener's. The French have a large train of heavy cannon. The whole computed to be upward of 6,000. It was reported there was a movement of the Enemy towards Pelham's Manor.† No particulars about it. They are collecting the Militia very fast.

*From Col. Robinson, 11<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

Hezekiah Traviss came in this day from Poughkeepsie which he left the 26<sup>th</sup> June, and says, when he got to Peekskill, Washington had marched with his army the evening before, but had left their tents standing ; and he had an opportunity of viewing their Encampment which was very large.

That he came down to one Fishers near the White-plains where he had appointed a friend to meet him. This friend had been obliged to furnish horses for a French officer, and to attend him down to Rochambeau's quarters, after which he came to Fishers, and told him that he had been thro' the whole French army.

Rochambeau's quarters were at John Jenkins, 5 miles below White-plains. The French army was 5000, including 400 cavalry, with 4 large mortars, and 11 brass 12 pound cannon.

Washington's q<sup>r</sup> at one Applebys on the Manor of Philipsburgh. His army amounted to between 8 and 9000 Continentals, two-thirds of whom were new levies ; Moyland's & Sheldon's Dragoons included. He had 5 mortars and 18 cannon. Washington had brought all the heavy cannon from the Forts, and had not left above 200 at West-point, where General McDougal commands. They had 72 flat-boats on the River, most of them at Tarrytown. They bring all their provisions from Westp<sup>t</sup> by water and land them at Hunts at Tarrytown. Last Sunday great quantities were landed at that place. Washington's army lays from Tarrytown to

word, which, like the costume, is of course from the Hungarian. "Husz" in the Hungarian language signifies "twenty," "ar" signifies "price"; and "hussar" (pronounced like the German "hussar") means "the representative of twenty men." The word dates from the time of Mathias Corvinus, when, in national Hungarian levies, every twenty men were obliged to contribute to the army one perfectly equipped horseman, who, in accordance with facts, was styled "Hussar."

\*The short name for White Plains.

† In the southern part of Westchester County, nearly due east from Kingsbridge, and Lower Yonkers.



Brunx River, and the French from Brunx River to the Sound, but what place he does not know.\*

He saw no troops in Jersey; they were all gone to Washington; they were ordered to raise 1200 men in Jersey, for some months, to be sent to the army; and last Sunday they were warning the people together in order to do it. The militia in the upper part of New York Province were also under orders to be ready at an hours warning. Genl Clinton was at Poughkeepsie† when he left it.

They have 74 or 75 boats of different kinds; one of them a sloop of war; she is sloop rigged and may carry about 10 guns.—Two gun-boats—exclusive of the above, [and] eight or 9 Provision sloops.

The sloop of war, & gun-boats, cover Sneething's blockhouse,‡ 3 guns. The French have a great deal of baggage. They say we have 4000 men to defend New York.

*From Capl Beckwith, 11<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

The cavalry of the French legion is encamped upon Chatterton's Hill: their right flank is near Hunt's house: their left towards the Bronx. It is not accurately ascertained where the Infantry of this corps is posted. One French genl is quartered at Absalom Gidneys, a little to the right and in the front. Another French general is quartered at James Jenkin's about a mile and half near [er] to Kingsbridge, upon the road leading from Chatterton's hill to Mile Square.

The camp of the French Infantry extends from David Pugsley's, which is their right flank, to John Tomkins's, which is their left flank. The distance from the right of the legion cavalry to the left of the French line, which is the shortest space between the two corps, is above one English mile and a half.

*From Capl Beckwith, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

Jos: Clarke§ returned this morning from Jersey; he went out last Tuesday night; he has been above Paramus, and gives the following Intelligence.

That the Jersey brigade consisting of about 400 men, without Artillery, halted at Paramus on Tuesday night, and marched yesterday afternoon about 2 o'clock. He met them, but quitted the road and lay down in a wood about 50 yards distant, when they passed him. They were upon the direct road to Sneething's,|| and he thinks they will pass the Hudson this day or night.

\* This is an error, the French left was about four miles from the Sound in a straight line. The two armies together extended from Tarrytown to, and across the Bronx, at and just below, White Plains.

† Gen. James Clinton.

‡ The blockhouse at "Sneden's Landing" described above in entry of 27th June (May No. *Magazine Amer. Hist.*).

§ Joseph Clarke, believed to be the son of Joseph Clark, M.D., of Stratford, Ct., who with all his family settled at Mangerville on the St. John's River, New Brunswick, after the war. This Joseph while on a visit to New York, died there in 1828.—II. *Sabine, 2d ed.*, 314.

|| Sneden's Landing mentioned above.

Every sixteenth militia man is to be embodied in Jersey. They are when assembled to join Washington.

The Rebels have 36 flatboats at Dobb's ferry. He knows nothing of any armed vessels.

He heard a person from West-point mention, that he had been in company with some Rebel Artificers there, who told him that their Artillery was to go from thence to the army on Monday last.

*From Col: Robinson, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1781. Intelligence by Moses Ogden, 11<sup>th</sup> July. 6 in the evening.*

The Jersey brigade under Dayton, about 200 or 250 men, marched last Sunday for King's ferry. The Jersey Assembly have agreed to call the 16<sup>th</sup> part of the militia into 3 months service; to be commanded by a Mr. Hoogland. Likewise ordered 400 men to the Jersey brigade during the war. To give a bounty of 12 pounds, hard cash pr man, and to raise the money immediately by tax, &c.

The gentlemen Loyalists at Philadelphia are very anxious, and are about petitioning to have the River Delaware stopt by some means or other. They say if not stopt, they are fearful that Morris will accomplish his financier scheme as to cash &c., from the Havanna.

If [the] Delaware is stopt, it is their opinion they \* cannot carry on the war for want of hard cash; as paper is now done, and all supplies for the army is contracted for in solid coin: and [they] have no other dependence only from Havanna, &c., for flour and other produce which they pay for in Solid Coin. They say it is Morris's greatest dependence.†

Report says, about 400 Batteaux from Canada to Ticonderoga with troops (what number have not heard) are arrived at Ticonderoga. It is likewise said that a body of troops and Indians have appeared at the North part of Wioming and decoyed a party of Militia into ambush, killed and wounded about 30. Forty escaped to tell the tale.‡

\* The Congress.

† The undoubted truth is here stated. But who were "The Gentlemen Loyalists" of Philadelphia in 1781, who were so very anxious, and were "about petitioning to have the river Delaware stopped by some means or other?" All the prominent Loyalists there had been driven out in 1776-7, and banished, or had fled away, such as the Penns, the Allens, the Shoemakers, the Galloways, the Quakers who were exiled to Western Virginia, &c., &c. Who then could have been these other "gentlemen Loyalists" who, at this time, some five years later, were quietly living in Philadelphia? They must have passed as Whigs or they could not have remained in "the City of the Continental Congress." This Private Intelligence of Clinton shows that all was not gold that glittered in Philadelphia in 1781.

‡ The ambushing and massacre of Col. Zebulon Butler's forces—the famed massacre of Wyoming—by the British and Indians occurred on the 3d of July; this incorrect rumor of it came to Clinton's head-quarters from Jersey on the 12th, nine days later.



*From Cap<sup>t</sup> Marquard, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

Sir,

The bearer will deliver two men from Philadelphia.\* On their way thro' Jersey they were taken up by Colonel Dayton, who was on his march with the Jersey brigade about 600 strong, towards Dobbs ferry. They escaped from him & got to the shore opposite the Guard ships, from whence they were brought over. They give it out for certain that Dayton crossed the North River yesterday to join Washington. A person who was in the French camp the day before yesterday informs me, that their Artillery Park consists of 36 pieces of Cannon and Howitzers, and to each an ammunition waggon. That there are very heavy ones amongst them. The park is drawn up near Sear's house. Each French Regiment had some field pieces with them.

Col: Wurmb sends the following intelligence just now, that Washington's quarters was to be to-morrow at Edward Browns, two miles above Phillips's, on the North River road. That the army had been under marching orders these two days.

Marquard.

*From Cap<sup>t</sup> Beckwith, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

John & Moses Smedes came this day from Bull's ferry.† They left the Wall-kilns‡ about a fortnight ago. The inhabitants in that County assured them, that an army from Canada had crossed Lake George, and landed ; but they cannot tell where nor do they know the number of troops which compose the expedition.

Fort Stanwix § they were told was taken ; they understood by stratagem, and the works destroyed.

The night before last about 10 o'clock, they fell in with the Jersey brigade at Pecksbridge, 4 miles above the Newbridge.|| They were told there were 800 of them, & that they were marching to join Washington, passing the North River by Dobbs ferry. They think they crossed the North River last night.

*14<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

Geo : James, a negro servant to a Cap<sup>t</sup> of Sheldon's Dragoons, left them at 9 o'clock yesterday morning at their camp about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from Dobb's ferry. Sheldon's Reg<sup>t</sup> consists of 350 men, of which about 100 are mounted, the rest infantry.

300 men came from the army to work at Dobb's ferry : ¶ they bring their arms,

\*Peter Beattie and Michael Campbell, whose own account of themselves forms the second entry of 14th July following.

† Opposite Fort Washington, on the Jersey side of the Hudson.

‡ The Walkill valley in Ulster County, N. Y.

§ At the portage between the Mohr<sup>wk</sup> and Wood creek, now Rome, N. Y.

|| On the Hackensack River, N. J.

¶ On the Batteries then being erected at that place to protect the crossing of the Hudson to Sneden's Landing, N. J.

and go back about sunset. A Picquet of a Serg<sup>t</sup> & 12 or 14 men, lies in the front of Sheldon's, on the road to Kingsbridge, and another of 4 men on a hill more on their left : both about a mile and a half from the Regiment. They had no camp equipage till yesterday morning, when the tents came to camp. No body of troops has crossed the River lately. He thinks the Jersey brigade is on the other side. The talk among the men is, that the French fleet is to come round to Sandy Hook, and that the Army, which is said to consist of 16,000 men, is then to attack Kingsbridge. They are in daily expectation of some French cannon from Rhode Island, and when they arrive, the army is to advance nearer.

*From Cap<sup>t</sup> Beckwith 14<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

Peter Beattie and Michael Campbell, left Phil<sup>a</sup> last Monday ; they travelled thro' Jersey privately ; came thro' Trenton, Princeton, Brunswick, Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, Newark, Hackensack, and crossed that river some miles above the Newbridge on Wednesday about midnight : at which time they were taken prisoners by some soldiers of the Jersey brigade. They were detained and marched with the corps till within 2 miles of Sneading's block-house, but taking the advantage of a halt, on Thursday, they made their escape into the woods, from whence they got opposite to the Guard ships\* who brought them off.

They understood the Jersey brigade was to cross the river at that time to join Washington.

\* In the Hudson, just above the City.

*(To be Continued.)*



## MINOR TOPICS

### BURR, HAMILTON, AND JAMES MONROE.

The communication from Dr. Charles R. King, entitled "Rufus King and the Duel between Gen. Hamilton and Col. Burr" (MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, March, 1884, pp. 212-217) recalls to my recollection a letter, written in August, 1797, by James Monroe to Alexander Hamilton, which I have always regarded with interest, as indicating something of Burr's *animus* towards Hamilton, as far back as seven years prior to their fatal meeting, in 1804.

This letter is the original draft (or a copy) in Monroe's own writing, filed by him among his private papers, and bears this indorsement in his well-known hand: "Augt. 6, 1797. Col. Hamilton—*Did he mean his as a challenge?*" It has been in my possession nearly forty years, and, so far as I know, has never been in print. I therefore now send a copy, for publication in the Magazine, as follows:

*James Monroe to Alexander Hamilton*

"Phila. Augt. 6<sup>th</sup> 1797

Sir.

I do not clearly understand the import of your letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant and therefore desire an explanation of it. With this view I will give you an explanation of mine which preceded it.

Seeing no adequate cause by any thing in our late correspondence why I sho<sup>d</sup> give a challenge to you, I own it was not my intention to give or even provoke one by any thing contained in those letters. I meant only to observe that I sho<sup>d</sup> stand on the defensive, and receive one in case you thought fit to give it. If therefore you were under a contrary impression, I frankly own you are mistaken. If, on the other hand, you meant this last letter as a challenge to me, I have then to request that you will say so, and in which case have to inform you that my friend Colo. Burr, who will present you this, and who will communicate with you on the subject, is authorized to give you my answer to it, and to make such other arrangements as may be suitable in such an event.

I am with due respect, y<sup>r</sup> most Obt Servant,

JA<sup>s</sup> MONROE"

No one, familiar with the rivalry between Burr and Hamilton, and knowing the hatred and vindictiveness of the former, can, I think, fail to see in the closing paragraph of Monroe's letter "the hand of Joab in this thing." To me it is clear that as early as 1797, Burr's animosity against his great rival led him to take part in a quarrel between Hamilton and Monroe. For, if the controversy had gone so far as to raise the question, *whether a challenge had been actually given*, and an inquiry

to that effect was thus made, through "*my friend Colo. Burr*," who was "*authorized to make such other arrangements as may be suitable*," it is evident that Burr was Monroe's confidential adviser, if not chief instigator, in a correspondence which he probably thought would be very likely to end in a Duel. One thing is most certain, whatever may or may not have been done by Rufus King to prevent the Duel of 1804, credulity itself will hardly assign to Aaron Burr the rôle of *peacemaker* in this case!

What the controversy may have been, between Monroe and Hamilton, to which this letter appertains—how it arose, and what it was about, or when and in what way it ended—I do not know, and have never been able to ascertain. This one, solitary letter, detached from the file, is the only part of the correspondence which ever came into my possession. No such quarrel, or controversy, between these two is clearly mentioned in any Biography of either, which I have read. The only possible allusion to it—and it is barely an allusion—that I can find, in the Life and Writings of Hamilton, by his son, is contained in the following extract from a letter of John Barker Church (Vol. VI., p. 261), dated

"July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1797.

Francis told me that Giles, Madison, and Findlay had frequent meetings at his brother's house, and that they used a variety of persuasions to prevail on him to accuse you of being concerned with Reynolds in speculation of Certificates. I suppose Monroe will be at Philadelphia to-morrow, and I think, from what I observed yesterday, that he is inclined to be very gentle, and that he is much embarrassed how to get out of the scrape in which he has involved himself."

I would be glad if any reader of the Magazine, who may be able to do so, would furnish, through its pages, some account of the difficulty between Monroe and Hamilton, to which the letter above given relates, and especially any facts throwing further light, if possible, on Burr's share in the transaction.

L. J. CIST

CINCINNATI, O.

#### FRANKLIN AND JOHN PAUL JONES

A small but precious collection of autographs has recently come into the possession of the Astor Library, and among them is a letter from Benjamin Franklin to John Paul Jones, which recalls the mutual helpfulness and friendship of these radically different characters of American history. Franklin's foreign diplomacy was, no doubt, materially aided by the enthusiasm of France at the exploits of this dashing rover of the seas, and Jones would never have trod the quarter-deck of a French frigate as its commander, if the calm philosopher and prudent statesman had not earnestly advocated his advancement. It was a singular co-operation between the wisdom of old age and the valor of youth, an old head and a young heart working together for the independence of their country.



When Jones ran over to Europe in the *Ranger* at the end of 1777, it was to Franklin, the chief of the United States Commissioners to France, that he applied for advice and instructions. During the weary months of waiting and longing for active employment that succeeded his first foray upon the coasts of Britain, Jones was in constant correspondence with Franklin, then Minister Plenipotentiary. Franklin exhorted him to patience, and urged him to come in person to the court of Versailles. Mindful of Poor Richard's saying, "If you would have your business done, come yourself, if not, send," Jones did become a courtier for a time, and with the aid of Franklin's powerful influence at last secured from the French government a ship, the name of which he changed to the *Bon Homme Richard* in compliment to his wise friend. Franklin's residence in France was the country house of M. Le Ray de Chaumont, at Passy near Paris, and this gentleman was on such intimate terms with court and ministry, that he was chosen to superintend the fitting out of the expedition, destined to cast immortal glory upon the name of John Paul Jones. After the famous encounter with the *Serapis*, Jones sent an account of his victory to Franklin, and heard in reply that all Paris and Versailles were talking of his "cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict."

Sparks's edition of Franklin's works contains eleven of his letters to John Paul Jones in the years 1778, 1779, and 1780, but the letter in the Astor Library, given below, was written seven years later, on the eve of Jones's departure for Europe, when Franklin had reached the age of eighty-one, and is interesting as another proof of the long continuance of their friendship.

O. A. B.

"Philad<sup>a</sup> July 22. 1787.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I cannot yet send you the Papers you desir'd. My Grandson has remain'd in the Country longer than I expected, and is still there. But I will send them to you at Paris by the first Opportunity, under Cover to Mr. Jefferson. Be pleased to present my Respects to him, and acquaint him that the Convention goes on well, and that there is hope of great Good to result from their Counsels. I intend'd to have wrote to him: but three Days Illness from which I have hardly recovered, have prevented me. Please to acquaint Mr. Short, too, that I received the Packets he was so kind as to send me, and am much oblig'd to him for his Care of them.—I wish you a good Voyage, and every kind of Prosperity; being with sincere Esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

& most humble Servant

B. Franklin

I am not able to write by this Ship to any of my Friends in Paris, being so weak as to be scarce able to finish this Letter.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Commodore Jones."

JOHN COLTER

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

The article by P. Koch on the "Discovery of the Yellowstone National Park," in your June issue, excellently opens an avenue of research that ought not to have been so long neglected. In the hope of stimulating further investigation I send you a few notes on the subject. My interest in the matter has been intensified by fourteen days of wandering in the Park last August with only three companions.

In Mr. Koch's paper (XI. 499, 506), the Sulphur Springs, on the Stinking Water, are put down under the name of "Colter's *Hill*," or said to be so set down on old maps. Is *hill* a misprint for *hell*?\* or did map-makers really think it best to tone down a harsh expression, lest it should grate on ears polite? Colter's *Hell* must no doubt be the real name. Says P. W. Norris, Superintendent of the Park, in his report for 1880, p. 28, "Coulter's Hell was a standing camp-fire jest upon now well-known realities, for many years, even long after I was first upon the Lower Yellowstone."

How far back can the phrase, Coulter's Hell, be traced? That pair of words, well followed up, may be a clew to mysteries in Park discovery that are still labyrinthine.

Again, Mr. Koch spells the name of Captain Clark with a final e. Here is a clear orthographical mistake. No such final letter is found on the map to which Mr. Koch refers. None was used by Captain Clark himself; I have in my hands the most interesting letter he ever wrote, namely, from the Mandans in the spring of 1805.† It is in perfect preservation, and his signature has no final vowel.

"Fort Mandan in Lat 47° 21' 47" N

Long 101° 25' W

April the 2<sup>nd</sup> 1805

Dear Major [W<sup>m</sup> Croghan]

By the return of a party of soldiers and Frenchmen who accompanied us to this place for the purpose of assisting in transporting provisions &c. I have the pleasure of sending you this hasty scrawl, which will do little more than inform you where I am.—My time being entirely taken up in preparing information for our government, and attending to those duties which are absolutely necessary for the promotion of our enterprise, and attending to Indians, deprives me the satisfaction of giving you a satisfactory detail of this country. I must therefore take the liberty of referring you to my brother to whom I have enclosed a map and some sketches relative to the Indians. Our party has enjoyed a great share of health, and are in high spirits. We shall leave this place in two days on our journey. [They did so April 7.] Country and river above this is but little known. Our information is altogether from Indians, collected at different times and entitled to some credit.

\* The word *hill* is a misprint. In Mr. Koch's manuscript the name is "Colter's Hell."—Editor.

† Contributed through the courtesy of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, of the Wisconsin Historical Society.





My return will not be so soon as I expected. I fear not sooner than about June or July 1806 [It was in fact late in September of that year.] Every exertion will be made to accomplish this enterprise in a shorter period. Please to present me most respectfully to my sister Lucy [wife of Major Croghan] and the family, and accept the assurance of my sincere affection, &c.

W<sup>m</sup> Clark

[P. S.] I send my sister Croghan some seed of several kinds of grapes."

It is admitted that to John Colter must be ascribed the first intimation of the existence of the volcanic region at the head waters of the Yellowstone and Madison rivers. Hence every particular regarding Colter's adventures in the Far West becomes of such interest that it ought to be garnered in. With this view Mr. Koch, in his paper on the "Discovery of the Yellowstone National Park," has inserted an account, two pages long, of Colter's capture by Indians and his miraculous escape. This narrative was borrowed by Mr. Koch from an article by W. F. Sanders, in the first volume of "Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana" (Helena, 1776, p. 101). But where did Mr. Sanders find the story? He himself does not state, merely saying, that he "gives it as it has long been told, both in print and otherwise."

Had the *original* account of Colter's Indian experience been known either to Mr. Koch or Mr. Sanders, I think it would have been mentioned, and I am very glad that I am able to supply their omission, and to bring on the stand a contemporary witness.

Colter's story, as told by himself, is printed in "Travels in the Interior of America in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, by John Bradbury" (Liverpool, 1817, p. 19 et seq.). Bradbury, a botanist, who pushed up the Missouri well-nigh to the Yellowstone, had an interview with John Colter on the 18th March, 1811. The meeting was on the Missouri, at the mouth of Bœuf Creek, four days' canoe voyage up the river from Saint Louis. Colter, Bradbury says, was then living within a mile of Bœuf Creek, had come down the Missouri 3,000 miles in thirty days in a small canoe, arriving in Saint Louis, May, 1810, and had been seen there and then by Bradbury. Bradbury obtained an account of many adventures from Colter, but says that he relates only one. It is probable that he committed others to writing, perhaps to the English press, which transatlantic research may bring to light. Some of these may prove to be the earliest reports concerning the geyserite region. John Potts, who was killed at the time Colter was made prisoner, had served with him under Lewis and Clark, but was not discharged until the party had reached Saint Louis. It does not appear how or when he ascended the Missouri or joined Colter again. Bradbury describes Colter as very eager to go up with him into the heart of the continent in 1811, and as only prevented by having just married a wife.

Some light is thrown on Colter as the Columbus of the Park, by scrutiny of

Lewis and Clark's Journal, and especially the map drawn by Clark, as well as his subsequent life.

In 1806 Lewis and Clark, returning from the Pacific, on the third morning after passing the mouth of the Yellowstone, were surprised to meet two white men—the first they had seen for years. These were Dickson and Hancock, who had come from the Illinois on a hunting excursion up the Yellowstone. These trappers accompanied the Captains down the river for three days to the Mandan villages, and meantime won the heart of Colter.

In the Journal of Lewis and Clark we read (Vol. II., p. 407), Saturday, 14 August.—“In the evening we were applied to by one of our men, Colter, who was desirous of joining the two trappers who had accompanied us, and who now proposed an expedition up the river, in which they were to find traps and give him a share of the profits. The offer was a very advantageous one, and as he had always performed his duty, and his services might be dispensed with, we agreed that he might go, provided none of the rest would ask or expect a similar indulgence. \* \* \* We supplied him, as did his comrades also, with powder and lead and a variety of articles which might be useful to him, and he left us the next day.”

If the secret of being dull did not lie in saying every thing, I would add various gleanings from the Lewis and Clark Journal showing how well Colter had done his duty for years. But I forbear.

The “dotted line” mentioned by Mr. Koch on the “Maps of Lewis and Clark's Track,” is worthy of more particular description, for it is not found in many editions (as in the Dublin, 1817), and it may lead to further discoveries. That line starts from the upper waters of Pryor's Fork of the Yellowstone. Passing to the Big Horn, up it to Stinking Water, and up that stream nearly to a point marked “Boiling Spring;” it then returns via Clark's Fork to the point from which it started.

A second loop of dotted lines leaving the first at the highest branch of Clark's Fork, crosses to the Yellowstone and up it some distance, leaves it for the north point of Lake Eustis [Yellowstone Lake] runs south along its west shore, and then, leaving Lake Biddle [Jackson] on the left, it reaches a branch of the Rio del Norte [Green River of Colorado] written down as *Colter's River*. Thence via the Upper Big Horn, the Salt Fork of the Stinking Water and the Boiling Spring, it returns to its starting-point. The legend *Colter's Route in 1807*, appears on the dotted line as it crosses from Clark's Fork to the Yellowstone. Just beyond its crossing of the Yellowstone are the words *Hot Spring, Brimstone*.

It is natural to ask “How came these dotted lines on the map of Lewis and Clark?” their track was nowhere near the dotted lines, and their two octavos will be searched in vain for allusions to Yellowstone phenomena.

But the original drawing of the map was made by Captain Clark, and by him also the dotted lines and legends must have been added. When Colter arrived at Saint Louis in 1810 Clark had become governor there, and he knew Colter well. In Clark's papers then there is another possible source of further information about Colter's wanderings for three years and more after his discharge in 1806.

At the date of Colter's return to Saint Louis the only newspaper there published was the *Missouri Gazette*. The only copy of it now known to be in existence has been searched for me, but no syllable has been discovered concerning Colter, and only one line concerning Bradbury.

The earliest use of the word *geyser* to describe Park water-spouts should be sought out as indicating the time when those wonders first met the eyes of one who could tell what he had seen. Thus far, the earliest mention of the Western water-columns as *geysers*, appears to be in the article cited by Mr. Koch (p. 506) as published in 1842 at Nauvoo, although written possibly in 1833.

Nothing is more needed as a contribution to Western annals than a new edition of the Travels of Lewis and Clark. That work would have been prepared for the press by Capt. Lewis but for his death. It was prepared by hack writers, Paul Allen and Nicholas Biddle. Many details must have been omitted as unimportant, that in the light of subsequent events would be precious. Thanks to the care of Jefferson the original diaries in a dozen volumes are all treasured in the archives of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. Let them not wait longer for a worthy redaction.

MADISON, Wis.

JAMES D. BUTLER

## NOTES

**NAZING**—In his "Memorials of the Pilgrim Fathers," a paper written for the Royal Historical Society, W. Winters thus describes the sequestered village of Nazing, England: "At first sight it presents a rather antique and interesting appearance, and one might justly suppose that little improvement had been made in the neighborhood for centuries beyond the recent erection of a few new buildings. Many of the domestic buildings, which are shaded by gigantic oaks and elms, the resort of rooks and daws, are, we imagine, much about as they were when the Pilgrim Fathers took their last farewell of the place of their nativity. This 'original and select' state of things may, however, be partly accounted for by the isolated situation of the village, it being some distance from the smoke and noise of the 'iron horse.' The nearest approach by rail to it is either from Waltham, or Broxbourne Station, on the Great Eastern Railway. Several of the old houses inhabited by farm laborers have thatched roofs, gable fronts, low eaves, with massive stacks of chimneys, many of which are built outside. There are other wooden houses of a higher class, with tiled roofs and gable fronts, the upper story considerably overhanging the lower, many of which are very picturesque and others are equally rustic, and built exactly in the same style as the old house erected by William Curtis (a native of Nazing), in 1638-9, 'on the margin of a little stream called Stoney Brook in Roxbury, Massachusetts.' One would naturally suppose that he had the plan of one of those houses now standing in Nazing before him when he erected

that venerable homestead on the other side of the broad Atlantic. If we were permitted to search over some of the old deeds, now in the possession of the owners of these ancestral homes, it is quite possible we might discover the very houses once occupied by the Pilgrim Fathers prior to their departure for America."

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**WEBB-LIVINGSTON DUEL**—The dispute between General Webb and William Livingston, jun. Esq., was terminated at Powles Hook, on Tuesday the 5th inst. in a manner that does credit to the parties; and must, we conceive, be pleasing to the real friends of both. The distance was agreed upon and the pistols loaded by their seconds—on a signal agreed upon for the gentlemen to discharge, General Webb fired—Mr. Livingston reserved his, and addressed General Webb in the following manner: "Sir, you have missed me—I came here to answer demands you had against me—had you suppressed *that letter*, which I never said you had, your life would be a recompense I cannot ask—I shall discharge my pistol in the air." Which he did. The seconds declared the contest honourably settled, and to General Webb that he had ample satisfaction, and advised the contending gentlemen to reconciliation and friendship, which took place on the ground.—*N. Y. Packet*, September 11, 1786. W. K.

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**CENTRAL NEW YORK**—First Centennial Celebration of the settlement of Whitestown, 1784-1884. The one hun-

dredth anniversary of the first settlement at Whitestown, was celebrated on the 5th inst. under the auspices of the Oneida Historical Society, at Utica, N. Y. A large concourse of people assembled on the Whitestown green at an early hour, and at 11 A.M., Hon. Charles Tracy, of New York, opened the exercises with an historical address, which was followed by speeches from Rev. A. I. Upson, D.D., W. M. White, Chairman Campbell, Rev. Dr. M. E. Dunham, John F. Seymour and others. A poem was also read by B. F. Taylor. A handsome monument has been erected upon the spot where the first settler, Hugh White, erected his house, the cost of which was provided for by private subscription. In tracing the growth of the town of Whitestown, the Hon. Charles Tracy said: "This town furnished to the Court of Errors in 1805, the first chancery case in the State on rights in a stream of water, as affected by occupation and by unwritten agreements between the proprietors of adjacent lands. In 1809, this village gave the Supreme Court its first case on the law of escapes. The jail liberties here which were free to imprisoned debtors, were so established that a certain sidewalk was within the liberties, but the adjacent roadway was not. A prisoner strolling on a winter day found this sidewalk encumbered with a snow-drift, and he stepped out into the roadway and walked there a few rods; and the sheriff being sued for this as an escape, was condemned to pay the creditor the whole amount of the judgment, being over \$5,000. Each of these cases was argued ably by Whitestown counsel, was considered by the courts with care and fully reported. Many au-

thorities were cited, but all were from English authors on decisions of English courts. Not a New York nor an American case or authority was referred to; and probably because there was none in existence."

An elegant collation was served by the ladies of Whitestown in honor of the occasion, to which some nine hundred guests were invited.

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COINS A CENTURY AGO—Mr. Domett, in his "History of the Bank of New York," speaking of the coins of 1784, says: "Both the Johannes and the moïdore were gold coins of Portugal; the Johannes being so called from the figure of King John which it bore. The Caroline was a German coin, and the pistole was of the same value as the Louis d'or. The chequin, sometimes written zeechin, zechin, and sequin, was a gold coin, and had its name from La Zecha, a place in the city of Venice where the mint was situated. The chipping and sweating of the gold coins in circulation had long been carried on in New York, and as far back as 1770 the Chamber of Commerce had stigmatized it as an 'evil and scandalous practice,' and had passed a resolution agreeing not to take the light coins, except at a discount of fourpence for each deficient grain. A good deal of trouble was experienced at the bank after it commenced business from this source, and Hamilton was for some time occupied in devising a method of receiving and paying out gold. This had been done elsewhere by weighing in small quantities; a practice which was attended with many evils, and for which, in the absence of a national coinage, it was difficult to find a substitute."

QUERIES

WAS Dutchess County once known as Nine Partners? If so, was the name derived from its being owned by nine men, and what were their names?

A. H.

ANNISQUAM, Mass., *June 10, 1884*

CAN any of the readers of the Magazine tell me how many Americans received the honor of Knighthood previous to the Revolutionary War?

PENOBSCOT

NEW YORK, *June 12*

WHO can tell me why Delaware is called the "Blue Hen's Chicken," and when it took the name?

DUKE

DOVER, Delaware, *June 16*

REPLIES

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS—*Editor of Magazine of American History*:—In connection with the article on "Slavery in the Colony and State of New York" [xi. 408] you afterward printed [xi. 552] a copy of a bill of sale of a negro woman in New York. Here is the account of the sale of a negro woman and boy to a resident of this town, Melrose, Mass., then North Malden, which I copied verbatim, et punctatim, et literatim, from the original now in possession of a fellowtowns-man, Mr. Artemas Barrett.

E. H. GOSS

MELROSE, *May 30, 1884.*

"Know all men by these present that I Thomas Nickels of Reding In the County of middlesex gentilman for and in Consideration of the sum of thirty-three pounds six shillings and Eight pence lawfull mony of New England to me in hand paid by piniash [Phineas] Sprague Jun. of Malden in the same County above s<sup>d</sup> Cordwinder whereof I do hereby acknowledge the Receipt and my selfe therewith fuly and entirely satisfied have bargened sold set over and Delivrd and by these present in plain and open markit according to the due fourm of law in that case mad and provided do bargain set over and Deliver

unto the said phinas Sprague Jun a negro woman named pidge with one negro boy to have and to hold to his proper use and behoofe of him the said phinas Sprague his heirs, executors administrators and assigns for ever and I Thomas nickles for my self my heirs executors adminiserators and asigns ganst all in all manner of person I shall warrant and for ever Defend by these present. In witness whereof with the Deliver of the bargained persons I have set to my hand and seal the twenty five Day of april in the 17 fifty three year of y<sup>e</sup> Reign of oure Sovereign lord gorg the Second over grate Britton.

Thomas Nichols [seal]

Signed and our Seal 1753 and Delever in the present of us

Jon<sup>a</sup> Kidder

Edward Lambert"

JAMES VAN CORTLANDT—The mention in the Clinton *Private Intelligence* Papers in the June number of the Magazine [xi. 537] of Mr. James Van Cortlandt, of Yonkers, induces me to send you the annexed notice of him:

"On Monday last, after a long and painful illness, died in this city, James Van Cortlandt, Esq<sup>r</sup>, of Yonkers, in the



County of Westchester, in the 55<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age.—To say that the Death of this worthy Gentleman is sincerely regretted by all who knew him, is a Tribute justly due to his Merit. His tender and affectionate Temper endeared him to his Relations, and their Connections. His Probity, Candour and Hospitality made his Acquaintance to be sought, and his Friendship highly valued, by the first Families and Characters in the Province; while his Humanity, Benevolence and Condescension procured him the Love and Respect of all Ranks of People."—*Gaine's New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, for Monday, April 9, 1781.*

WESTCHESTER

June 9, 1884

THE FRIGATE *Huzzar* [xi. 550]—Historians have passed over slightly, even if they have mentioned at all, the wreck of the *Huzzar* in Hell-Gate, and it is chiefly among the newspapers of the time that information must be sought regarding it. The *Providence Gazette*, of December 9, 1780, says: "A New British Frigate of 32 guns, one of the convoy of the Cork fleet which lately arrived at New York, we hear was lost last week coming through Hell-Gate, and a great part of her crew perished."—The *Boston Gazette*, of December 13, 1780, says: "We learn that the *Huzzar* frigate was cast away in Hell-Gate the latter end of last month, when all the people except 80 were lost with the frigate." In a letter from Fletcher Yetts, a petty officer of the *Huzzar* at the time, to the *Edinburgh Observer* (Scotland), appears the following account of the wreck:

"The *Huzzar* struck on Pot Rock near three o'clock in the afternoon of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November 1780, and did not

go down till she swung several miles up the Sound, when she went down in a bay called "The Brothers" at 7 in the evening, same day, in seven fathoms of water; and a strong current then running at the rate of nine knots an hour, occasioned the loss as near as can be ascertained of 107 fine brave fellows, part of her crew. When the accident happened the *Huzzar* was on her way from New-York to Gardiner's Bay with despatches to Admiral Arbuthnot."

Marshall, in his biography of Sir Charles Maurice Pole, the Captain of the *Huzzar*, says: "The officers and people except one, being all saved, and as no blame whatever could be imputed to Captain Pole in this accident, he was charged with Admiral Arbuthnot's despatches to the Admiralty, and soon after his arrival in England received the appointment to the *Success*, 32 guns and 220 men."

Other accounts make no mention of any loss of life, but there is one statement that 70 American prisoners taken from the prison ships in the Wallabout heavily ironed, went down with the vessel. The last is evidently sensational. The *Huzzar* was a frigate of 28 guns; built in 1763; gun deck, 114 feet 4 inches; keel, 102 feet 8 inches; beam, 33 feet 8 inches; hold, 11 feet; tonnage, 619; crew, 200.

W. A. MITCHELL

140 BROADWAY, New York

June 9, 1884

CHOWDER [xi. 550]—Chowder is an archaic Devonshire (England) word for a fish-seller. It is easy to imagine the transfer of the name from a seller to the fish itself.

U. K.

GERMANTOWN, Pa., Free Library

## SOCIETIES

## NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

At a stated meeting of the society, June 3d, Hon. Benjamin H. Brewster, United States Attorney-General, and Señor Don Jose Silverio Yorrin, of Havana, Cuba, were elected corresponding members. The paper of the evening, on "French spoliations before 1801," was contributed by the Hon. James W. Gerard. This very interesting and highly valuable monograph we take great pleasure in presenting to our readers in its entirety, in another part of this issue of the Magazine. Memorial resolutions on the decease of the late Charles O'Connor, formerly the first vice-president of the society, were adopted. The society then adjourned to the first Tuesday of next October.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting in Boston, April 10, 1884, on which occasion the President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., in an eloquent address, paid a tribute to the eminent French historian, Mignet, recently deceased. In his introductory remarks President Winthrop said :—"We come to our annual meeting once more, gentlemen, under circumstances of satisfaction and prosperity, which may well make us grateful for the past and trustful for the future. But I leave all the details of our condition for the annual reports of our council and treasurer, which will presently be submitted to you.

"It can hardly fail to have been observed that, by a striking coincidence, two of our leading sister societies have successively been bereaved of their presidents within a few weeks past. John

William Wallace, Esq., the late President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the Hon. Augustus Schell, the President of the New York Historical Society, were accomplished and distinguished men who had rendered valuable service in their respective spheres, and whose characters entitled them to every consideration. Our records may well contain this passing tribute of respect to their memories, and of sympathy with our sister societies."

## THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

The one hundred and seventh anniversary of the battle of Oriskany will occur on the 6th of August. On that date the Oneida Historical Society, at Utica, New York, will dedicate the fine monument which it has erected in honor of General Herkimer, and the brave men of his command who fell in this battle. The monument is already in position, and its four bronze tablets are now being attached. It only remains for the committee to grade, fence, put the grounds in order, and erect suitable entrances. The first tablet contains the memorial epitaph; the second tablet is a bas-relief of Gen. Herkimer, leaning against a tree, wounded, and directing the battle; the third tablet gives the roster; the fourth tablet is a bas-relief, representing a revolutionary soldier, piercing with his bayonet the breast of an Indian chief—thus showing the conflict of civilization with barbarism. The opening address is to be delivered by Hon. William Dorsheimer, M. C., and many guests from abroad are expected.





**NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY**—The annual meeting was held in the hall of the Academy of Medicine, No. 12 West 31st St., on Friday evening, May 20. An admirable and eloquent address on William Wirt was delivered by Prof. William Mathews, LL.D., of Boston, the well-known essayist and author. At its close, General James Grant Wilson moved, and Judge C. A. Peabody seconded, a vote of thanks to Dr. Mathews, each making short speeches. Two valuable portraits were presented to the Society through General Wilson, one of Edward Livingston, author of the Civil and Criminal Code of Louisiana, American Minister to France, and a member of Jackson's Cabinet; and the other of Philip Livingston, who not only signed but most strenuously urged the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the gifts of William Alfred Jones, Esq., of Norwich, Conn., a great-grandson of the signer. A vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Jones, who is known as a scholar and author. Philip Livingston died in 1778, and Edward Livingston in 1838. They were both members of the distinguished New York family whose ancestor, Robert Livingston, obtained a patent of Livingston Manor in the year 1686.

**THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—The spring or quarterly meeting of the Society was held at its library in Portland, May 22, afternoon and evening. Mr. H. W. Bryant, the librarian and curator, presented his report, showing large accessions to both library and cabinet. The Rev. Samuel Longfellow presented valuable autograph letters. Hon. Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, read a paper en-

titled, "A Historical Review of Literature in Maine." Rufus King Sewall, of Wiscasset, read a paper on "Wi-wurna, and his speech at the Treaty at Georgetown, Me., 1717." Mr. John T. Hull exhibited pages of his copy of the first volume of the Records of York County, proposed to be published. In order that this important undertaking be carried successfully through, it is necessary that more subscribers be obtained.

At the evening session President Bradbury presented a volume of the silhouettes of the members of the famous class of 1825, of Bowdoin College; also, the broadside exercises at the graduation of the class. Hon. Joseph Whitcomb Porter, of Bangor, read a paper on Jonathan Eddy, David Cobb, and other Revolutionary heroes, who became settlers in Eastern Maine. The original account-book of Col. John Allan was produced, showing an entry for powder furnished to Col. Eddy, *as Commander at Machias*. Remarks were made by Gen. John Marshall Brown, Edward P. Burnham, Esq., Joseph Williamson, Esq., George E. B. Jackson, Esq.

The annual meeting for the election of officers and new members will take place at Brunswick in July.

**CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—An adjourned meeting of this society was held on the evening of May 20, Hon. E. B. Washburne in the chair. Judge Mark Skinner offered resolutions, which were adopted, in memory of the late President, of the Society, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold; also requesting Mr. Washburne, at his convenience, to prepare a memorial address. E. H. Sheldon introduced a memorial notice of Sir Alpheas Todd

late of Ottawa, Canada ; and, as a mark of respect, his name was placed upon the records of the Society. Hon. William Bross having been appointed to prepare a memorial on the late Thomas H. Armstrong, the President then introduced William Henry Smith, General Manager of the Associated Press, who read an interesting paper upon "Charles Hammond, and his Relations to Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams." At its conclusion, Mr. Washburne appointed Messrs. E. H. Sheldon, Mark Skinner, and W. K. Ackerman, a committee to draft resolutions in memory of the late Cyrus H. McCormick. Before adjourning, the Society tendered Mr. Smith a vote of thanks for his interesting and instructive paper, asking that a copy be placed upon its records.

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VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of its Executive Committee was held May 17, in the Westmoreland Club House, Hon. A. M. Keiley in the chair. Mr. Brock, the corresponding secretary, officiated as recording secretary. Many valuable gifts were reported, chiefly of books. Also an admirable oil portrait of Major James Gibbon, who led the forlorn hope at Stony Point, painted by the late John B. Martin of Richmond, Va., and presented by his son, Rev. S. Taylor Martin. Col. Robt. Beverley, of Va.; Col. Samuel Adams Drake, of Boston; Gen. C. W. Darling, of Utica; and Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, of New York City, were elected members of the Society.

The following resolutions offered by Mr. Henry, were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That this Society views with great interest the near approach to com-

pletion of the grand monument to Washington at the national capital, and that the members of the Executive Committee will attend the ceremonies which will be observed to commemorate that event.

*Resolved*, That we would express our high gratification at the selection of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, as the orator of the occasion, and we rejoice that he who, as Speaker of the House of Representatives on the 4th of July, 1848, delivered the oration upon the laying of its corner-stone, has been spared to perform a similar service at the completion of the monument; and that in him we have a fellow-citizen who by his virtues and his genius is eminently worthy of the occasion.

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SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI—The triennial meeting of the General Society of the Cincinnati was held in Princeton, on May 14th and 15th, at the University Hotel, in charge of the New Jersey Society as hosts. This is the one hundred and first year of the existence of the organization, formed in 1783 for the purpose of perpetuating a friendly alliance and feeling between the descendants of the Revolutionary Army and French officers. Originally there were thirteen State societies, corresponding to the original thirteen States of the Union, and also a society in France. The only societies now in existence are seven: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The sessions were presided over by ex-Governor Hamilton Fish, of New York, who is President of the New York State Society, and who has also been President of the General Society since 1854.



The following officers were elected: *President-General*, Hamilton Fish; *Vice-President-General*, Dr. W. A. Irvine; *Secretary-General*, Judge Advocate Asa Bird Gardner, LL. D., U. S. A.; *Assistant Secretary-General*, Richard I. Manning; *Treasurer-General*, John Schuyler; *Assistant Treasurer-General*, Dr. Herman Burgin. The delegates in attendance were: From New Jersey—Colonel Stanly Sims, Hon. John Fitch (of New York), Colonel Francis B. Ogden, William B. Buck, General Stryker. From New York: Hon. Hamilton Fish, John Schuyler, Major Christie, Professor Crosby, General John Cochrane. From Pennsylvania: General Grant Weidman, Hon. William Wayne, Richard Dale, Edmund H. McCullough, Francis M. Caldwell. From South Carolina: Gen. Willmot C. De Sausure, Colonel Thomas Pinckney Loundes, Felix Warley, Louis De Sausure, James Simmons. From Rhode Island: Hon. Nathaniel Green, ex-Governor William W. Hoppin, Major Asa B. Gardner, Hon. Henry E. Turner, Hon. Daniel W. Lyman. Mass.: Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, Dr. Charles Homans, Winslow Warren, S. K. Lothrop, William Perkins. Governor Robert M. McLane of Md., and Gen. Henry J. Hunt, U. S. A., of Mass., were unable to be present. Among those designated as alternates were: Rt. Rev. W. S. Perry, Bishop of Iowa, Rear Admiral Charles H. Baldwin, U. S. N., commanding the European Fleet, James M. Varnum, and Henry T. Drowne. The members of the Society were entertained by the State Society at dinner on the anniversary of the General Society dinner of the fifteenth of May, 1787, when President General Washington presided.

#### NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

The semi-annual meeting was held, May 15, in the rooms of the Society, Dr. S. H. Pennington in the chair. Judge Ricord reported for the Executive Committee, and paid a touching tribute to the late ex-Governor M. L. Ward, and Gen. N. W. Halstead. An interesting paper was read by J. F. Hageman on Samuel Allinson, which was received with much applause. An informal address was then delivered by Gen. James Grant Wilson, of New York, giving an agreeable account of his trip through Spain a few months since, who also presented to the Society a piece of the wall of the house in which Columbus was born near Genoa, and a relic from the house where he died.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

held its sixty-second annual meeting at the Society's rooms in Concord, June 11, 1884, the President, Hon. Charles H. Bell, in the chair. The proceedings of the last annual meeting, and the report of the field day, were read by the Recording Secretary, Amos Hadley. Reports were also read by the Treasurer, and by various standing committees. A portrait of the late Judge Nathaniel G. Upham was presented to the Society by John Kimball, and accepted in behalf of the Society in a few well-chosen remarks by President Bell. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Charles H. Bell; Vice-Presidents, Jonathan E. Sargent, John M. Shirley; Corresponding Secretary, John J. Bell; Recording Secretary, Amos Hadley; Treasurer, Samuel S. Kimball; Librarian, Samuel C. Eastman. The next meeting will be held July 16, 1884.

## BOOK NOTICES

**A HISTORY OF THE BANK OF NEW YORK, 1784-1884.** Compiled from Official Records and other Sources at the Request of the Directors. By HENRY W. DOMETT. 8vo, pp. 135. New York: 1884. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The history of the oldest bank in the State of New York, and one of the oldest in the United States, cannot fail to interest a large community of readers, particularly as its existence covers the century of development, with its peculiar monetary vicissitudes and the great changes in financial policy which have made it notable in the annals of the business world. The condition of the country at the time of the formation of the bank, and the general appearance of the city, are sketched by Mr. Domett as an agreeable background to the sharply-defined figure of the infant institution. The Bank of New York presents, from first to last, one of those honorable records of which a continent may well be proud. This bank was founded in 1784 by men of the highest integrity; and its officers and directors since that time—for a hundred well-rounded years—have been faithful to the trust confided to their care. No doubt has ever existed as to its soundness, no question as to its methods. Surviving the trials that have proved too severe for many other banking corporations, it has ever stood like a faithful auxiliary, a tower of strength to the public and to the government.

Mr. Domett has performed his task in the most acceptable manner. His statements all bear the stamp of accuracy, and are clear, concise and forcible, while the merely statistical is brightened on nearly every page with valuable information of historical or biographical significance. The volume is elegantly printed and illustrated. Thirteen fine steel portraits of officers of the bank during the century grace the work, together with a half dozen or more pictures of the buildings which the bank has occupied from time to time, and fac-similes of checks and bank notes.

**EPITOME OF ANCIENT, MEDIÆVAL, AND MODERN HISTORY.** By CARL PLOETZ. Translated with Extensive Additions by William Hopkins Tillinghast. 12mo, pp. 618. Boston: 1884. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The distinguishing feature of this work is the arrangement whereby a brief connected narrative is accompanied by a clear, well graduated chronology, which emphasizes the sequence of events without breaking up the story or fatiguing the mind. It is intended for the use of upper classes

in the higher educational institutions, as a guide or handbook in the historical class-room. It is adapted also for private use, and facilitates rapid acquisition of information concerning historical matters which has for the moment escaped the memory. Especial care seems to have been devoted to the index, which is very full, and thus the book may serve the purpose of a historical dictionary as well as a chronology.

Prof. Dr. Carl Ploetz is well known in Germany as a veteran teacher, and the author of many educational works of high reputation. The translation of this "Epitome" (now in its seventh edition) is particularly welcome to American scholars. Mr. Tillinghast has enlarged the book, greatly increasing its value and general usefulness in this country, and for his able and conscientious work is entitled to the heartiest thanks.

**POLLOCK GENEALOGY. A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF OLIVER POLLOCK, ESQ., of Carlisle, Pa., 1776-1784.** With Genealogical Notes of his Descendants. Also Genealogical Sketches of other Pollock Families settled in Pennsylvania. By REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN. Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 59. Lane S. Hart, Printer, Harrisburg, Pa.

The growing interest in whatever concerns American history is shown in nothing more emphatically and conclusively than in the multiplication of works on genealogy, now being issued from the press in all parts of the country. Formerly the average citizen ridiculed the enthusiast who studied the family tree. At the present moment the really cultivated man or woman who takes no interest in ancestral questions is hard to find.

The Pollock family has an able genealogist in the author of this well-arranged and interesting pamphlet. The North Carolina Pollocks were intimately connected with Aaron Burr. Eunice Edwards, sister of Aaron Burr's mother, married Thomas Pollock, of Newbern, N. C., and they lived in Philadelphia from 1800 to 1806. The little work contains much interesting information aside from genealogy, and will be carefully treasured by all its fortunate possessors.

**AIRS FROM ARCADY, and Elsewhere.** By H. C. BUNNER. 16mo, pp. 109. 1884. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is an agreeable collection of poems in which we trace something more and better than the versifying capacity of a bright and clever writer. Mr. Bunner is a young poet of promise,

whose name has not yet become familiar to the reading public through much utterance, but his work, although in the guise chiefly of society verse, shows that he is gifted with delicate perceptions of truth, strong and healthful sympathies, an emotional nature, and a musical ear. We should say without hesitation that he possesses the genuine poetical impulse, and shall look with interest for future productions from his spirited pen.

**MEMORIALS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS.** John Eliot and his Friends, of Nazing and Waltham Abbey. From original sources. Written for the Royal Historical Society. By W. WINTERS, F. R. Hist. Soc. Pamphlet, 12mo, pp. 80. Published by the author. Churchyard, Waltham Abbey, Essex, England.

Mr. Winters has published in this little work (mainly for the benefit of his American friends) a valuable study of the Pilgrim Fathers, read before the Royal Historical Society. He says in the opening narrative: "It is well known that there is no county in Old England that can claim precedence of Essex for honest and intrepid men, especially those of the Reformation age, who, for the sake of truth and liberty endured the tortures of the rack and fagot; and others of a later period feared not to exercise the right of conscience and private judgment in things agreeable to their religious impressions, until, overcome by the heat of persecution, they were necessitated to cross the stormy Atlantic in search of a home in the dreary wilds of the far West." The author furnishes no insignificant amount of original data concerning the lives of the Pilgrim Fathers prior to their embarkation for the New World, although he modestly implies in his preface that he has done little more than provide material for history, and foreshadows the possibilities in store for future historical writers. Among the numerous interesting features of the little work, is a description of the Parish Church in which the Pilgrim Fathers and their ancestors worshiped. The seats were of oak, and carved at the ends with a variety of grotesque characters. The inside of the south porch remains about as it did; it is paved with red tiles edgeways, and portions of two very ancient, coffin-shaped gravestones. There are several monumental inscriptions in this church to the memory of the Palmers of Nazing—an old resident family of some position in the days of the Charleses. Descendants of the same family are occupants of a fine old mansion beautifully situated near the church and within the park. Near by is a curious ruin known to the Pilgrim Fathers as Nether Hall. In 1871 the Essex and St. Albans Archaeological Society paid a formal

visit to the place; also to the famous Old Rye House, a short distance from the Hall.

#### CONCORD IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

Being a History of the Town of Concord, Massachusetts, from the earliest settlement to the overthrow of the Andros Government. 1635-1689. By CHARLES H. WALCOTT. With map. 8vo, pp. 172. Boston: 1884. Estes & Lauriat.

The author of this volume tells us that the first houses in Concord were humble structures, with thatched roofs, and possibly wooden chimneys, and that oiled paper served in the place of window-glass. The second set of houses were more substantial in their construction, and some of them were dignified by the name of "mansion," but none survive at the present time.

The first church of Concord was organized in 1636, and the following year Rev. Peter Bulkeley was chosen teacher, and Rev. John Jones pastor. It is curious to trace in these pages many of the peculiar ideas of the people of that early period. Men were prosecuted for adversely criticising a preacher. One instance was that of Philip Read, who practiced medicine in Concord, and who imprudently said he could preach as well as Mr. Bulkeley, who was called by a company of blockheads, etc., and that the illness of one of his patients was caused by standing too long during the ceremony of administering the Lord's Supper. A flood of litigation descended upon him, he was fined £20, and finally went to live elsewhere. The volume before us has been prepared with painstaking care, the intention being to present the whole subject in the light of truth, without exaggeration or suppression of any facts of public interest. It is a contribution to history of permanent value.

**ANNOUNCEMENT.**—All lovers of American history will rejoice to learn that an extensive work, presenting specimens of American Literature from the earliest settlement of this continent to the present time, is soon to be given to the reading public. Its editors are Edmund C. Stedman, the well-known poet and *littérateur*, and Miss Ella M. Hutchinson, of the editorial staff of the New York *Tribune*. This "Library of American Literature" is to consist of ten handsome octavo volumes, containing distinctive, readable examples, from authoritative texts, of the writings of every class and period, and will form a collection that will be to our literature what a "National Gallery" is to national art. The extracts are longer than is usual in works of this character; and portraits of many of the authors are given. The first two volumes will be issued at an early date by Messrs. W. E. Dibble & Co. of Cincinnati. The work will be sold exclusively by subscription.





*Hastings Lyman*

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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE STORY OF A MONUMENT

A STately monument of granite and limestone now marks the spot where the Revolutionary battle of Oriskany was fought, August 6, 1777. A history of the series of efforts to secure the erection of this monument is worth chronicling, not only because it belongs with the record of the completed work, but because it is aptly illustrative of the indifference of Americans to memorials which commemorate their history. Perhaps the story of how it was done, of the zeal and well-directed effort of the few men who accomplished it, will help to inspire a like zeal and effort among dwellers in localities of historic interest yet unmarked.

The story of the battle of Oriskany has been fully related in the pages of the *Magazine of American History* [October, 1877, and January, 1878]. There were aspects of that savage struggle in the woods which seemed to have impressed more deeply the men who directed the Revolutionary war than they have the subsequent historians of that war. The Continental Congress, as soon as it learned of the Oriskany fight and of the death of General Herkimer, from the effects of the wound received while directing the battle, unanimously passed this resolution, which appears in the proceedings for October 4, 1777:

"*Resolved*, That the Governor and Council of New York be desired to erect a monument, at Continental expense, of the value of five hundred dollars, to the memory of the late Brigadier-General Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon County, in the State of New York, and was killed fighting gallantly in defense of the liberties of these States."

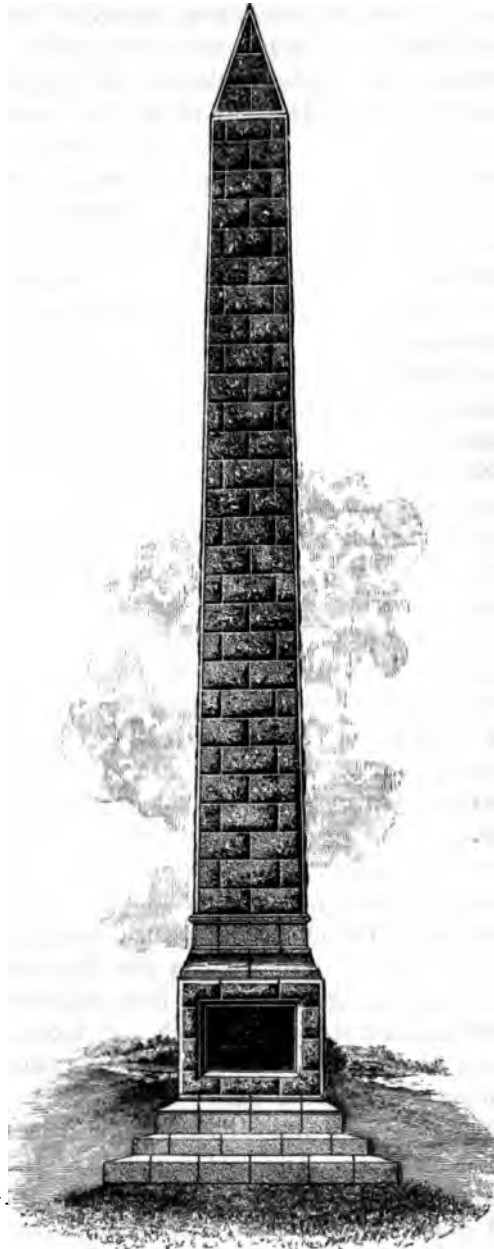
The Continental Congress was addicted to resolutions of this character, ordering monuments and trusting to the future to pay for them; its purse could not keep pace with its patriotism. But the Congress cannot be blamed for the failure to carry out its injunctions, nor indeed can anybody else. There is in existence the letter of Governor George Clinton, in which, covering to the Committee of Safety of Tryon County a copy of the above resolution, he requested that immediate steps be taken for the erection of General Herkimer's monument. The request was neglected

for a reason too sadly sufficient. Subsequent to the battle of Oriskany, the entire settled portion of Tryon County, embracing within its original limits the country from Schenectady west, had been devastated by the raids of Indians and Tories; nearly every member of the Committee of Safety was either dead or in prison. The paralysis of despair and desolation had fallen upon the unhappy Mohawk Valley, whose citizens suffered more cruelly and continuously for their patriotism than the inhabitants of any other equally extended section of the Thirteen Colonies.

When such duties are not at once performed, they are generally neglected altogether. As the Mohawk Valley slowly recuperated from the effects of seven years of border warfare, her citizens passed on to new interests born of welcome peace. Pushing settlers from the New England States flocked into the valley in great numbers, and their influence rapidly dominated in the settlement. The body of Nicholas Herkimer had been buried in the family cemetery at Danube, and there it was safe if not forgotten. The action of the Continental Congress was certainly forgotten, and remained so for nearly fifty years. The story of its re-discovery is interesting, and I think the credit of it belongs to the late Judge William W. Campbell, of Cherry Valley, whose "Annals of Tryon County," published in 1831, was the pioneer of many subsequent efforts to gather into the form of recorded and authenticated history the story of the sufferings and the heroism of the Revolutionary dwellers in the Mohawk Valley. In a personal letter to the writer, dated October 5, 1878, Judge Campbell relates how he gathered the materials for his book by traveling up and down the valley, and calling personally upon the survivors of the war time. Their reminiscences comprise the bulk of the "Annals"; Major John Frey, the last chairman of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, was still living, and in his attic, in an old corn basket filled with papers, Judge Campbell came upon the original copy of the Resolution of Congress, with the letter of Governor Clinton above alluded to. He does not state in what year he discovered these documents; it was probably previous to 1827, in which year Governor De Witt Clinton, in his annual message to the Legislature, called the attention of that body to the fact that it was the year of the semi-centennial anniversary of the battle of Oriskany. He quoted the Continental resolution, eulogized the character and services of General Herkimer, and urged the Legislature to take steps for the erection of the long-neglected memorial. A select committee was appointed and a bill drafted, which passed the Senate but failed in the Lower House. In his next and last annual message, Governor Clinton again directed the legislative attention to this subject. Again

a special committee was appointed, which again reported a bill, which again failed. This bill provided for the erection of a monument at or near the place of General Herkimer's interment, proposed the names of three commissioners to supervise its erection, with power to determine its form, size, and inscription, and appropriated a blank sum of money for its erection.

Here the matter rested for another twenty years, without a single effort being made, so far as can be discovered, to carry out the resolve of Congress. In the year 1844, the Democrats showed a shrewd appreciation of the love of the dramatic in the people by arranging a great Polk mass meeting on the battle-field of Oriskany, to which the country people flocked in thousands from all the section round about. Thus a little of the fragrance of history was thrown into politics. In 1846, Judge Campbell was elected a member of the Twenty-ninth Congress from New York City. During his term of office he made a strenuous effort to secure a redemption from Congress of the pledge of 1777. At his suggestion the New York Historical Society sent a petition to Washington, asking for a fulfillment of the pledge. Judge



Campbell presented it, and the committee to which the subject was referred made a unanimous report in favor of the appropriation of a sum four-fold the original amount specified, for the erection of the Herkimer monument. Judge Campbell, in the letter already referred to, describes the manner of the failure of the measure which lay so near his heart. "There were in the House," he writes, "so many Representatives who were interested in having honors paid to colonels and majors and captains of the Revolution, that the amendments proposed sent the bill over, and it was finally lost, loaded down and swallowed up in a great maelstrom of unfinished business. We had at that time another war on our hands, that with Mexico, and that in a measure caused forgetfulness of duty to heroes of the past." So time rolled on, and the brave hero of Oriskany slept on in his unnoticed grave for thirty years longer. The approach of the centennial year brought with it that memorable and most gratifying revival of interest in the Revolutionary history of the United States, which led to the magnificent series of centennial celebrations, beginning in New York at Kingston, where was celebrated the birth of the independent empire State, including Oriskany, Bemis Heights, Saratoga, Cherry Valley, Elmira, Newburgh, and culminating only recently in New York City, by the unveiling of a noble statue of Washington upon the spot where he took the oath of office as the First President of the United States.

The celebration of Oriskany occurred upon the precise spot where that sanguinary conflict was fought, and was attended by the largest gathering of people ever assembled in Central New York. The celebration was arranged and conducted by the Oneida Historical Society, an organization formed in the previous year largely through the stimulus of the approach of this anniversary, and which remains to-day one of the most vigorous, enthusiastic, and successful of the historical societies of the State. A complete account of the proceedings of the celebration appears in the publications of the Oneida Historical Society, and in the volume of "Centennial Celebrations," published by the State of New York in 1880.

This celebration was of immense service in many ways to the cause of American historical research. It led to the gathering up of the scattered and tangled threads of authority which establish the true and pivotal importance of the battle of Oriskany, in achieving the discomfiture of Burgoyne's splendid scheme for the dismemberment of the Central Colony of New York. It directed public attention to the careless and indifferent manner in which the early records of the Mohawk Valley were preserved; it placed the Oneida Historical Society upon a firm foundation as a competent and valuable receptacle and guardian of documents and data



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relating to that history, and the whole record of the origin, progress and development of Central New York, and finally it set the ball in motion, which kept moving until at last this graceful and permanent monument marks and dedicates the spot where was exemplified the spirit and the purpose which lie at the root of American institutions, and which afford us the guarantee of their perpetuity. It remains to record the successive steps by which the funds for the Oriskany monument were secured; to describe it briefly, and to allude to some of the curious historical questions that have been brought to light in consequence of its erection.

The first president of the Oneida Historical Society was ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, whose portrait forms the frontispiece of this Number of the Magazine. He has been continued in that office from year to year since 1876, and to his efforts and influence chiefly are due the Oriskany monument. Immediately after the Oriskany celebration, the Oneida Historical Society appointed a special committee, consisting of John F. Seymour, Alexander Seward, S. G. Visscher, Charles W. Hutchinson and S. N. D. North, to procure the funds and supervise the erection of a monument upon the battlefield of Oriskany. This committee, working under the direction and inspiration of the president of the society, resolved, if possible, to secure the redemption of the pledge of the Continental Congress. Hon. William J. Bacon, then member of Congress from the Oneida district, and one of the vice-presidents of the society, introduced a bill appropriating \$4,100 for the Oriskany monument. The sum fixed upon was the original \$500 pledged, with simple interest reckoned to the date of the introduction of the bill—one hundred and three years. The bill failed in that Congress, but in the next, when Hon. Cyrus D. Prescott represented the Oneida district, the bill passed, very largely because of the aid and sympathy of Hon. Anson G. McCook, the chairman of the Military Committee of the House. In the meanwhile, private subscriptions had been secured to the amount of several thousand dollars. One subscription list, especially compelling notice on account of its originator, and which aggregated one thousand dollars, was almost exclusively composed of one dollar subscriptions from residents in the Mohawk Valley, whose ancestors had participated in the battle of Oriskany. It was collected by that devoted student of Mohawk Valley history, the late Jephtha R. Simms, of Fort Plain, a worthy disciple of Judge Campbell and Nathaniel Benton, in gathering and publishing the Revolutionary chronicles of the valley. Mr. Simms was not a man of the broadest culture, and his "History of Schoharie County and Border Warfare in New York," first published in 1845, which he expanded into the two large volumes entitled "The



Frontiersmen of New York," the last published after his death, is full of defects from a literary point of view, but fuller still of value as a conservatory of the personal experiences of the pioneers of the valley. Mr. Simms had the erection of a monument to General Herkimer near at heart for a quarter of a century before there appeared any probability of its consummation. He abandoned with reluctance the original idea of erecting it at the grave of the hero in Danube; but the committee acknowledges an indebtedness to him and an encouragement from his enthusiasm, second to that of no other.

In the meanwhile, Governor Seymour and others, recalling the earlier acknowledgment of a duty on the part of the State to aid in the building of a monument to Herkimer, appealed again to the Legislature, and at the session of 1882 secured the passage of an act appropriating \$3,000 for the monument, to be available whenever the treasurer of the Oneida Historical Society should certify to the Controller that an equal amount for the same purpose had been raised by private subscription. This certificate it was possible to make in April, 1882. Thus an aggregate of \$10,100 was secured, representing the combined generosity of nation, State and individuals; and with this sum the committee undertook to construct the monument. The Legislature of 1882 also passed an act donating to the society for monument purposes, the limestone taken from the weigh lock of the Erie canal at Utica, which was removed by the State in the summer of that year. There was enough of this limestone to build the foundations of the monument and to complete the entire shaft.

A plot of four acres of ground was purchased as a site and to form hereafter a monument park. The formation of the country singularly facilitated the plan to locate the monument upon the precise ground over which the Oriskany battle was fought. It adorns a knoll which is the highest point of ground in the neighborhood, within easy access of the public highway, and overlooking the Erie canal and the New York Central Railroad. The wilderness road, almost unbroken except for an occasional corduroy across a swamp, along which the straggling columns of Herkimer's rustic militia passed with fatal disregard to discipline, has become the highway of a nation's traffic and travel. Millions of American eyes will rest each year upon the monument which recalls the story of what it cost to keep the valley free. The site of the monument is west of the second of two ravines, in the first of which the ambuscade into which the Tryon County militia fell is believed to have hidden. The battle surged to and fro over considerable ground, and the fiercest of it is known to have occurred at this spot. The exact place where General Herkimer sat upon



NICHOLAS HERKIMER.

his saddle, wounded, smoking his pipe and directing the battle, is identified by Morven M. Jones, who visited the field forty years ago, accompanied by a surviving participant. It is west of the monument, about fifty feet, and beyond another small ravine, unfortunately not within the limits of the monument park.

The Oriskany monument was erected under contract with the Mount Waldo Granite Company of Maine and the National Fine Art Foundry of New York, whose plans were preferred in an open competition. It was built by Alexander T. Pirnie, who also erected the Sir Walter Scott monument at Edinburgh, and the Baron Steuben monument at Steuben, Oneida County. The superintendent was Hon. William Jones, of Utica. It is in obelisk form and stands ninety-three feet above a massive foundation. The base, of granite, is nineteen feet in height. The impression to the eye of the distant observer is of a graceful and slender monolith, while the near-by spectator is struck by the massive and imposing character





of the work. It may be doubted if there is a monument in the country which surpasses that at Oriskany in perfection of design calculated to produce these effects.

The Oriskany monument will rank among artistic memorials chiefly from the bronze tablets which form the four panels of its base. One of these tablets contains the dedicatory inscription, written by Dr. Edward North, of Hamilton College, which reads as follows:

HERE WAS FOUGHT  
THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY  
ON THE SIXTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1777;  
HERE BRITISH INVASION WAS CHECKED AND THWARTED;  
HERE GENERAL NICHOLAS HERKIMER,  
INTREPID LEADER OF THE AMERICAN FORCES,  
THO' MORTALLY WOUNDED, KEPT COMMAND OF THE FIGHT  
TILL THE ENEMY HAD FLED.  
THE LIFE BLOOD OF MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED PATRIOT HEROES  
MADE THIS BATTLE GROUND  
SACRED FOREVER.

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THIS MONUMENT WAS BUILT  
A. D. 1883, IN THE YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE 107,  
BY GRATEFUL DWELLERS IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY  
UNDER THE DIRECTION  
OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
AIDED BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
AND THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Two of the tablets are striking bass-reliefs, designed by J. R. O'Donovan of New York City, and in strict keeping with the realistic scene they are intended to illustrate and typify. One of them is a figure of the sturdy Herkimer, as the imagination pictures him on that memorable day, with one limb bare and the wound upon it rudely dressed; with the short Dutch pipe in one hand and the other raised to emphasize the command he is giving to the youthful aide at his side—an idealized Herkimer beyond doubt, but not an unhistorical Herkimer—a bass-relief of strong and effective outlines and characterized by a boldness akin to its subject. The other bass-relief is allegorical, and may have been suggested by a well-known piece of sculpture at the National Capitol; but it is strictly indigenous to Oriskany and the strange phases of that conflict. It represents a hand-to-hand conflict in the forest between a young German-American, dressed and trimmed in the Continental fashion, and a typical American Indian, horrid of expression in the passion of that battle, nearly naked,



lithe but strong of build, with uplifted arm in which the swinging tomahawk trembles and tarries on its journey as the point of the white man's bayonet penetrates the bared breast of the savage. The advanced foot of each combatant is planted upon the breast of a dead soldier, who may easily be taken to be a Tory or a Hessian, for whose lifeless form the patriotic young Dutchman cannot be supposed to feel the ordinary respect. These three figures typify the essence of Oriskany; and they may be held also to symbolize the struggle between civilization and barbarism, as it was




worked out in the remote forests of the Mohawk during the Revolution. It was hand-to-hand; it was intense, horrid, tragic; it is not sweet to look upon; but it is truth; and the issue was a close one—as close, even, as the instant's point of time which the Continental bayonet is awarded over the Indian tomahawk.

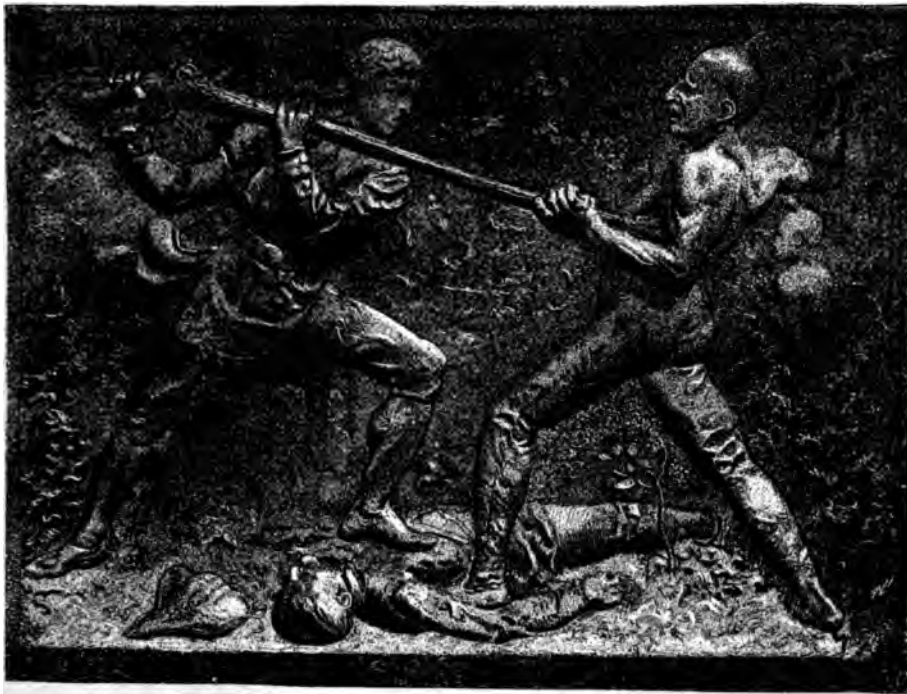
The fourth tablet contains the roster of Oriskany—and it has been the most perplexing in preparation for a reason that promises to make it always the most interesting and most discussed of the four Oriskany bronzes. Never was a more tangled problem in linguistics than the one which presented itself for solution in the preparation of this roster. The

body of militia that General Herkimer gathered to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix is agreed to have consisted of some eight hundred men. So hurriedly was the muster made and so imperfectly were the records kept, that it is impossible to dig out the names of more than about two hundred and fifty of them, including those known to have been killed, wounded or missing. The casualties are supposed to have equaled fully half of the number in the engagement. It was literally a battle in the woods—so far away from civilization that we do not even know who was there and to whom we should do honor. Up to the time of the Oriskany centennial, the names of not over one hundred of the participants were commonly connected with the vague accounts of the battle. Long and patient search among old letters and family records, and some reliance upon verbal traditions, have swelled this list to its present dimensions. General Herkimer's followers were nearly all of German blood, with some Low Dutch among them, and occasionally a few of other nationalities, as Irish, Welsh, and the Scotchmen who came over from the Cherry Valley settlement. The original settlers in the Mohawk Valley—except the English settlement that focused around the manor house of Sir William Johnson—were largely, as is well known, the exiled Palatinates. It has been said they were induced to people this country by the Dutch magnates of Manhattan, because it was still the hunting-grounds of the Six Nations, and they would protect the other colonies to the east, being best suited to that service because they had grown used to the burning and pillage of their homes. Germans they were when they came there; Germans they were in the Revolution; and Germans they remain, to a remarkable degree, down to this day. As ex-Governor Dorsheimer declared at the centennial celebration, "Oriskany was a German fight. The words of warning and encouragement, the exclamations of passion and of pain, the shouts of battle and of victory, and the commands which the wounded Herkimer spoke and the prayers of the dying, were in the German language."

And yet the admixture of races had already begun to play pranks with the names of these Germans. These pranks have continued and accumulated, until to-day the descendants of many of the participants in that "German fight" would not know the names of their ancestors if spelled on the roster as they were spelled correctly at the time Oriskany was fought. Hence arose a great contention, which raged fiercely for many weeks in the local press and in the meetings of the Historical Society, as to which was the proper spelling to adopt, the Anglicized, modern spelling, now generally in vogue in the Valley, or the original spelling in vogue one hundred years ago.



The problem was further complicated by the fact that the original Palatinates and their descendants who comprised the bulk of the yeomanry of the Mohawk Valley in the Revolution, were not an educated people. They had no schools, nor any time for schools. Many of the wealthiest and most respected of the land-owners among them could neither read nor write. None of them—nor anybody else, for that matter—could correctly spell the now unintelligible jargon which arose from the free intermingling of English and German speaking people, who were compelled in their



business transactions and social intercourse, to each make use of more or less of the *patois* of the other. There are preserved several dockets of the Dutch Justices of the Peace of Tryon County which are utterly undecipherable by any one not intimately familiar with that *patois*. There can be no better illustration of the linguistic confusion of the time and place than that afforded by the case of General Herkimer himself, over the spelling of whose name on the roster the controversy waxed fiercest. General Herkimer would be called an ignorant man in these days. The few specimens we have of his manuscript justify this judgment. One of the most curious of these, preserved by the Oneida Historical Society, throws a

flood of light upon this question. Transcribed literally, it reads as follows:

Ser you will order your bodellyen do merchs immiedeetleh do fordedward weid for das brofiesen and amonieschen fied for on betell. Dis yu will dis ben your berrell—from trind

NICOLAS HERCHHEIMER.

To Cornell pieder bellinger  
ad de flets  
Ochdober 18, 1776.

The order, rendered in English, reads as follows:

SIR: You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward with four days' provisions and ammunition fit for one battle.

This you will disobey (at) your peril.

From (your) Friend,

NICOLAS HERCHHEIMER.

To Colonel PETER BELLINGER, at The Flats.  
October 18, 1776.


As a philological study, this order would furnish the text for an interesting treatise upon the linguistic evolution of the Mohawk Valley. It is of interest in this connection for the light it throws upon the question of the proper spelling of the German names upon the Oriskany roster. Ignorant of ordinary spelling, as General Herkimer clearly was, he must have had some clear ideas at least upon the way in which he preferred to spell his own name, and the reasons for that way. It is certain that in all his autographs preserved, he spelled it uniformly. In the "Calendar of New York Historical Manuscripts," published by the State, are reproduced a number of letters from him, in which his name is spelled as above, except that in two cases, where the two *H*'s come together in the middle of the name, a *K* is substituted for the first *H*. A careful inspection of his autograph shows that this substitution must have been the result of carelessness; for there is no appreciable difference in the formation of the two letters. Thus the *K* has worked its way into the spelling of the name by ignorance, or carelessness, or both. It is true, however, that even then there was no uniformity in the family method of spelling the name. In the roster of the Tryon County militia, made out in 1775, the name of the General's tory brother—from which branch of the family, by the way, sprang some of our best known families of to-day—is spelled Hanyoost Herkheimer. The lack of any established methods of orthography at that period resulted in a round dozen different ways of spelling this name, for

each of which more or less family sanction, more or less modern, can be found. Here are some of these methods:

Herschheimer, Herkheimer, Herkhiemer, Herkemeyer, Herkimer, Herkomer, Harcomer, Herkeimer, Herckheimer, Hercheimer.

Nor is there any certainty as to the exact origin and meaning of the name, to serve as a guide to the true spelling. A place called "Herkheim" is mentioned in some German geographies as lying on the River Ill, in Upper Alsace, and the name may have sprung from it. The termination "er" denotes origin; so that "Herkheimer" would signify one born in or coming from Herkheim. This theory is not overthrown, even though the place has no existence at present, and notwithstanding the fact that it is not situated in the Palatinate proper, since the location stated is only a little south of it. In Unterfranken, North Bavaria, not far from Wurtzburg, is a small village named "Herchsheim." The inserted S in this name is of little significance, and does not mitigate against the possibility that the name has this town for its origin. These speculations do not help the matter, however. Very naturally the tendency was, as it is with all words, in all languages, and in all stages of civilization, to settle into the easiest and quickest method of spelling the Dutch names in the Mohawk. The tendency also was, outside of the valley, to Anglicize the spelling as much as possible. Thus, in the resolution of the Continental Congress ordering the erection of a monument, the spelling *Herkimer* was adopted. The mover knew how the name was universally pronounced; he did not know how it was commonly spelled by the owners of it. In other records of the Continental Congress the name is spelled *Herkomer*, which conveys very nearly the same sound.

It is easier to imagine than to describe the confusion of language resulting from the English spelling of words and names that continued to retain their German pronunciation. Take the name *Fuchs* for an example. Very early the English notaries in the valley began to write it *Fox*; and many documents are produced to prove that it was so written, and this writing accepted by the members of the family long previous to the Revolution. Yet it is just as certain that the pronunciation of the name remained *Fuchs*, and that that pronunciation is largely retained by the descendants of the family, notwithstanding the irresistible linguistic tendencies of a section now overwhelmingly Anglicized, down to this day. Again, the historian Kapp gives an instance in which the German name *Fuerstein* was translated into *Flint*, and subsequently re-translated into *Gun*, by which latter name the descendants now pass. The question is, whether, if this particular man had been in the battle of Oriskany, his



name should have been graven upon the roster as *Fuerstein*, *Flint*, or *Gun*? The decision was to the effect that the monument was erected not for the glory of the living, but for the commemoration of the valor of the dead. It was *Zimmermann* who fought at Oriskany, and not those of his descendants who choose to call themselves *Carpenter*; it was *Weber* who died there, not the descendants who go by the name of *Weaver*; it was *Wagner* who earned our gratitude on that bloody field, not the scions of the collateral branches who spell their name *Waggoner*.

There are some instances of the curious errors which must necessarily have followed from any other decision of this question. Mr. Simms, in his "Frontiersmen of New York," gives one. The celebrated half-breed, *Cornplanter*, known while he lived by the cognomen *Abeel*, which indicated the French mixture in his Indian blood, has been remembered in Pennsylvania by a monument erected over his grave in Warren County, by order of the Legislature of that State. Upon the die of that monument is this inscription:

" John O'Bail, alias Cornplanter;  
Died at Cornplantertown, February 18, 1836, aged about  
one hundred years."

It is bad enough that this monument, erected for the enlightenment of coming generations, should have made the old chieftain about ten years older than he was when he died; and it is infinitely worse that it should have perpetuated his name in an orthography that makes him out a full-blooded Irishman. The Oriskany monument, with as good reason, might have made Englishmen born and bred out of the full-blooded Germans who conquered and died at Oriskany. Nearly all of the names upon this roster have assumed an English form with the lapse of time. They have grown to resemble the names of men who came from England contemporaneously with the Palatinate settlement in the Mohawk Valley. It was argued in behalf of the modern spelling that it is the spelling that is to prevail in the future; that no one would know who was meant if this obsolete orthography was preserved in the bronze; and that respect should be shown to the families which, while sacredly preserving traditions, had abandoned the spelling that was good enough for their ancestors. On the other hand, the argument shaped itself somewhat as follows: That in nearly every name in controversy, the changes in orthography were not uniform; that *Zimmermann* was sometimes retained, sometimes spelled *Timmermann*, sometimes metamorphosed into *Carpenter*; that *Visscher*, which is right, was retained by many, while more had gone over to *Fisher*;



GENERAL HERKIMER'S HOUSE. DANUBE.

that *Kraus* was sometimes *Krause*, and sometimes *Crouse*; that *Lieber* was now *Seeber*, and then *Zieber*; and so on through the whole list; that these variations and sub-variations would continue in the future as they had increased in the past; that they were simply corruptions of a spelling that was once uniform; and that in a majority of instances no difficulty existed in determining which spelling was right, according to the rules of philology; that uniformity could only be secured by following inexorably those rules; that uniformity was indispensable, else every scion of every family who followed a different spelling from some other scion would have a just grievance if its particular spelling was ignored in preference to that other; that Oriskany was a purely German battle, and the commemoration of it should be loyal to German standards; and that the monument, being erected for purposes chiefly historical, must be true to history, individualizing the participants in the battle as they were individualized when alive.

A monument is a teacher as well as a memorial. The Oriskany monument will be no less effective as a memorial, because the roster inscribed





upon it teaches that the great bulk of the participants on the American side were men who had not dropped their German tongue or their German orthography; men who were not fighting for a nationality, whose idea of patriotism had its origin in a common impulse with fellow-colonists who spoke a tongue they could not understand, but who were fighting primarily for the protection of their *homes*. There was no battle like it in the whole Revolution, and this quaint Dutch spelling on the roster tells the reason why. There has been no battle quite like it before or since. Oriskany is absolutely unique. The memorial of Oriskany emphasizes this uniqueness to the fullest extent possible. Thus does it best serve the double purpose for which it was erected.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. D. North". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, sweeping initial "J" and a long, horizontal stroke extending to the right.

UTICA, N. Y., *July* 10, 1884.

## DID THE ROMANS COLONIZE AMERICA?

### I.—PROBLEMS AND FACTORS

Who first colonized the Western Continent?

From what far-off land came the primal pioneer to the shores of America? When and where, and over what trackless seas did he sail?

Who was the mother, who was the father, and what was the language lisped by the first-born under the Western skies?

These are profound questions, which have agitated the minds of men for centuries. Science has wrestled long and earnestly with the mysteries surrounding the Red man; but the wisdom of the wisest has failed in reaching any satisfactory conclusions. The voice of History is silent, giving no response to the long-pressed queries, and even the tongue of Tradition tells not its vague and uncertain tale concerning the origin of the earliest peoples of the Western world. There remains not so much as a hieroglyphic in which may be traced the faintest vestige of the birthplace or language of their sires.

The Indian is enigmatic. He is the profoundest historical problem of all the ages. He is not, however, involved in such mazes of darkness and confusion that there is no clue to the truth. We have well-defined bases upon which to proceed. There are three well-known factors presented in the problems; upon these alone now depend all legitimate calculations if we expect to obtain any trustworthy results.

The prehistoric peoples of America are revealed to us in Custom or CHARACTER; and also in ART and in LANGUAGE. There are fragmentary remains of each of these all over the continent.—The naturalist takes a fossil, and from that fossil he delineates an extinct species. Can we take the fragmentary remains pertaining to the dead races of the continent, and construct therefrom the skeleton of a Truth? The testimonies we have indicate that there was once a people in America possessed of a high order of civilization. The savages of to-day represent the degenerate and retrograding sons of illustrious sires. Hints of the culture of the ancient Americans are yet found in many places in the land. Our prehistoric ruins reflect not only a high order of ART, but art founded upon pre-existent models known in old civilizations. This art displays a mind and a hand trained in the schools of science. The civilization and art of

the American were yet flourishing when the conquests of the Spaniards Cortes and Pizarro put an end to their vitality. There were—and are yet—visible deep impresses in the CHARACTER of the Aborigines—the distinct marks of nationality—made by the silent but sure forces of thought and habit for countless ages. These, doubtless, descended from the earliest generations here. They indicate, beyond question, an antecedent type long existent somewhere in history.\* Thirdly, the LANGUAGE of the earliest colonists of America is full of evidences of illustrious birth. Those people were neither beast nor savage. Their speech was not the gibberish of the untutored barbarian; it was, indeed, a speech which by common consent had origin in cultured minds.

The three factors in our problems are all productive or illustrative of civilization. What era in the world's history does that civilization represent?

The answer to this query—the index to the theory of these papers—lies in the title we have chosen, DID THE ROMANS COLONIZE AMERICA?

We consider first the most universal of the testimonies reflecting the Indian's origin. We say universal, for whithersoever the man wandered over the continent, he left behind him as a testimonial, the shreds of his LANGUAGE. Let us see if we can unravel the strange woof contained in the words found here representing the earliest peoples of the Western World. Mr. Jefferson in "Notes on Virginia," has said that "a knowledge of their several languages would be the most certain evidence of their common derivation. . . . Were vocabularies formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, *preserving their appellations*. . . . it would furnish opportunities . . . to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human family." This, indeed, touches the very key-note of the subject. The appellations of a nation are always indicative of their origin. This fact is observable all over the world. German people usually do not adopt French names. Nor does the nomenclature of France savor of Ireland or China. China does not borrow her words from the Hottentot of Africa, nor from the nations of Britain. And whence, then, came the "appellations" of the Aborigines of America?

The most common, and the most universal, and at the same time the most ancient, of the Indian "appellations" have been "preserved." They are the RIVER NAMES of the continent. These words are the very oldest testimonies that exist delineating the speech of the earliest domi-

\* See Irving's "Life and Voyages of Columbus," vol. i., pages 139-141. This authority is quoted as more convenient and accessible to the general reader than the Spanish originals to which Irving refers.

nant races in America. Exactly how old they are, it is impossible to tell. But it is well known that they are not the coinage of the rude people found here in the 15th and 16th centuries, any more than that the names of the rivers of the Old World are due to the present nations there. All geographical nomenclature, with rare exceptions, belongs to remote periods—much of it in the Old World, as well as in the New, to the pre-historic ages.\* The Indian names of our rivers belong to a period when one common language was known, when one dominant race ruled, throughout the entire length and breadth of America. These names illustrate or indicate the language of the men who colonized the continent.

How do we know these facts?

In the very earliest dawn of civilization, in the earliest developments of the human tongue, geographical nomenclature was invented—or had its birth—and titles were applied to rivers. Geographical names rarely ever perish. As the tides of humanity swept over the earth from radial centres, among the very first acts of the primal colonist in all lands was to name the waters. Once rightly applied, the river name usually lives forever. For there is a principle in man which induces the preservation of ancient titles as well as ancient landmarks, which are frequently identical. As the River often became the boundary between man and man, between nation and nation, becoming, in fact, the landmark which could not be removed, the word—its NAME—was kept as something sacred and inviolate. The titles were sometimes supplanted by explorer or conqueror; and often in the defectiveness of the human tongue, or in the caprice of the pen, mere verbal variations, abbreviations, and corruptions of the true word were invented and perpetuated. Yet the ancient names still lived. They were kept in the traditions of man; and they are to-day found in the archives of history, or elsewhere in literature.

There are very few of the Aboriginal titles of the rivers of America, but what a patient search will produce them. Often there are found several names applying to the waters; but the most ancient of all of them is readily detected by its singular conformity to the well-defined model. The mere tribal or dialectic distinction often appears.—There is a science in nomenclature which should be made to delineate the history of these ancient appellations.

Underlying that science is the well-known fact in Indian character, that all the words of our Aborigines illustrated some truth. With them, every name had a definite significance; even tradition tells us that their words

\* The origin of many of the most common European and Asiatic names on the maps of the world is unknown.

always "mean" something.\* In the preservation of the ancient names, their significance has often descended to us with the title itself; and in many instances we are enabled to read the Indian's word in the light of comparative truth.

One great difficulty, however, to be encountered in the analyses of Indian river names lies in the fact that they come to us not in the garb in which the Red man would have written them for us had his knowledge of language been preserved and developed and cultivated as ours; but they come to us through long ages of mere oral tradition, kept often in mere corruptions, simply in the memories of men; their sound finally transcribed by the pens of foreigners; and the translations reaching us in the fanciful garbs of Spanish, French, German, Anglican, or other Continental languages. The later discoverers and explorers in America heard the Indian speak his river names. They were the words of the earliest fathers here—just as the words of the earliest fathers are heard in India, in Turkey, in Germany, in Russia—heard, in fact, all over the world wherever the ancient river name is spoken.

A very prominent feature of the Indian nomenclature lies in its singular analogy to the words of our oldest civilizations. While it is confidently believed by many that the native names here are, in their musical syllabication, wholly unlike the language of any other nation under the sun, the fact is, there is scarcely a primitive river name found in America, but what an analogous or similar word may be found somewhere in the geographical literature of the Old World. The American names, as heretofore observed, in careful comparisons appear to be constructed on pre-existent models—models known in the language of many peoples of earth. These models illustrate and emphasize another very remarkable fact.

All the primitive peoples of earth are known to have used in the structure of their river nomenclatures, the same common and universal syllabic expressions, designated as TERMS; and which are the ancient exponents or significant of our words WATER and RIVER, with their varying conditions. These TERMS are known to man under every condition of his existence, whether civilized or barbarian; they are traced backwards, through the intervening tongues, to the oldest of all known languages. The American Indian uses the same terms in his river names that were used by all the aggressive races that overran and colonized Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Writers on language usually denominate that wide embrace of speech

\* Many of our modern names are mere honorary titles or fanciful creations utterly devoid of *meaning*. The Indian had but little of the honorary, hereditary, or fanciful in his character. Their words appear to have been constructed on thoroughly scientific principles.

which immediately antedates the historical tongues as the SEMITIC LANGUAGE.\* From the Semitic root have sprung three great branches—the Hebrew, the Chaldee (or Aramean), and the Arabic. While each of these has had its countless offshoots and dialects, directly to these three may be traced the historical languages of civilization, and in which are found all the ancient terms for water and river, now known, either in purity or with mere variation and verbal corruptions, in all the river nomenclatures of the world, including that of the Americas. There is no corruption or abbreviation of those ancient terms known to the Oriental or European languages, but what an identical word is found to match it in the river names of the Western Continent. And yet not only does the Indian show familiarity with the ancient terms for water and river, but he had knowledge also of other terms unknown to the ancients up to a certain period in historical annals. That period embraces the Latin.

A glance at the terms themselves may enable us to have a more definite understanding of the problems before us—a more intelligent idea of the manner in which the Indian showed his familiarity with the tongues of civilization. By comparative illustrations, we may be able to trace the Indian down through all the historical eras represented by Hebrew, Sanscrit, Celtic, Phœnecian, Arabic, Persian, Indo-Germanic, and even through the Greek into the bosom of the Roman. And if the testimonies of philology have any value in determining historic truth, we may find the earliest colonists of the Western Continent in a people reaching its shores from what is now a province on the western coast of the Kingdom of Italy.

Startling as this proposition may seem, it is made in the sober conviction of its truth. But to illustrate fully all the evidences showing the Indian's familiarity with the historic languages of the Old World, from the Hebrew to the Roman, would detail upon the writer the task of a volume in itself, occupying more than our allotted space in this paper. Deferring that duty to a future issue, we shall have to content ourselves in this with a few brief examples.

In presenting the reader first with the ancient terms found in the structure of river nomenclatures everywhere, it must be remembered that

\* Lying still beyond the SEMITIC is what is usually denominated the GERM LANGUAGE—a language of brief roots, or germs, which make up the great body of known tongues. All modern languages are chiefly composite—their composite character obtained from what are now generally regarded "dead languages," with modern types of the old. The dead languages were also composite to a great extent. They were made up of those brief roots which had birth in the primal speech of man—the Germ Language.

we are considering words the most of which do not belong to the historical languages; but words that antedate them, and extend into the Semitic, or germ language, and that these cover a period when merely the very briefest and simplest expressions of tongue constituted the speech of man. It was an era furthermore when, as believed by learned writers, that speech was composed of only two classes of words, known now usually as nouns and verbs. Then, there were no adjectives or descriptive phrases employed in human speech. To this fact the river nomenclature of the extreme ancients bears unquestioned and emphatic testimony.

The terms composing this river nomenclature were few and brief—not more than half a dozen with their varying expressions:—these representing, without the aid of epithet, the condition or character of the river named. What was the actual origin of the remote germ in the earliest tongue, will forever remain unknown. One exception alone may be considered. We know, however, with actual certainty, what forms the words took in the historical languages.

One of the most ancient river names now known—ABANA of Damascus—contains two of our TERMS. As this word has never since been applied to the river (at least so far as is known), it is supposed that Naaman the leper, who first used the expression historically, applied the traditional name to the waters—for he was a learned man, supposed to have been versed in the traditional lore of his country.

The two terms in this name are ABA and NA. The actual translation of the word as a Hebrew expression makes it “waters” “sure,”—that is waters that flow certainly, with perpetuity. (Isaiah xxxiii., 16.)

In the Hebrew (where the word is found both as ABANA and AMANA, the consonants B and M being often used interchangeably) the letter M is the brief significant of the word for water; its full expression is Mo or Ma.—(In the original Hebrew the vowels are omitted—and the reader or translator is often allowed to supply the omission according to his own conjecture. So says Gesenius, the great authority in ancient languages.)\*

Languages which are dialects of, or cognate with, the Hebrew, use varying expressions of the term ABA for river or water. The Sanscrit, which also omitted the vowels often, had AP as the significant of water. In the Dacian or Wallachian, the word is written APA. These are the same as ABA, for B and P are often used interchangeably in the languages of old. The Persian expression of ABA is in AB, with the pronunciation and frequent writing of AUB.

The Arabic of the word is the final syllable, BA; or, as sometimes

\* Hebrew Grammar, page 22 (Dr. Roediger). Appletons. 1868. Comp. remarks, page 5, also.

written, BAR or BAHR, the latter containing a hint of an additional term known in the river nomenclature of all nations—the Sanscrit word RI. As the consonants L and R are used interchangeably also in many languages, this latter term is often found rendered LI.

The idea expressed in the primitive term RI, is that of a restless, rapid, rushing current—a stream, a torrent, or a cataract. Its coinage was perhaps due to an onomatopoeic principle developing in the mind of the earliest philosopher. The term is found now in the river nomenclatures of every people under the sun, and always expressive of the rippling, rapid water. It has received many differing expressions in the written languages of man. We see it in the BRAHAMPOOTRA of Asia, in the NACHAR and NIGER of Africa; in the RHINE, the RHONE, and the DNEISTER of Europe, and in America it is in MISSOURI and NIAGARA, and in countless other river names, not only in America, but elsewhere all over the world. In the name NIAGARA, RI appears written with a, while the term NA is rendered with i, the true word being really NAAGARI (or more correctly still Naoghari. All our Indian words are written in mere conjectural or fanciful orthography, as we shall see more clearly as we proceed).

In the name NIAGARA, an additional factor or term is seen—"aga," or really OGHA.

In the early Semitic or Germ language, there was another word for river, in addition to the term ABA, which is supposed to be often merely *water*. It is, however, impossible now to give the original word a definite expression. The Hebrew, the Sanscrit, and the Celtic have slightly varying orthographies for it. In our ordinary transcripts, or versions, of the Sanscrit, the term appears as OGHA. The English word *ocean* is traced to this term. The Celtic language has the term written ACHA, or ACHI; and from which the Latin word *acva* or *aqua* comes. These words are given in our Lexicons as the significant of water or river.

In the ancient Germanic or Tuetonic language of Europe the term has been rendered AHA or AHHA, our authorities stating that this is also a *correct pronunciation* of the Celtic ACHA. Writers on language usually refer to the word AHA as the Germanic equivalent of the words ACHA, APA, and AQUA—water or river. Probably the facts are that ABA and the group of terms owing their origin to it, variously rendered in b and p, making really one primitive word, was in the ancient speech the true term for WATER, while the word written with g, c, ch, and q, refers always to the running river, with the possible exception of the Latin *aqua*, which is expressive of either water or river. AHA may be considered simply as the ancient Tuetonic expression of ACHA, as it is known that defect has existed



for countless ages in the German tongues, preventing their pronunciations of certain digraphs in speech—a fact we shall have occasion to refer to again.

There are developed so far but two of the ancient terms for water and river, ABA and OGHA. NA, while not purely an adjective, was expressive of the constantly flowing water. There was another term in the ancient speech expressive of the character of the water. It is the syllable DE (often rendered “dee”). It is seen in the Sanscrit words DENA and DEAP; and it is supposed to be the root of our English word “deep,” this coming, says Webster, from the Anglo-Saxon *deop*, the same as the Sanscrit *deap*, meaning the deep waters, as the sea. DENA is the flowing deep water, while RINA, another Sanscrit word, is the rapid flowing water. DENA, DEPA, and DEAP are all analogous if not identical. It is well known that D and T often interchange in languages—one being used for the other. Our authorities state that the Indian word now written TIPPA is correctly rendered *Depa*. (See Lippincott’s Pronouncing Gazetteer.)

It is scarcely necessary to burden these pages with full illustrations of the manner in which these ancient terms have entered the river nomenclatures of the Old World. They are seen in purity and corruption everywhere there, and they are so imbedded in the historical languages that references are superfluous. One fact should be remembered—the vowel sounds, especially, in the terms are given all manner of writings. This is due to the fact that the expressions of sounds have no common uniform and arbitrary orthographies in the language of men.

In the Old World especially, where a is often rendered in o and u,\* we see, for instance, that ABA is written OBA and UBA, and OBI and UBI. These are the names of Russian rivers. We write the same thing in our Indian nomenclature, OBEY (a river in Tennessee), and YUBA, a river in California, while in Africa one of the native (Bari) names of the NILE is given as YUBIRI—ABA with the addition of the term RI.

The Persian method of expressing ABA, as in AUB, or AB, is seen in the Asiatic rivers PUNJAUB, MURJAUB, and CHENAUB or CHENAB. The term is not confined to Persia alone. France has a river named AUBE. There are more than fifty rivers in Europe showing the presence of ABA and APA in their names. The Indian nomenclature shows a like number. The reader’s memory can call up the names. The Persian sound is heard in the names CATAWBA, SENATOBA, MANITOBA, and others; while the pure Sanscrit or

\* It is very common to find in the old world words which have origin in those primitive languages which were chiefly consonantal in structure, now written with either of the vowel sounds.

Dacian expression is found in such names as APA-LACHA, AL-APA-HAW, SAX-APA-HAW, CANIAPUSCAW, and in the original of the word Mississippi, which was MESSIS-APA. The very name ABANA is found in the Indian word written ABANAY.

In the former of these illustrations (in APALACHA) we see the Celtic ACHA in connection with the Sanscrit AP. In two others we see the Germanic term AHA (haw), and in the three others we find with the ancient term for river prefixes well known in the Latin—prefixes which are unmistakably adjectives of modern birth.

APA is rendered with o in the European river names, written OPPA (in Italy and Silesia also). It is written with o in the Indian names OPEQUAN and OPELIKA, and numerous others. The PO (once the *Padus* or Padee river of Italy) gets its title from APA. The final vowel is often written with o in the Indian, as in APPOMATOX, APPODEE, and in many others. It is written with u also, as in APPUREMAC.

ABA and APA are often rendered with the vowel i, as in MISSISSIPPI, OSIPPE, CARIBBE, and ABBATIBBE. In the ancient name JOLIBAH of Africa (once the Niger), and in the MERIBAH of the Hebrew, we see the same term.

The Celtic term ACHA is found in a score of instances in the Indian river names in absolute purity, often alone, as in our numerous HATCHIES. It is more frequently joined with a modern descriptive epithet. (By the term "modern," as used in this and a previous paragraph, I refer to the historical periods.) We see the Celtic word in OSWEGATCHIE, CALOOSATALCHIE, CHOCTAWHATCHIE, etc.

ACHA is found in river nomenclature all over the world. In Sicily is a river—the name is pronounced *Atchee*, but the writing of the word there is ACÈ. Sumatra has ATCHEEN. ACHEEN in Germany is pronounced nearly *Ockeen*. Nearly all the German river words showing the Celtic root ACHA, with the c sounded, give this consonant the hard or k sound. AACH—a river there—is pronounced *Ak*. This pronunciation of the syllable ACH is prevalent all over the world. It is so similar in many instances to the sound of the initial syllable in the Sanscrit term OGHA that it is often a difficult matter to determine to which word a corruption is due—whether to OGHA or ACHA, as in the word NIAGARA. The "aga" here may be traced to the sound of either (though the terms themselves are really one and the same).

This recognized difficulty is more conspicuous in the Indian nomenclature than in the names of the Old World—due to the manner in which we have received the Aboriginal names of America. Yet even in the existent writings of the Indian words we find very striking similarities and analogies



everyway to these names in the words of the Old World. We have space for but few illustrations in this paper. We notice only a few.

The Indian name SARATOGA has an exact counterpart in the SARATOWKA of Russia. The word SARA itself is in many names in America and the Old World besides.\* All over the Old World are GARRIS and GARRAS. We have in the Indian GARRY and GAURIBA. All over the Old World are LOORIS or LURIS. The same word is written more than once in our Indian names LURAY. LU is a corruption of LI (for Ri). In African nomenclature the same words are written with either Ru or Lu—as in RUBUMBA, which is also LUVEMBA. Africa has the river RUANNA. In our Indian nomenclature the same word shows the Latin root in the way it is now written—RIVANNA. The vowel is sometimes written in o, in Africa. We find there the LOWANDO. In America we have it simply WANDO. In Africa is MONONGAH. In America we have MONONGAHELA—in the “ela,” a well-known Latin word seen. (The meanings of these words will be discussed in future.) In Africa is the KYOGIA. We have in New York the CAYUGA—pronunciations almost identical.

All over the Old World we find the word COOSEY or KOOSI, in the river names. There are more than a dozen COOSAS in the Indian. The word MOOSE is also a “native Indian name.” Yet in Europe and Asia it is seen written MOUSA. The WOLGA is a river in Europe; the WOLKEE a river in Alabama. In Africa is the CONGO. In America is the CONCHO, and also the CONGAREE—the Sanscrit RI added. SARABAT is in Asia; SARABITA is in South America.

The name Mississippi was originally MESSISAPA, which is not unlike MESOPOTAMIA, of Asia. Our fanciful name Tennessee was once TENASSY (or *Tenacha*), like the other Asiatic word TENASSARIM. The GENESSEE of New York is like the YENESSEE of Russia. YEMASIE is also similar. ONEGA of Russia is similar to ONEIDA of America.

The word SHOCCO or SOCO is in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. It is also a river in Europe. As SHOCKOE and SACO, it is in the Indian nomenclature from Maine to North Carolina. SARANAC is in New York; SARAWAK is in Borneo, and SARAMACCA is in South America. CHILI of South America is heard in the Japan river name PEE-CHEE-LEE. UJIJI of Africa finds its likeness in the JUJUY of the Indian.

OOCHIEE (which is a corruption of either ACHIA or OGHA) is found in many river names of the world—in Russia, China, France, Scotland, and

\* SARA is a river in Russia, Switzerland, France, and in Louisiana. It is SARARI in Brazil—another term added. Tigris—*Tegree* or *Tiegri*—is found in river nomenclature in Asia and in America in several places. Tigre is in Africa.

often in the Indian. From this term comes the word written by our early French explorers, OUACHITA (now the WASHITA or WICHITA). We find what is perhaps identically the same thing in a French transcript of a Polish name—OUCHITZA. The name CANOOCHEE of the Aboriginal American, and which is very like the Asiatic word CANOJIA, gives us a descriptive epithet which is evidently borrowed from the Greek. There are more than a score of the Indian names applying to rivers bordered by the canes—names having in their structure the Greek *canna*. We shall refer to them again.

The above examples—selected at random, and without any effort to give the fullest analogies in the Indian nomenclature to those of the Old World—certainly convey the idea that the river names of America were not devised in utter ignorance of the language of the Old World. Countless other testimonies could be adduced showing the verbal analogies of the Indian to those of the civilized people of the Eastern Continent. The occasional use by the Indian of similar syllabic expressions, or even coincident phrases and complete words found in the speech of unknown people in remote countries, could be accounted for on the ground of accidentality or otherwise. Yet the nomenclatures of the Red man—his “appellations”—are too full of similarity and actual identity with the words of the Old World for us to doubt for a moment the earliest colonist’s knowledge of the pre-existent models. We must confess that there is revealed by the Indian names a knowledge of the historical languages and their etymological laws governing the coinage of words.

We have seen some of the examples of the Indian familiarity with terms having origin in languages antedating the Latin. Let us now see if his knowledge extended through, or embraced, the speech of the Romans. Let us see if we can detect in the river nomenclature of American Aborigines a knowledge of idioms and phrases that cannot be traced beyond the limits of the Latin into an anterior tongue. When we shall have seen the testimonials relating to the origin of the earliest colonists of America as they are revealed by the LANGUAGE of those people, we shall then consider the analogies existing in CHARACTER and ART.

## II.—THE LATIN TERM.

We shall consider next the Term for Water or River, used by the Romans.

It must be admitted that the Roman geographers were familiar with antecedent literature—with antecedent river nomenclature especially. But notwithstanding the fact that the Latin was a composite language, there

are many words therein, the existence of which were unknown until the Roman language had its birth and became fixed in the literature of the world. Among these words was the well-known term AQUA, with its peculiar Latin pronunciation. Although a cognate of the Sanscrit and the Celtic terms, the equivalent of our word for water or river, its birth is at a well-defined historical period.

And yet if we accept the testimonies of the early explorers of America, this word AQUA was well and thoroughly known, and correctly spoken, by the native peoples here wherever the foot of the pioneer trod.

The very first river names recorded by Columbus and the secretaries of his expeditions reveal the word AQUA. The revelations come to us tinged with the Spanish of the writers, and very naturally so too, in the garb of "agua"—this being the Spanish writing of the Latin term. But the examples are recorded as "native words." Among others are XAGUA, XARAGUA, CUBAGUA, and YAGUA or Yagui.\*

The initial X in these examples is but the Spanish representation of our English Ch: an English transcript of the same syllabic sounds would give the word XARAGUA as CHARAQUA.

Columbus records many of the aboriginal river or water names wherein the Celtic term ACHA is apparent, in the writing "aca"—as JAMAICA, MACACA, etc.—The words CARIB and CARIBA—and about which the discoverer evinced so much concern—are also easily located in the Latin language which contains *Caribus* (from the Greek); this being the Roman word for sea-crabs or turtles. The world knows how famous the West India Islands have long been for immense crustaceans, the celebrated green turtles. In the word we see the origin of "Carabean"—"Caribbean Sea."

There is a long list of aboriginal river names (and other words having analogous origin) showing the term AQUA in purity. There are countless others rendered with so slight an infringement upon the correct orthography of the word, we can readily understand that the corruption is due not to the aboriginal pronunciation but to the versions of modern scribes; as for instance, "acqua," "aquo," "aqui," "aque," and "agua," instead of merely AQUA, in such names as ACQUASCA, AQUOKEE, AGUACHAPA, etc., etc.

Again: we often labor under difficulty in determining what is an aboriginal name or a mere Spanish one in those sections of the New World that were long under Spanish domination. There is one fact, however, that assists in removing doubts. The modern Spanish ideas in the appli-

\* See Irving's "Columbus," vol. I., p. 154.

cation of river names in America, were not always based upon the aboriginal models heretofore referred to. The priesthood accompanying the expeditions of early colonization had much to do in the coinage of nomenclatures here. Hence, names not purely Indian are often found with a prefix indicative of the Spain of three hundred years ago. We have numerous *Saints* in the "Sans," and other titles pertaining to ecclesiasticism,\* in the Spanish names in America. "Rio," also, often appears in connection therewith; while words that evince a conformity to the Indian models may be safely written as "native names," even though they do at times indicate the Spanish idioms.

Among these are AGUAPAHEE, AGUILA, AHAGUA, AGUADEELA—and many others. (Pronunciations given in these words are not always the foreign writings thereof.) The "ahee" of these names reminds us of the Germanic AHA, and la is evidently LI or RI.

In addition to names already written showing the presence of AQUA in the Indian nomenclature, we may cite the following:

AQUIA (of Va.); AQUIRAS (Brazil); AGAQUA (Tenn.); TALAQUAH (in various places in the South); CHATAQUA and CHAPAQUA (N. Y.); COFAQUA (Mexico); AQUEHONO (Texas); ALAQUA (Florida); ATCHALAQUA (Ga.); TAMAQUA (Pa.); TELAQUA (Tenn.); AQUAKANNOCK (N. J.); AQUALA (Ga.); AQUONA (N. C.); PISCATAQUA (N. H.); MAAQUA (N. Y.); INCTAQUA (N. C.); SADAQUADA (N. Y.). The list might be extended.

AQUANA is the same as ABANA. Both names are found in the Indian. The SADAQUADA was written also by the French SAUQUOIT. It is one of the tributaries of the Hudson or MAAQUA (through the Mohawk).

In words like the following it is difficult to determine to which root the Indian name belongs—whether to the Latin AQUA, with its Spanish rendering, or to the Sanscrit OGHA (which is perhaps the true parent of the later word). The evidences, however, are in favor of the Latin, from the fact that in the Old World, among all the titles given to the rivers, *this version or pronunciation of the Sanscrit word is rarely if ever found*:—

NICARAGUA, AUTAUGUA, WATAUGA, SAGUANA, CHICKAMAUGA, CONNESAGUA, PARAGUA (or PARAGUAY), and URAGUA. We have also such names as CHICAGO (*Chuckagua*, one of the early names of the Mississippi), CANADINAGUA, and many other "aguas." What is supposed to be one of the earliest writings of the name now written CONNESAGUA is in *Cana-sagua*. (Ramsey's "Annals of Tennessee," p. 26.)

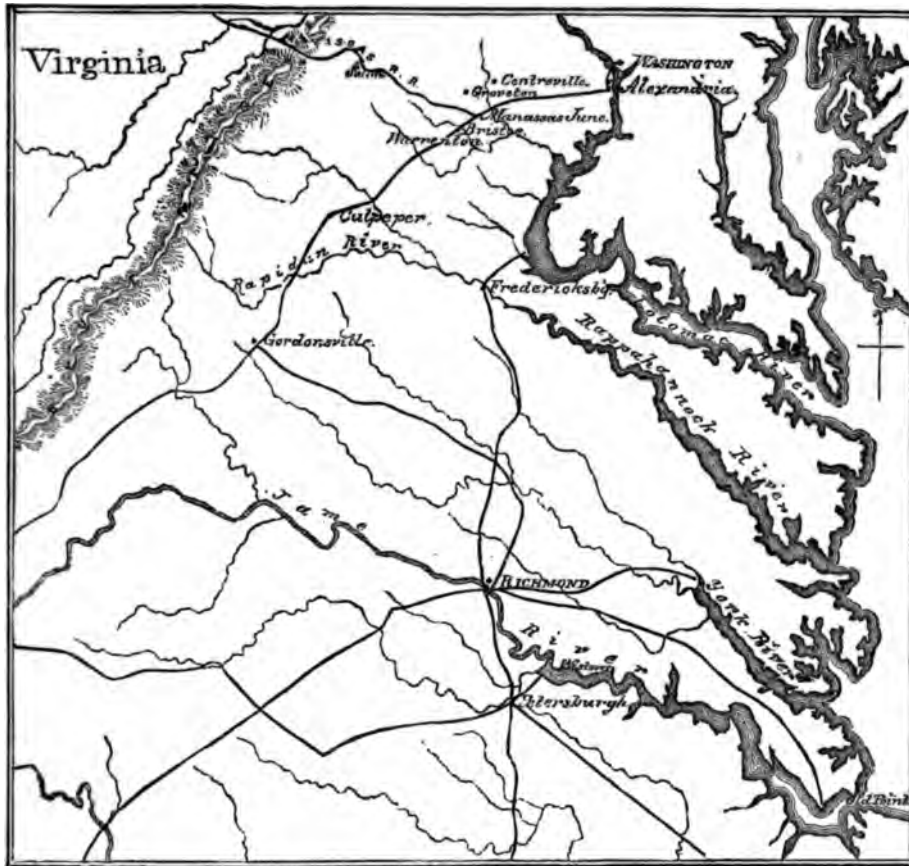
*M. V. Moore.*

\* FLORIDA was discovered on Palm or Easter Sunday, a day celebrated by the Church—hence the name.

## LEE'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST POPE IN 1862

The campaign of Lee against Pope, covering the two weeks from the middle of August to September 1, 1862, or if we include the preliminary operations of Jackson, covering the six weeks from the middle of July to September 1, was one of the most interesting and exciting of the war. Though much has been written about it, great confusion still exists as to the military problems presented in this campaign, the ends had in view by the combatants, and the means by which these ends were to be attained. This confusion has, in no small part, grown out of the angry controversies to which this campaign gave rise, controversies in which were involved a number of the leading Federal officers connected with it. General Pope was relieved of command at its close, and his report and subsequent writings have been in large part a defense of his plans, and an attempt to show how these plans were made to fail by the shortcomings of others. Then the Fitz John Porter controversy, while it has been useful in bringing out clearly facts that otherwise might have remained obscure, has absorbed a vastly disproportionate share of the attention of most historians, and has led to many distorted and partisan views of the whole campaign. The parts played, too, by Generals Halleck and McClellan have been subjects rather for angry declamation or bitter criticism, than for calm historical discussion. The result has been confused and conflicting accounts, in which the leading features of the campaign have been lost sight of in the effort to set in a good light the reputation of this or that prominent officer.

Let us glance at the situation in Virginia in the middle of July, 1862. General McClellan was at Westover (or Harrison's Landing) on the James River, where his gunboats rendered a strong position practically unassailable, and gave him easy command of the river for supplies. His army had lost in the "Seven Days" more heavily in morale than in men, and though now suffering from the climate it was still 90,000 strong and McClellan was urgently asking for re-enforcements in order to renew his advance on Richmond. General Pope had, on June 26, been placed in command of the three corps of Fremont, Banks and McDowell, which as separate commands Jackson had defeated in succession in the Shenandoah Valley between the 1st of May and the middle of June. Pope had early in July collected his troops (except King's division, which remained for

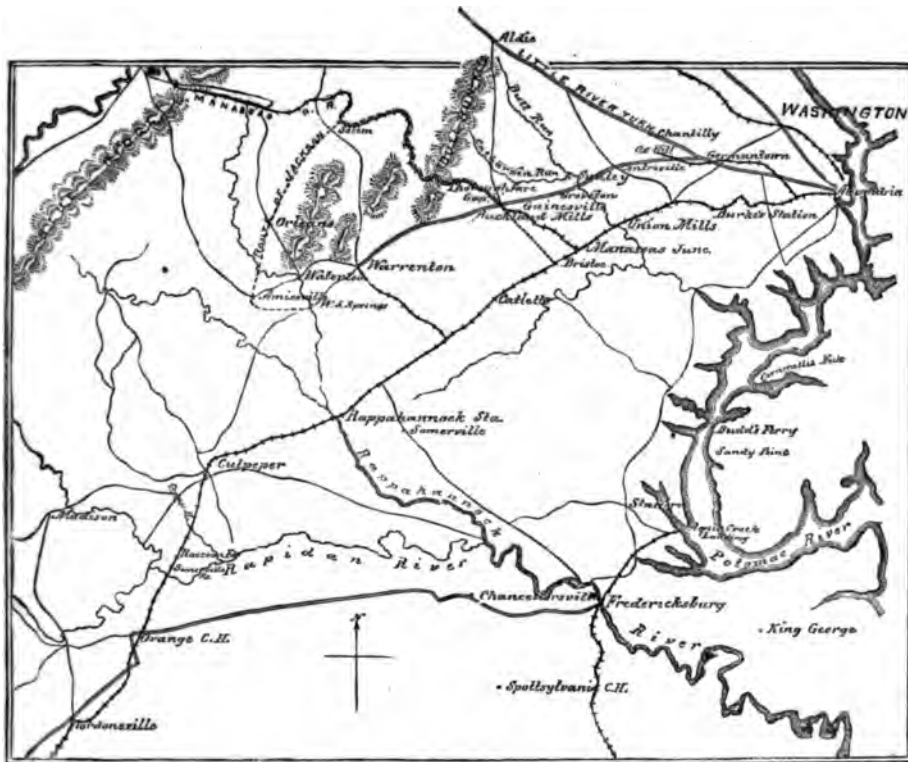


the time at Fredericksburg) on the headwaters of the Rappahannock. He proposed to move thence against Gordonsville and Charlottesville, and having thus cut Lee's direct communication with the Shenandoah Valley, to threaten the rear of the Confederate army at Richmond. Pope had 50,000 troops. The Confederate army under General Lee was concentrated in front of Richmond. When Jackson had been withdrawn from the Valley, about the middle of June, to aid in the attack on McClellan, but a single brigade of cavalry had been left in that region to observe the movements of the troops now under Pope. All the rest were with Lee, who was resting and recuperating after the sanguinary conflict of the "Seven Days," and carefully watching the movements of the two adversaries with whom he had to deal. His force was about 70,000 men.

Lee's obvious policy was to prevent the two Federal armies from acting



in concert against him. It was to fight one or the other of them with as large a force as he would dare to concentrate at one point. But he could not get at McClellan, and while McClellan lay at Westover with a large army, he could not leave Richmond to move against Pope. The approach of the latter towards Gordonsville rendered it necessary, however, to detach some force to hold him in check, if Lee would retain his railroad communication with the Shenandoah Valley, whence a considerable part of the Confederate supplies were being drawn. Hence Jackson was sent from Richmond with 11,000 men to Gordonsville, and arrived there on the 19th of July, in time to prevent Pope's cavalry from seizing the place. Jackson was instructed to keep Pope back, and to strike, if a good opportunity offered, some part of his force. Jackson felt that he was too weak to make any headway against Pope, who could concentrate 50,000 men in his front, and therefore asked for more troops. Lee, learning that Burnside's corps was leaving North Carolina for the mouth of the Chesapeake with the probable intent of re-enforcing McClellan, could not deplete his strength at Richmond any further. The week from July 20 to July 27 thus passed. McClellan did not advance, while Pope was gathering in force towards the Rapidan. The probabilities of an advance by McClellan seemed less, while the attitude of Pope was becoming more threatening. If the latter was to be held in check at Gordonsville, and the railroad retained in Confederate possession, Jackson must be re-enforced. Therefore on July 27 A. P. Hill with about 12,000 men was ordered to Jackson's assistance, while to divert McClellan's attention demonstrations were made from the south side of the James against his shipping at Westover. This division of his army thus forced upon Lee, presented a favorable opportunity for attack by McClellan. The detaching of some 23,000 men to the Rapidan left Lee with only about 50,000 men at Richmond. Had Burnside been sent to McClellan, the Federal commander might have advanced from Westover with 100,000 men, against Lee with 50,000 in front of Richmond. Though McClellan advocated at the time such a policy, he, unwittingly but really, prevented its adoption by demanding larger re-enforcements than the Federal Government could send him within a reasonable period, and by giving his superiors a most exaggerated estimate of Lee's force. General Halleck had just been summoned from the West, and given the place of Commander-in-Chief, from which McClellan had been displaced. He visited McClellan at Westover, and learned from him that he was not willing to make an advance with the troops at hand, because Lee with a largely superior army lay in front of Richmond. Halleck decided it unwise to continue the separation of the two Federal armies in Virginia, in the

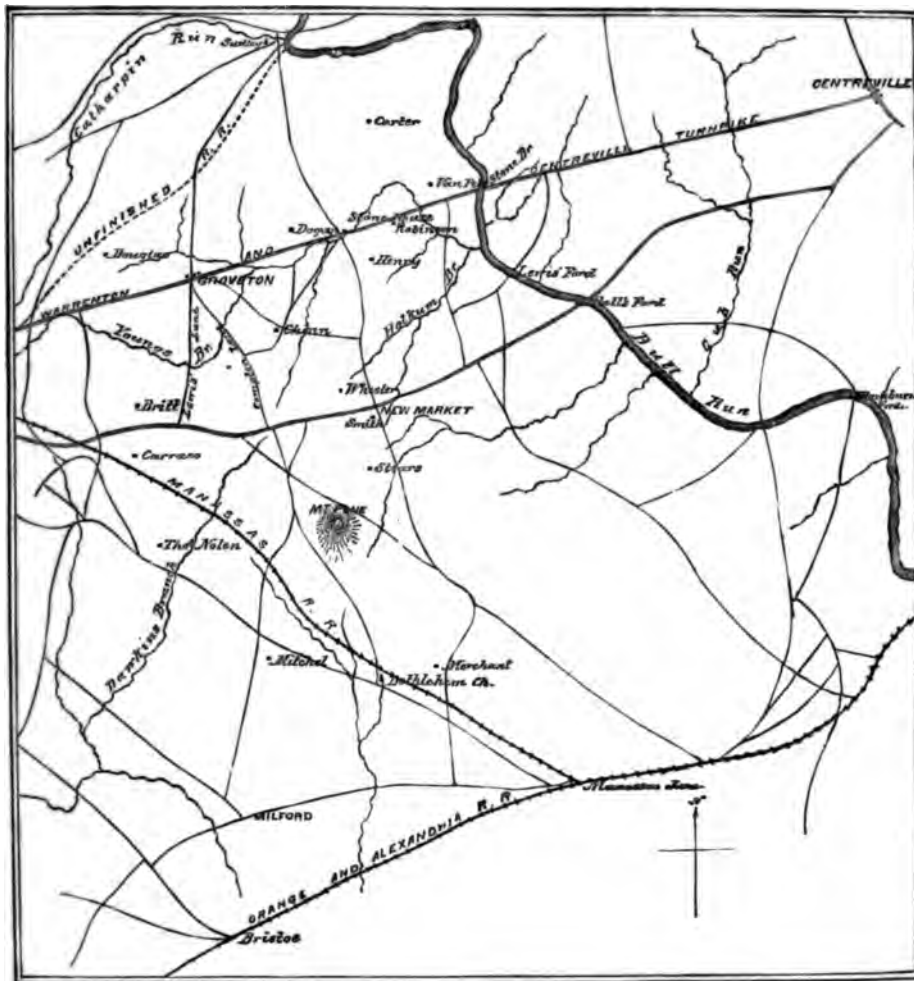


presence of a victorious adversary whom McClellan deemed to be superior in numbers to either of them. On the basis of the prodigiously erroneous data furnished by McClellan, Halleck's decision was prudent and proper. Fears of a Confederate concentration against the weaker army under Pope, and of an advance against Washington, apprehensions of the results of a midsummer campaign on the sickly banks of the James, and, still more, loss of confidence in McClellan, caused the Federal administration to choose the transfer of McClellan's army to Pope, rather than the transfer of Pope's army to McClellan. Hence Burnside was not allowed to disembark on the James, but was sent at once by Acquia Creek to Fredericksburg, and on August 3 McClellan was ordered to leave the Peninsula and transfer his army to Acquia Creek and Alexandria. While sending off his sick, McClellan made a demonstration towards Richmond (August 5 and 6), throwing forward a strong force as far as Malvern Hill, but the only result was to prevent Lee detaching any more force at the time to Jackson. McClellan finally left Westover on the 14th, but Lee, having already

divined his purpose, had on the day before begun to move with 30,000 men towards the Rapidan to unite with Jackson, while he left some 20,000 to defend Richmond. The Confederate leader designed, if possible, to anticipate the junction of McClellan and Pope, to which the indications now pointed, by concentrating quickly all the force that could be spared from Richmond, on the Rapidan, with the intention of fighting Pope before McClellan's troops could join him.

Meantime the first blow in the coming campaign had been already struck. When A. P. Hill had joined Jackson about the 1st of August, thus raising his force to somewhere between 20,000 and 25,000 men, the latter determined to strike Pope before he had fully concentrated. This concentration once effected, Jackson felt it would be hard to make headway against an army of double his own number. Having learned that a body of Federal infantry occupied Culpeper C. H., at a considerable distance from the main body of Pope's army, Jackson set out on August 8, hoping by a sudden movement to overwhelm it. The oppressive weather and the resistance offered by the Federal cavalry delayed him, and on the morning of the 9th he had only reached Cedar Run, a point but little more than half-way between the Rapidan and Culpeper C. H., where he came in contact with Banks' corps, which had been thrown forward by Pope to meet him. The incaution of the Federal commanders and Jackson's promptness now gave him the opportunity he sought. After a severe fight Banks' corps was defeated and driven from the field by the Confederates, who were superior in numbers. Rickett's division and Sigel's corps, sent to re-enforce Banks, arrived too late to prevent the disaster, but in time to check the pursuit after nightfall. There has been much discussion as to who was to blame for the disaster to Banks at Cedar Run. Pope, of course, throws the blame on Banks. The truth is, Banks, with too little circumspection, and without being sure of support, engaged a superior force. Pope, on the other hand, had given such orders and instructions as to prevent Banks from retiring without a fight, and was seriously at fault in not having the troops at hand to support Banks. After the battle, Pope did rapidly what he ought to have done before. He concentrated his troops in Jackson's front, King coming up from Fredericksburg on the 11th, and Reno joining him with 8,000 of Burnside's men on the 14th. Jackson having placed Banks' corps *hors de combat* for the time, and perceiving that Pope was gathering in largely superior force in his front, fell back on the 12th to the south side of the Rapidan.

This swift and unexpected blow of Jackson's disconcerted Pope's plans and delayed his advance. It gave the Confederates the needed respite of



a week, during which Gen. Lee joined Jackson with 30,000 troops, and Pope's opportunity was gone. There is a striking contrast between the promptness and energy of the Confederate movements up to this time, and those of the Union armies. Pope had for a month permitted Jackson, with a force less than half his own, to hold Gordonsville and the railroad, and when, at length, he did advance, had done it in so slovenly a way that his agile opponent had swooped down on and demolished one of his corps before the others could prevent it. McClellan had not availed himself of Jackson's absence from Richmond, and when ordered away from the Pen-

insula, he had moved with such deliberation that Lee was actually on his way to the Rapidan before McClellan left Westover.

When Lee reached the Rapidan, his force there was about equal to Pope's. Each had about 50,000 men. Lee's determination was to attack Pope with the utmost celerity, that he might defeat this Federal army if possible before McClellan's forces could reach it from Fredericksburg, or Alexandria. At the middle of August, Pope held the line of the Rapidan, his center resting opposite Orange C.H. Lee's plan was to turn the Federal left by crossing the Rapidan at the lower fords (Raccoon and Somerville), and by pushing hard for Culpeper C.H. throw the Confederate army upon Pope's flank and rear. The country on the south side of the Rapidan was favorable to the concentration of the Confederate army at these fords unobserved, and the movement, if successful, would place Pope in imminent peril. With communications cut and depots seized, a Confederate victory would result in the destruction of his army. Lee issued orders to cross the Rapidan on August 18, but delays about transportation and an error in the movement of the cavalry, which was to precede his right, caused him to lose two days, and it was not until the 20th that the crossing was actually made. This delay cost the Confederate leader the success of his plan. For Pope having learned of his approach and intentions on the 18th, through scouts and the capture of a staff officer of General J. E. B. Stuart, on whose person was a letter containing Lee's order of march, at once began to fall back behind the Rappahannock. The Federal army began this movement on the 18th, and when Lee marched on Culpeper C.H. on the 20th, he was in time to overhaul only Pope's rear guard. By this prompt movement the Federal commander foiled his antagonist and secured for himself a stronger position, where he was nearer to supplies and re-enforcements. Halleck approved of this movement, but was anxious that Pope should hold on to the line of the Rappahannock, and promised to hurry forward McClellan's troops to his assistance as fast as possible.

On August 21, Lee moved up to the line of the Rappahannock, and the next few days were spent, for the most part, in skirmishes and artillery duels, as the Confederates felt their way gradually up the right bank, seeking an opportunity to cross and attack Pope. The failure to strike Pope while south of the Rappahannock vastly increased the difficulty of the problem which presented itself to Lee. The Federal army was now strongly posted on the left bank of that river, where the ground was favorable to defense. This army of 50,000 men was equal in numbers to Lee's own, and it was only fifty miles from its base at Alexandria. From that point and from Fredericksburg, McClellan's troops were hurrying forward

to it as fast as the immense transportation facilities at the command of the Union Government could bring them. The possibility of bringing Pope to a general engagement before the junction of the two Federal armies grew every hour more doubtful. But when Jackson, who was on Lee's left, arrived opposite Warrenton Springs on the evening of August 22, the way was found clear, and his advance under Early crossed the river. The remainder of the Confederate army would have followed, and the attack would have been made here, had nothing interposed. But a violent rain-storm made the river impassable during the night, and no more troops could be passed over to join Early, who was on the north side.\* Pope concentrated to oppose this movement, and Sigel's corps was thrown forward on the 23d to crush the Confederates who had crossed. This was not effected, however. Early's bold front and Sigel's lack of enterprise saved the Confederates, and Early was withdrawn without loss on the night of the 23d over a temporary bridge. Lee felt that the delay which had occurred had given his adversary time to prepare to thwart the movement, and he therefore abandoned it. Pope's correspondence with Halleck indicates that he too contemplated the offensive at this time, by crossing lower down the river and moving on Culpeper C.H., against Lee's flank and rear, and that the rise of the river defeated the plan. It seems very doubtful whether such a move was seriously intended, for it is impossible to see why Pope, who in expectation of early re-enforcements had wisely put himself behind the Rappahannock, should, before these re-enforcements arrived, deliberately cross again to the south side and attack Lee, from whom he had retired but three days before.

This same 22d of August was marked not merely by Early's crossing at Warrenton Springs, but by a daring raid of the Confederate cavalry under General J. E. B. Stuart. This bold horseman, under orders from General Lee, crossed the Rappahannock above the Springs, and made a dash at Catlett's Station, in Pope's rear and where his trains were gathered. The terrible rain-storm of that night added to the darkness and difficulty of movement and prevented much of the damage that Stuart intended, but besides some prisoners and property, he captured Pope's papers, and thus brought valuable information to Lee.

\* On this dark and stormy night Major A. L. Pitzer, of Early's staff, in trying to get to Warrenton Springs from Early's troops, which had crossed a mile below, ran into a Federal scouting party of six cavalrymen and was captured. The Federal cavalrymen were at a loss which way to go in the pitch darkness, and the Major soon persuaded them that they were surrounded by Confederate pickets, and could not escape. He brought the whole party in as prisoners to General Early.

The 24th of August found the Confederate leader baffled for the second time in the campaign. Pope's retreat from the Rapidan had been his first disappointment, and now a storm had prevented a crossing at the Warrenton Springs until it could only be done in the face of the whole Federal army. Stuart brought the news that large bodies of McClellan's troops were already approaching Pope, and that the remainder of his army was on the way. The captured papers also showed that the mass of Cox's troops from the Kanawha were on their way to Pope, and that a portion of Sturgis's command at Washington was to be sent forward. It was evident that troops amounting to from 75,000 to 100,000 men would join Pope within a week or ten days, and swell his army to such a size as to be overwhelming. Lee at once ordered up nearly all the 20,000 men left at Richmond, thus stripping the Confederate capital bare of defenders, but it was evident that these troops could not reach him from the distance of one hundred miles in time to prevent the concentration of forces, a large part of which were now within fifty miles. If Pope was to be beaten before Halleck should swell his numbers to double or triple their present size, it must be done within the next few days, and it must be done with the 50,000 Confederates already on the Rappahannock. It was under these circumstances that Lee adopted a plan of operations, one of the boldest on record, and which, in a week, effected his purpose.

Jackson was made on August 25, with nearly one half of the Confederate army, to cross the Rappahannock so high up as to be entirely beyond Pope's right. He was then to pass completely around Pope's right flank, and by way of Orleans, Salem, and Thoroughfare Gap, to seize the Orange and Alexandria Railroad (now the Virginia Midland) at Bristol and Manassas in the rear of the Federal army. The continuation of the Bull Run Mountain interposes between Salem and Warrenton, in front of which latter place Pope's army was massed, and it was expected that this barrier would prevent an attack upon Jackson's moving column, as well as conceal, to a large degree, its route. This move would sever Pope's communications with Alexandria, and thus interfere with his supplies, and prevent for the time any more troops reaching him from that point. It would force him back from the Rappahannock under circumstances which were sure to produce loss of morale, and would probably present a favorable opportunity for fighting a battle with him. Longstreet with the other wing of the Confederate army was to remain opposite Warrenton Springs, and engage Pope's attention by heavy artillery fire and vigorous demonstrations until Jackson was well advanced. Longstreet was

then to follow and unite with him as soon as possible. The risk involved in this strategy of Lee's was very great. He was dividing his army in the presence of a superior one, for before Jackson reached Manassas, some 25,000 to 28,000 of McClellan's troops under Heintzelman, Porter, and Reynolds had already joined Pope, thus raising the Federal forces in front to over 75,000 men. It was possible for Pope to interpose between the two halves of the Confederate army, and crush Jackson before Longstreet could reach him. Lee must have counted largely on the skill, celerity, and boldness of his famous lieutenant when there was such danger of Pope's concentrating upon and overwhelming him. Mr. Ropes, who has given us the best account so far published of this campaign, in common with other writers criticises this strategy of Lee's, and declares that the object was not worth the risk; but apart from the maxim that in war results are the best test of military skill, it is impossible at this day, with all the facts before us, to suggest a plan which would have accomplished so much as the one adopted by Lee. Confused and erroneous statements of the condition of affairs, and of the available forces of the combatants on the 24th of August, have obscured to many minds the immense difficulty of the problem the Confederate leaders had to solve. To cross a troublesome river and attack in front a well-posted and more numerous army, now on the alert, did not promise much. To delay even a few days was to insure that Pope, with more than double the Confederate strength, would force them to retreat and assume a defensive rôle behind the Rapidan. Twice foiled in attempting to strike his adversary, there remained to Lee no hope of decided success save by some such daring scheme as that adopted. Great commanders have not hesitated at risk in great emergencies.

The very boldness of Lee's strategy contributed to its success hardly less than the consummate skill and courage with which Jackson executed his part of the task. During the two days that Jackson was making the circuit that was to bring him to Pope's rear, his silent \* and swiftly moving columns were frequently observed by Pope's scouts and outposts, but when the Federal generals came to discuss what this movement could mean, there were advocates of every other imaginable supposition, except the true one. *This* was rejected by all as too audacious to be credible.

\* The men were to refrain from everything that might attract the notice of the enemy. When they approached Salem on the evening of the 25th, Jackson, who had gone to the head of the column, stood by the roadside as his troops passed. As they began to give the usual cheers with which they always hailed his presence, orders were sent to them to refrain from it lest they should draw the attention of the enemy. The men filed by, and as they did so threw their caps in the air, but remained silent. Touched by the "silent cheers," and with face glowing with emotion, Jackson said, "Who could not conquer with such troops as these!"




Thus it came to pass that Jackson, after a forced march of nearly fifty miles in two days, appeared suddenly at Bristoe Station on the evening of August 26. He broke the railroad at this point, and pushing a part of his force during the night to Manassas Junction, captured immense stores and destroyed one of the principal depots in the rear of the Federal army. August 27 was a day of alarm and excitement in the Federal army. The Federal troops about Manassas were driven off, and Taylor's brigade coming up from Alexandria was put to flight and its commander killed. Jackson sent forward his cavalry to destroy the railroad, and spread the alarm towards Alexandria, while he rested and fed his march-worn troops at Manassas. Pope, convinced by the morning of the 27th that there was something more than cavalry in his rear, turned his columns away from the Rappahannock, and faced them towards Manassas. Late in the afternoon his advance under Hooker came in contact with Ewell, commanding one of Jackson's divisions at Bristoe. After a sharp fight Ewell fell back under orders on Jackson's main body at Manassas, and Pope was greatly elated at his success.

Now came a test of Jackson, than which few greater have ever tried the genius of a commander. He knew at the nightfall on the 27th that the whole of Pope's forces, more than three times as numerous as his own, were heading towards Manassas, and on the morrow must crush him if he remained there. A large part of these forces were in reach of the road by which he had come. He knew that at Alexandria and Washington were large bodies of troops, which, like a nest of hornets, would be stirred up by his descent upon Manassas. Alexandria was only twenty-seven miles off—a good day's march, as he measured day's marches when in earnest. It was of course possible for him to fly, and, contenting himself with the damage already done, rejoin Lee by rapid marching over a circuitous route. This would, however, reduce his expedition to a raid on the Federal communications and depots, which had forced Pope from the Rappahannock, but had accomplished little else. Lee designed much more than this. He designed, if possible, to give battle to Pope while suffering from the confusion and demoralization consequent upon an enforced retreat and the destruction of his communications. Jackson fully comprehended the situation. It was necessary for him not to retire, but so to baffle and mislead Pope as to keep him on the ground, and yet at bay, until Lee, who was already on the way, could come up with Longstreet's corps. A single misstep might bring destruction. But success was possible, and Jackson never took "counsel of his fears."

The main columns of the Federal army were moving on the Warrenton

and Centreville Turnpike. Their advance on the morrow would bring them directly between himself and Lee, and Jackson determined to place his command north of that road in such a position that if forced to retreat he could approach Longstreet. He selected the vicinity of Groveton, not far from the battlefield of July 21, 1861. Here there were good positions for defense, and he would be on the flank of Pope's army as the latter advanced towards Manassas instead of directly in its pathway. Here, too, he would be within easy reach of Lee when once the latter had passed the Bull Run Mountains, at Thoroughfare, or the neighboring gaps. Soon after nightfall on the 27th, Jackson began to move. In order to distract and mislead Pope, he directed his divisions by different routes. Taliaferro's division with all the trains was sent out first, by the Sudley Road, direct to the locality selected, north of Groveton. Ewell's division was then sent towards Blackburn's Ford on Bull Run, and A. P. Hill's to Centreville. Ewell and Hill both marched the next morning towards the Stone Bridge, where they recrossed Bull Run, and moved westward until they rejoined Taliaferro. Jackson's rear guard was ordered to set fire to the long train of cars and the unappropriated stores at Manassas, and the burning mass was to be seen for miles in every direction. Long before daylight Jackson was completely away from Manassas.


Pope's operations on the 28th remind one of a game of blind man's buff more than of anything else. On the 27th he had been in doubt as to the character and dimensions of this expedition to his rear which had broken his communications and seized his depots. Having discovered from the fight at Bristoe on the evening of the 27th that it was Jackson's command which held Manassas, and seeing thus the opportunity afforded him by the division of the Confederate army, Pope determined to "bag" the part of it which had ventured so far from support. Orders were issued for the concentration of his whole army upon Manassas on the 28th. He does not seem to have doubted that he could reach that point and crush his active adversary before the latter could get away. He felt so certain of this as to take no precautions to prevent, or at least delay, the arrival of Lee, who was now approaching Thoroughfare Gap. The necessity of this precaution, however, was perceived by McDowell, who with the left wing of the Federal army was moving down the Warrenton and Centreville turnpike, and early on the 28th he took the responsibility of detaching Rickett's division, and sending it to hold the gap through which Jackson had come, and through which Lee with Longstreet was to be expected. Pope reached Manassas about mid-day on the 28th with Heintzelman's and Reno's corps, and did not learn that Jackson was gone until that time. Bristoe is but



four or five miles from Manassas, and it is singular that Pope should have been so late in finding out that Jackson had withdrawn. But the fact is certain that until midday of the 28th and even later the Federal army was converging upon Manassas for the purpose of "bagging" Jackson, who (before daylight) had entirely evacuated that place, and was now resting after his march some six or seven miles off in the woods between Groveton and Sudley. Finding his quarry gone, the next question for Pope to determine was the direction Jackson had taken. This question seems sorely to have puzzled the Federal commander, and during the afternoon of the 28th he appears from time to time to have adopted every possible solution of it except the right one. The proper solution, too, was not the least obvious. It was to be expected that Jackson with a part of the Confederate army, having successfully broken Pope's communications and forced him to let go his hold on the Rappahannock, would aim to retire in the direction by which he could most readily rejoin his chief. But Pope was misled by the traces which Jackson had left for this purpose. Pope found that the rear of the Confederate column had gone on the Centreville road, and having convinced himself that Jackson's only object was escape, concluded that he had taken that route towards Aldie. Hence McDowell was ordered at 1½ P. M. to move in that direction. A little later this order was made discretionary, and McDowell was asked for his views. Pope now expressed the belief that there was no large body of Confederates at Centreville, and indicated his intention of moving the right wing of the army towards Gainesville to support McDowell. This decision was wise, but as the afternoon wore on a report came of the damage which Fitz Lee's cavalry was doing between Manassas and Alexandria, and of the presence of a Confederate force at Centreville. Pope became convinced once more that Jackson was at Centreville, and about 4 P. M. ordered McDowell as well as the corps which were at Manassas to converge on that place. At the time this order was issued there was no Confederate force at Centreville, none indeed east of Bull Run except Fitz Lee's cavalry brigade, which had been raiding along the railroad towards Alexandria. Once more the Federal columns are set forward. Again the gigantic game of blind man's buff goes on, and the army which had been all day closing in on Manassas now hastens towards Centreville on another fruitless chase. Aye, worse than fruitless, because of the loss of time and the exhaustion it produced.

One of the movements that grew out of this order was, however, the occasion of the Federal army's discovering the whereabouts of Jackson. When the order reached McDowell, King's division had but recently left the turnpike at Gainesville on its way towards Manassas. The order di-


rected the commands which were near the turnpike to regain that road and move by it, across the stone bridge, to Centreville. In accordance with this order, King moved back to the turnpike he had recently left, and marched down it late in the afternoon towards Centreville. His line of march led him through Groveton, but just before reaching that hamlet he passed in front of the position where Jackson had placed a portion of his force, on the north side of the turnpike and parallel with it, to observe his enemy's movements. The unfinished road-bed of what was designed to be the extension of the Manassas Gap Railroad from Gainesville to Alexandria, after leaving Gainesville soon passes to the north side of the turnpike, and, running nearly parallel with it for some distance, bends away to the northeast towards Sudley, where it crosses Bull Run. The alternate excavations and embankments of this railroad farther towards Sudley were to play as prominent a part in the battles of the next two days as did the sunken road in front of Wellington's center at Waterloo. Jackson's position on the evening of the 28th was in front of, but near, that portion of the railroad which runs parallel to the turnpike. When King's division had come fairly in his front Jackson opened on it with artillery. The Federals halted, and, thinking the attacking force a small one, a portion of King's division was sent to drive it away. Then ensued a hot and sanguinary contest. Though King's troops had become engaged in this fight while on the march, and unexpectedly, they displayed the finest courage and determination. The brigades of Gibbon and Doubleday bore the brunt of the action, and, though badly cut up and finally repulsed, they fought admirably and inflicted severe loss upon Jackson. On the Confederate side Taliaferro's and part of Ewell's division were engaged. Both division commanders were wounded, Ewell losing a leg, and the loss of men was probably as great as among the Federals. The Confederates, however, held the field at nightfall. While this fight was going on a more important but far less sanguinary struggle was taking place at Thoroughfare Gap, which Ricketts had attempted to seize and hold in order to prevent Longstreet from passing the Bull Run Mountains at that point to unite with Jackson. But Longstreet obtained possession after a comparatively slight contest, and Ricketts at dark fell back to Gainesville. With this retreat of Ricketts ended the last chance for preventing or delaying the union of the two wings of the Confederate army. Longstreet's advance on the night of the 28th was camped not much further from Jackson than was Pope himself at Centreville. The movement of Ricketts to Thoroughfare Gap was the only wise one made by any part of the Federal army on the 28th, and the yielding of the position so easily was a cardinal mistake. The errors of the day



did not end here, however. When Ricketts reached Gainesville he found King exhausted and bleeding from his struggle with Jackson. McDowell, their immediate superior, had lost his way in the woods, and was not at hand to give orders. King and Ricketts became impressed with the danger of their exposed position, Jackson being in front and Longstreet but a short distance in the rear. After consultation they determined to fall back during the night—Ricketts to Bristoe and King to Manassas. The retreat may have been wise, but the direction they took was a serious blunder. Reynolds and Sigel were both some two miles distant from King's battlefield, on the road from Manassas to Sudley, while Heintzelman and Reno, the advance of Pope's army, were east of Bull Run, near Centreville. Yet King and Ricketts, instead of going towards the main body of the Federal army, took the opposite direction, and thus separated themselves widely from it.

The maze of confusion into which Jackson's movements had thrown Pope continued during the evening and night of the 28th. When the Federal commander reached Centreville and found that some of Jackson's infantry had been there, but had gone towards the Stone Bridge and Gainesville, he concluded that Jackson was trying to make his escape to Thoroughfare Gap in order to rejoin Lee. Soon after came the news of King's fight, the significance of which Pope thus expressed in his orders issued at nine o'clock at night: "General McDowell has intercepted the retreat of the enemy (Jackson), and is now on his front, Sigel on the right of McDowell. Unless he can escape by by-paths leading to the north to-night, he must be captured." Now that his quarry was found Pope issued the most urgent orders for the movements necessary to secure it. Heintzelman's corps was hurried back from Centreville at one o'clock at night towards Groveton. Reno was to follow. Porter at three o'clock is ordered forward from Bristoe, but strangely enough by way of Centreville. Early next morning Pope learned of the retreat of King and Ricketts, and that consequently McDowell was no longer across the path of Jackson. But this did not change the plan of the Federal commander. Sigel and Reynolds, who were nearest Jackson, were ordered to attack him "vigorously, as soon as it was light enough to see, and bring him to a stand, if it were possible to do so." McDowell and Porter were now ordered from Manassas upon Gainesville, to seize the turnpike and head him off. Mr. Ropes thinks these orders were "clear, vigorous and well intended to effect their object." They were vigorous enough, no doubt, but if the object sought ought to bear any relation to the facts and possibilities of the case, then they were neither clear nor well intended. At the time they were issued Jackson,

instead of retreating, was holding a strong position along the railroad bed between Groveton and Sudley, while Lee, with Longstreet not more than eight miles off, was advancing to join him over an unobstructed road. Sigel attacked Jackson early in the day at a point on the unfinished railroad half-way between Groveton and Sudley, and found no difficulty in bringing him to a stand; but this was the only part of Pope's intentions which was completely carried out. Before McDowell and Porter could reach Gainesville, Lee was already there with Longstreet's corps, and the Confederate army was united and ready for battle. With an incomprehensible fatuity, however, Pope continued to cling to his delusion that he could crush one-half of the Confederate army before the other half could join it, even after the junction had been effected. Nothing could convince him that Lee was at hand. That Longstreet had driven Ricketts from Thoroughfare the evening before, that King and Ricketts had left Gainesville at midnight to avoid being crushed by Longstreet in the morning, that the first object of his antagonist must be to reunite his army, and that there was, after the retreat of Ricketts, absolutely no obstacle in the way of his doing so in a few hours, produced no effect on the mind of Pope. The Federal commander spent the 29th in throwing the corps of Sigel, Heintzelman and Reno against Jackson's center and left, and in vainly trying to hurl Porter and McDowell against his right flank and rear. McDowell and Porter, advancing from Manassas towards Gainesville, found themselves at mid-day in front of a part of Longstreet's command and widely separated from the remainder of Pope's army on their right. McDowell in attempting to fill this gap finally moved over to the Sudley road, in which direction his troops should have gone the night before, and by that route came at dusk to the turnpike east of Groveton, where he joined Reynolds and Sigel. McDowell's corps thus spent the day in correcting the mistake made by King and Ricketts the night before. Porter remained all the afternoon at Dawkin's Branch, where he was observed and kept quiet by Longstreet, who had double his numbers. Meantime heavy fighting was going on between Jackson's left and the right of the Federal army. The attacks made by Sigel, Reno and Heintzelman on A. P. Hill, who held Jackson's left, were severe and well sustained. They were continued at intervals during the entire day, but were all repulsed with heavy loss. An attempt of Reynolds on the turnpike near Groveton, met with no better fortune, and a final advance of King's division of McDowell's corps, at dusk along the turnpike from the Stone house towards Groveton, was met by a counter movement of Hood and severely defeated. All of the serious fighting, this day, on the Confederate side,



except that which followed the advance of Hood at dusk, was done by Jackson's command. The severe part of it fell upon A. P. Hill's division, which maintained for many hours an unequal contest with the most admirable tenacity. Prominent among Hill's troops was Gregg, with his South Carolinians, who continued to contest the ground even after 600 of his 1,500 men lay around him, and was ready to hold his position with the bayonet when ammunition failed. Of the many Federal charges made that day, the most brilliant and dashing was that of Grover's brigade of Hooker's division, which at three o'clock in the afternoon was thrown against Hill's center. These troops advanced to the railroad, carried it at the point of the bayonet, and passed beyond it. Here enveloped in a hurricane of fire they were quickly broken and driven back to the point from which they had set forward. The struggle lasted but twenty minutes, but in that time Grover lost 500 of his 2,000 men. Late in the afternoon Early came with his brigade to Hill's assistance during the last charge made by Kearney and Reno, and the Federals were finally swept back over the railroad bed and beyond it.

Lee was beginning to gather the fruits of his strategy. When he united Longstreet with Jackson on this day the great danger he had incurred by a division of his forces was safely past. Every movement so far had been crowned with success. Jackson had carried out the programme assigned to him with unsurpassed energy and skill, and without other loss than that incurred in successful battle. The Federal army had been forced from the Rappahannock, and its communications with Alexandria and with McClellan thoroughly broken. An immense quantity of its stores had been captured and destroyed, and great damage had been inflicted upon its *morale*. The great and crowning object of the campaign, however, yet remained to be accomplished—a great victory over the army in the field. Lee was anxious to bring on a general battle on the afternoon of the 29th, knowing that every hour's delay now would strengthen Pope, but a favorable opportunity did not offer, and, contenting himself with what Jackson had done in repelling assaults, he waited for the morrow.

This day (August 29) was one of disappointment and heavy loss to the Federal army. After two days of exhaustive marching and counter-marching, with insufficient rest and food, it had at last come up with Jackson only to meet with bloody repulses whenever it tried his lines. While his right and center were thus engaged, Pope's left had accomplished nothing. Banks was guarding stores and trains at Bristoe, McDowell and Porter had been checkmated in their efforts to turn Jackson's position by

Longstreet's arrival, and while Porter remained in observation at Dawkin's Branch, McDowell had, by a circuitous and toilsome march sought to rejoin the main body. And now, wearied and weakened by useless labors and unsuccessful assaults, the Federal army must try conclusions not with Jackson alone, but with the whole Confederate army. Pope placed his losses on the 29th at 8,000 men at the time, and in his report afterwards repeated that they were not less than from 6,000 to 8,000. There seems no good reason to doubt the correctness of his statement, except the fact that the Confederate loss was not over one-third of this amount.

In view of the unsatisfactory results of the day, a cautious leader would have drawn back his army on the night of the 29th behind Bull Run, have rationed and rested his forces, have received the re-enforcement of 20,000 veteran troops which were on the way from Alexandria, and but a short march distant, and then have received or delivered battle. But Pope was not a cautious leader. Mr. Ropes describes him as a sanguine man, and the view he took of things on the morning of the 30th certainly proves it. He ordered up Porter from his position of the day before to Groveton, and telegraphed to Washington at sunrise on the 30th, that he had won a great victory on the 29th, and was about to press forward after the beaten foe. He entertained the conviction that Jackson had been worsted on the 29th and was falling back towards the Bull Run mountains, and still did not clearly realize that any large part of Longstreet's forces was present. Some movements of Fitz-Lee's cavalry, which on the 29th had returned from its raid by way of Centreville and Sudley to take position on Jackson's left, gave the impression that Jackson had drawn in his left very greatly. McDowell and Heintzelman and Sigel were all deceived and helped to strengthen Pope's delusion. The result was that on mid-day on the 30th Pope, convinced that the Confederates were flying, and having now his whole army in hand (except Banks's corps, which was guarding the baggage near Bristoe), ordered it "forward in pursuit." The representations of Porter and others that the attitude of the Confederate army was anything else than that of flight, had no effect.

There are things, however, to be said in favor of an attack by Pope upon Lee, on August 30. The Federal army had been partially engaged the day before, and, though it had suffered heavily, no decisive result had been reached. To have retired without further fight would have been a confession of defeat, and would have still further damaged the morale of the troops. Nor was the Federal commander without ground for considering his army when concentrated more than a match for Lee's. Four days before their respective numbers had been about as 75,000 and 50,000.





and even if the past few days had cost him 10,000 men to Lee's 5,000, he had still 65,000 to 45,000. He permitted 8,000 or 9,000 of these to remain idle all day at Bristoe and Manassas. They were Banks's corps, guarding the ammunition stores and trains of the army. Much of these stores were on railroad trains that could not be sent toward Alexandria, because of the destruction of bridges, and hence Banks was charged with the guarding of them, and the rebuilding of the railroad. The result proved that Banks might have better effected this object on the battle-field.

One of the best reasons against Pope's attack on the 30th, was the fact that it was precisely what his antagonist desired him to do. Lee spent the forenoon in posting his right wing (Longstreet) and in placing a mass of artillery on the heights west of Groveton, between his two wings. The army in his front gave every indication of aggression, and he was anxious to receive its attack before delivering his own. He therefore quietly bided his time. It was near 3 P. M. when the Federal assault was made. McDowell had been placed in general command of what Pope called the "pursuit." Fitz John Porter was placed at the Federal center and ordered to lead. Pope, angry at Porter's inaction the day before, was determined that he should be in the front to-day. Porter knew well enough that it was not a question of pursuit, but of driving a defiant army from a strong position, and therefore disposed his corps and King's division (now under Hatch), who was to support him, for a determined attack. This attack fell upon the right of Jackson—mainly upon Taliaferro's division (now under Starke). It was most gallant and fierce. The Federals under a storm of fire advanced to the very edge of the railroad cut in which the Confederates were, and engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict. It was here "Greek to Greek." The gallantry of Porter's charge was only paralleled by the splendid courage of Jackson's old division, who led by Starke and Stafford, by Bradley Johnson, and Baylor, and A. G. Taliaferro, held the line of the railroad and formed once more a "Stonewall" against which the flower of the Federal army dashed in vain. "The line must be held at all hazards," said Jackson. When ammunition was gone, or arms became useless, some of the Confederates seized as weapons of offense the stones with which the ground was covered. Both Generals Johnson and Porter testify to the wounds inflicted with these primitive weapons. Two flags of the opposing ranks were fixed for some time within a few feet of each other, and on these spots were piled the brave dead when the charge was ended. The corps of artillery on Jackson's right, under S. D. Lee and Crutchfield, poured an incessant and devastating flank fire into the charging columns. In spite of this, Porter's men continued the

fight for some time. Jackson, sorely pressed, asked for re-enforcements. Longstreet, as the most effective way of giving aid, added the fire of another battery completely on the flank of the attacking force. Porter gave way in disastrous repulse, and the effort to break Lee's left center had failed. The afternoon was already half-spent, and Lee lost not a moment in taking advantage of the exhaustion produced by Porter's unsuccessful charges, to attack in turn. Longstreet's command was thrown forward against Pope's left, while Jackson, leaving the railroad cut and embankment he had held so stubbornly, drove back the forces in his front. S. D. Lee with his artillery, which had done so much to defeat Porter, advanced at the center along the turnpike. The Confederate army formed in this movement an immense V, the vertex on the turnpike and the two arms embracing the Federal army between them. The fighting was severest in Longstreet's front, where Pope and McDowell made strenuous efforts to hold firm the Federal left wing. These efforts were in vain. The fierce onsets of Longstreet's men carried one position after another, crushing and doubling up the Federal masses, until the Federal left was rolled back to the Henry hill, which had been the focus of the battle of July 21, 1861. The Confederate lines, when the night grew so dark that it was impossible to tell friend from foe in the confused battle-field, rested near the Henry house, some two miles in advance of the point where the battle on Longstreet's front had begun. Meantime Jackson had driven the Federal right wing back a mile, to the Carter house, where after dark Ricketts and Stevens were driven from the last position the Federals attempted to hold on this part of the field.

The defeat was thorough. The Federal army had been driven with heavy loss at every point. Many parts of it were little better than a mass of fugitives. Franklin, who was coming up to Pope's assistance from Centreville in the afternoon, was met by such a crowd of stragglers before he reached Bull Run, that he drew up his corps in line of battle, and attempted to stop them. He stopped 7,000 in half an hour, and then, deeming it too late to effect anything in front, fell back to Centreville. Night alone saved Pope's army from overwhelming disaster. Under its friendly cover his broken and confused forces, still having control of the turnpike in their rear, made their way swiftly across Bull Run. By midnight there was nothing left west of Bull Run of that magnificent array which at midday had been launched in "pursuit" of Lee, save the debris of the battle-field, the 26 cannon, the 6,000 or 7,000 prisoners, and the wounded and dead it had left in the hands of the victors.

When Pope reached Centreville he was joined by the fresh corps of

Franklin and Sumner, of about 20,000 or 25,000 men, and, with numbers thus raised again to 60,000, he thought at first that he might resist Lee's further advance, but he soon became convinced that the demoralization of his troops was such that, however superior he might be in numbers to his adversary, it would not be wise to risk another battle. He therefore advised Halleck to withdraw the army to the defenses of Washington. This was done on September 2. Before the order to fall back came, however, a sharp conflict took place at Ox Hill between portions of the opposing armies. Lee, the day after the battle, finding that Pope was strongly posted at Centreville, began to move with Jackson in advance toward the Little River turnpike in order to turn the Federal right flank. Bad weather and the fatigue of his troops made Jackson's progress slow, but on September 1 he passed Chantilly and advanced toward Germantown. Pope, finding his right about to be turned, fell back from Centreville, and took a position in front of Germantown, so as to cover the movement of his trains. Near Ox Hill, late in the afternoon, Jackson came in contact with Kearny's and Stevens's divisions, and a sharp struggle ensued, in which A. P. Hill was principally engaged. The fight took place in the midst of a blinding thunder-storm,\* and resulted in little beyond the death of a number of brave men, among whom were Generals Kearny † and Stevens.

Night ended the strife, and the Federals retired under cover of the darkness. Next morning Pope retreated toward Washington and Alexandria, and Lee, seeing that nothing further could be effected at this point, turned his eyes northward, and after resting a day, began his march toward the Potomac in order to cross into Maryland. The campaign against Pope was ended.

It is impossible to tell with accuracy the losses of the respective combatants in this campaign of a fortnight, but they can be approximated. Lee's losses in battle during the campaign, from the Rappahannock to Ox Hill, were, by the official reports, about 9,000, to which must be added those broken down by the exertions and privations of the campaign. There are no full returns of the Federal losses, but Pope in his report, as well as in a despatch to Halleck of September 2, says he could muster on that day

\* It was in the midst of this storm that one of his brigadiers, who had been fiercely engaged, sent word to General Jackson that he would not be able to hold his position much longer, as the cartridges of the men were becoming so wet they would not go off. "Hold your ground," replied Jackson. "If your muskets will not go off, neither will the enemy's."

† General Kearny, whose courage was always conspicuous, had dashed quite up to the Confederate lines without knowing it, and as he turned to gallop away was shot through the body and killed. Next day, by General Lee's order, his body was sent into the Federal lines under a flag of truce.

only about 40,000 troops exclusive of the fresh ones that had joined him at Centreville. If this be so, the Federal army had shrunk in a week from 75,000 to 40,000. Of course a large number of these were stragglers who afterwards came in ; but as Pope's losses on the 30th must have exceeded those on the 29th, his actual losses in battle were probably not less than from 20,000 to 25,000 men.

This was one of the most brilliant of Lee's campaigns. In ten days he had demolished Pope and forced the Federal army from the Rappahannock to take refuge in the lines of Washington. Greatly inferior in strength to the forces with which he had to contend, Lee had neutralized this inferiority by the boldest strategy and the most vigorous fighting. He had not been able to bring Pope to a decisive battle until after some 25,000 or more of McClellan's troops had joined him, but he had paralyzed the remainder of McClellan's forces, while he defeated the augmented army of Pope. Jackson's operations at Manassas were the key to the great victory which followed, and they will ever remain a model of audacity and skill. In circumstances requiring nerve, decision and military judgment of the highest order, he had proved himself fully equal to the occasion.

A mere glance at the bitter controversies to which the campaign gave rise must suffice. That Fitz-John Porter was unjustly condemned for failing on August 29 to march over Longstreet's corps in order to attack Jackson, is now admitted everywhere, save where the bitterest political and personal rancor still lingers. He was a sacrifice to the blind rage of Pope, and to his own unprofessional and imprudent criticisms. A large share of direct responsibility for Pope's disasters has sometimes been transferred to Halleck's shoulders. The facts do not warrant this. There is no doubt that Halleck did everything within the limits of his capacity (which was small) to support Pope. The course of Halleck toward McClellan, and the action of the latter are matters involved in more doubt. The course of the Federal Government toward McClellan at this time was certainly unwise as well as unjust, and if that course was dictated by Halleck, the latter deserves great blame. Over 25,000 of McClellan's troops reached Pope and participated in the campaign. Whether, after Jackson had broken Pope's communications, Franklin's and Sumner's corps could have been pushed out from Alexandria more promptly ; and, if this had been done, whether they would have changed the result or have simply extended the disaster, are matters of such doubt that it is not worth while to speculate about them.

*W. Allen*

## CHARLES FENNO HOFFMAN

Forty years ago, a man tall and of gallant bearing, with frank, handsome face and notable charm of manner, was a conspicuous figure among the *literati* of New York City. This man, then in the prime of intellectual promise, was Charles Fenno Hoffman, an American writer, who for more than thirty years was an inmate of the Pennsylvania State Lunatic Hospital at Harrisburg, where he died on the 7th of June last. Few can be living who knew him before his retirement from the world, and to those who have since become acquainted with his writings, his long seclusion was as a seal upon his existence. Yet a new generation may be willing to read a brief sketch of an author whose songs still have power to charm,




*C. F. Hoffman*

and whose name will always be associated with the early triumphs of American literature.

Mr. Hoffman was born in New York City in 1806. He was the son of Judge Hoffman by a second marriage, and brother of Ogden Hoffman, the famous advocate, of whose forensic eloquence there are many striking traditions. The father was also a distinguished pleader, a contemporary of Hamilton, Burr, and Pinkney, with whom he often successfully contended for the honors of the bar. The name of Fenno was derived from the maternal grandfather, John Fenno, who won celebrity as an exponent of the old Federal party during the administration of Washington.

Charles entered a Latin grammar school in New York at the age of six, where he remained three years; thence went to an Academy on the Hudson, from the severe discipline of which institution he freed himself by running away; and it was then thought best to provide a tutor for him. This instructor was found in the person of an accomplished clergyman living in New Jersey. It was during a visit home from his tutor that the sad accident occurred which resulted in the loss of his right leg. He attempted with some playmates to leap from a pier onto a passing steamboat, and was caught between the wharf and vessel. The leg was amputated above the knee, and for the rest of his life he walked on a cork substitute, so well constructed and managed that few would suspect his loss. This calamity chanced when he was about twelve years old, and quenched for a season his young ardor for physical exercise; but far from proving a permanent deprivation, his infirmity seemed to feed an ambition already eager to excel in all manly sports; and, later, with rod and gun, in horsemanship, or even at swimming, he was not easily surpassed.

He entered Columbia College at fifteen, and remained three years, leaving without having graduated, and perhaps more proficient in the exercises of the gymnasium than in the studies of the classes. That his *Alma Mater* held him in esteem, however, may be inferred from the fact, that at the first semi-centennial anniversary of the college the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him. On leaving college he began the study of the law in Albany, and when twenty-one was admitted to the bar. For three years thereafter he practiced in the courts of the City of New York, and at the same time wrote anonymously for the *New York American*, though his first published efforts were of an earlier date. It was owing quite as much, probably, to the family predilection for law as it was to temperament and fitness, that he essayed a legal career, and his perfunctory practice was soon abandoned for the more alluring and congenial field of literature.



From association in the editorship of the *American* above mentioned, he successively controlled the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and *American Monthly Magazine*, having established the former in 1833. In the autumn of that year he made a remarkable journey on horseback through the North-western States and Territories, returning home by a circuitous route through the South-west and Virginia. The literary outcome of this adventurous trip—extraordinary as a test of nerve, courage and endurance—was “A Winter in the West,” a graphic and spirited narrative of observation and travel, published in 1835. “Wild Scenes in the Forest and Prairie,” appeared in 1837, a work in which the author’s love of woodcraft and knowledge of Indian legend and tradition found felicitous and effective expression. During the same year, while editor of the *American Monthly Magazine*, his first novel, “Vanderlyn,” was published in the pages of that periodical. His labors and his pen were not confined to the *American Monthly*, for during his long editorship of that journal he also conducted for a year the *New York Mirror*, and contributed miscellaneous to the *New Yorker* and many other papers. “Greyslaer; a Romance of the Mohawk,” his finest story, appeared in 1840, and was an immediate and deserved success. Two editions were circulated in New York, one in Philadelphia, and one in London, in the same year. This novel, though founded on a famous criminal trial (Beauchamp, for the murder of Colonel Sharpe), was a distinct literary creation, and placed the author in the front rank of American writers of fiction. Forest life and savage warfare are here described with rare felicity and vigor; traits of character are delineated with an eye keenly observant of human instinct and the exigency of circumstances; love wings his way through storm and trial to a haven of rest; we are moved in turn by the courage and devotion of Greyslaer; the free, careless grace of De Roos; the bluff sturdiness of Balt; and the imagination is kindled by the vivid and stirring picture of the Battle of Oriskany. “The Red Spur of Ramapo,” a characteristic tale, was written but never published. The manuscript was destroyed by accident, it was said, and the story was never rewritten. A “Life of Jacob Leisler,” completes the list of Mr. Hoffman’s prose productions, exclusive of a series of papers on international copyright, essays on various subjects, fugitive pieces, etc., read and admired in their day, but which have never been collected.

His first appearance as a poet was made in 1842, in a volume entitled “The Vigil of Faith, and other Poems.” I say first appearance, for although he had written more or less verse during his course of authorship, contributed anonymously or under various *noms-de-plume* to periodicals of

the time, this was the first collection between covers bearing his name. It may be said at this point that Mr. Hoffman was by nature a poet, and at no time free from poetic impulse and aspiration. His thoughts ran easily into metrical form, and many legendary and descriptive pieces and graceful lyrics had their birth in the pages of his romances. That admired song, "The Myrtle and Steel," is sung by the gallant De Roos in "Greyslaer." Only in poetry it seems to me, could Hoffman's feelings find true and self-satisfying expression. His affectionate disposition, his love of beauty; his fine out-of-door breezy enthusiasm; his glowing fancy, his warm heart; all found in song, opportunity and joyous freedom, and that music which ever wooed him, even amid the restrictions of prose.

"The Vigil of Faith," was followed in 1844 by "The Echo, or Borrowed Notes for Home Circulation," and during four years succeeding he published "Lays of the Hudson" and "Love's Calendar, and other Poems," the last-named volume being the best collection of his lyrics. There is no record of any further poetical labor, and his last recorded literary connection was the editorial charge of the *Literary World*. In 1873, twenty years after his retirement, a new edition of his poems was given to the public, edited by his nephew, Edward Fenno Hoffman, and containing a feeling tribute to the author's character and worth from his friend and contemporary, the late William Cullen Bryant. This collection, designed to be reasonably complete, presents the author in full variety, and the poet may here be seen in all his moods. The editor has grouped the poems under the several heads of "Forest Musings," "Lays of the Hudson," "Love Poems," "Songs and Occasional Poems;" and in the course of his preface says, "It is rather a venture to reproduce poems which have remained so long a time in obscurity; but in the conviction that a true appreciation of the beauties of nature and purity of sentiment are qualities which will always be admired, I have strong hopes that they will regain their former position of popularity with the public."

The qualities mentioned will easily appear to the sympathetic reader. The "Forest Musings" and "Lays of the Hudson," reveal a love of nature, an enjoyment of her whole wide domain, at once sincere and exhilarating. We feel that he knew each hill, dale, river, mountain fastness, and forest haunt; that he guided his bark on the lake, heard the song of the hunter, and sat by his own camp fire. This intimacy with nature quickened his perception of her aspects, and his descriptions often leave a picture on the mind, by their fidelity and color. A single example may be given of his felicity in this respect. It is the opening stanza of his poem of "Indian Summer."



"Light as love's smile the silvery mist at morn  
Floats in loose flakes along the limpid river ;  
The blue-bird's notes upon the soft breeze borne,  
As high in air he carols, faintly quiver ;  
The weeping birch, like banners idly waving,  
Bends to the stream, its spicy branches laving,  
Beaded with dew the witch-elm's tassels shiver ;  
The timid rabbit from the furze is peeping,  
And from the springy spray the squirrel gayly leaping."

In "Love Poems" there are many verses neatly turned, and some few that in grace and fancy remind one of Moore ; occasionally a happy effort of *vers de société* may be met ; there are lays of sentiment and affection, but in the main they all tend to indicate poetical aptitude rather than lyric flow and vigor, and are not characteristic save in feeling and sensibility.

Mr. Hoffman is more likely to be remembered by his songs. These, though few, have that quality of spirit and utterance which appeals not in vain to the popular heart. The soldierly ardor of "Monterey"; the chivalrous ring of "The Myrtle and Steel," the festive grace of "Sparkling and Bright"; and the romantic fervor of "Rosalie Clare"; will not cease to charm, and will live in memory when more ambitious efforts are forgotten. The last-named ballad is well remembered by the present writer. He recalls a day in his boyhood, when, at the house of Henry Inman, he heard it sung by the painter's beautiful and accomplished daughter.

A few words in conclusion respecting Mr. Hoffman personally. He was a general favorite in society, and his wit, bright intelligence, and genial manners, made his companionship very attractive. He was loved by the young, for he sympathized with, them in their sports and enthusiasms, and from his knowledge of nature and his own adventurous experience drew the stories that take children captive. He was a gallant and noble gentleman, and a wide circle of friends mourned the affliction that befell him. The record of his promise and his calamity is a regretful and pathetic page in the annals of his country's literature.


W. L. Keese.

## HISTORIC HOMES.

### WASHINGTON IRVING AND SUNNYSIDE

"About five and twenty miles from the ancient and renowned city of Manhattan, formerly called New Amsterdam, and vulgarly called New York, on the eastern bank of that expansion of the Hudson, known among Dutch mariners of yore as the Tappan Zee, being in fact the great Mediterranean Sea of the New Netherlands, stands a little old-fashioned stone mansion, all made up of gable-ends, and as full of angles and corners as an old cocked-hat. It is said, in fact, to have been modeled after the cocked hat of Peter the Headstrong, as the Escorial was modeled after the gridiron of the blessed St. Lawrence." Such is the humorous but faithful description Washington Irving gives of "Sunnyside," the home of his maturer years. Turning to the west from the old post road, the modern "Broadway," which skirts the eastern bank of the Hudson, and strolling down the winding lane, which follows the course of "Willow Brook," deeply shaded at every point by elms and chestnuts and willows, we come suddenly upon the queer little house with its pre-revolutionary gables, covered with a tangled maze of ivy, wisteria, and other vines. Beyond rolls the Hudson, its broad expanse dotted with sails and its distant views terminating in rocky headlands and wooded hills. It was this same fascinating scene which took captive the heart of Washington Irving as he returned from his wanderings over two continents, and from whose charms he was destined never entirely to break away.

It is interesting to notice that the dreams and ambitions of his boyhood shaped his whole career. When fifteen years of age he spent a holiday wandering with his gun through Sleepy Hollow, and explored the region. A little later he made his first voyage up the Hudson. Many years after this he wrote from his beloved Sunnyside: "It has been my lot in the course of a somewhat wandering life, to behold some of the rivers of the Old World most renowned in history and song, yet none have been able to efface or dim the pictures of my native stream thus early stamped upon my memory. My heart would ever revert to them with a filial feeling and a recurrence of the joyous associations of boyhood; and such recollections are in fact the true fountains of youth which keep the heart from growing old." His residence at Sunnyside thus rounded out his life in beautiful



proportions. The shout of boyish glee mingled with the fond smile of maturity ; the fervid imagination of the youth blended with the rich after-thought of a mellow old age.

In the spring of 1835, on his return from his tour of the prairies, he spent a few days with a relative at Tarrytown, and it was then that he determined to settle down in some snug retreat, and in the true spirit of Diedrich Knickerbocker chose the location of the old Dutch cottage on the present site of Sunnyside. "The exterior," writes he, in his account of Diedrich, "of the eventful little pile seemed to be full of promise. The crow-step gables were of the primitive architecture of the province. The weathercock which surmounted them had crowed in the glorious days of the New Netherlands. The one above the porch had actually glittered of yore on the great Vander Heyden palace in Albany." The deed of purchase was dated June 7, 1835. We soon find him hard at work on the plan of his proposed cottage. In July of the same year he writes to his brother Peter: "You have been told, no doubt, of a purchase I have made of ten acres, lying at the foot of Oscar's farm on the river bank. It is a beautiful spot, capable of being made a little paradise. There is a small stone Dutch cottage on it built about a century since and inhabited by one of the Van Tassels. I have had an architect up there, and shall build upon the old mansion this summer. My idea is to make a little nookery somewhat in the Dutch style, quaint but unpretending. It will be of stone." He seems to have torn down the old cottage almost to the foundations, for he says of the new structure in a letter dated October 8th of the same year: "It has risen from the foundations since my previous visit, and promises to be a quaint, picturesque little pile." An elderly man, now living in the vicinity, who assisted in tearing down the old structure, told the writer of this sketch that Mr. Irving requested him to carefully save all the coins or relics of antiquity he might find in the débris. On the 16th of October Mr. Irving writes: "The porch is carried up and the workmen are in want of the inscription stone, previous to removing the scaffold." . . . A little later he writes: "Like all meddlings with stone and mortar, the plan has extended as I built, until it has ended in a complete, though moderate-sized family residence. It is solidly built of stone so that it will last for generations." The work went on more slowly than he anticipated. During a temporary financial pressure he says: "The cottage is slowly approaching to a finish, but it will take a few weeks yet. For such a small edifice it has a prodigious swallow, and reminds me of those little fairy changelings called killcrops, which eat and eat and are never the fatter."

The cottage was first used by him as a residence in October, 1836. The



SUNNYSIDE.  
*Home of Washington Irving.*

wing had not been added at that time. The place originally contained ten acres, which were afterward increased to eighteen. There are now fifteen acres. With an honest pride Mr. Irving went about to make improvements. His letters speak frequently of "sweet little Sunnyside," "dear little Sunnyside." Again he says: "There is a lovely prospect from its windows and a sweet green bank in front shaded by locust trees, up which the summer breeze creeps delightfully. It is one of the most delightful banks in the world for reading, dozing, and dreaming during the heat of summer." Suddenly called away from this little paradise and

induced to take up once more his pilgrim staff, he writes home from the court of Spain: "Between you and I, I would not give little Sunnyside for the grandest Duke's palace in Spain."

Why he should have called his cottage "Sunnyside" is not quite apparent. Perhaps the following extract may throw light on the subject: "For my part I am almost a worshiper of the sun. I have lived so much of my life in climates where he is all-powerful, that I delight in his vivifying effect on the whole face of nature and his gladdening influence on all animate creation. In no climate within the range of my experience is sunshine more beautiful in its effect on landscape than in this, owing to the transparency of the atmosphere, and at the same time the variety of the clouds with which our skies are diversified. To my mind neither Spanish or Italian skies, so bright and cloudless, can compare with ours, forever shifting in their tints and at times so gorgeous with their floating region of 'cloud-land.'" "Sunnyside" is the natural outcome of such feelings.

The name which he at first intended to give to his "snuggery" was "*Wolfert's Roost*." At one stage of his work on the cottage, during the financial pressure above referred to, he wrote: "I intend to write a legend or two about it [the cottage] and its vicinity by way of making it pay for itself." He could hardly have found a more fertile theme. He seized upon the scanty records of the old Dutch cottage and has given us a most delightful interweaving of fact and fiction. The remark of Mr. Warner at the Tarrytown centennial of the author's birth is well illustrated at this point, in that the true discoverer of the Hudson was Washington Irving, for he has made it the highway of the imagination for all days to come. Just at the foot of the river bank in front of Sunnyside boils up a clear cold spring. About this spot he locates the story of a famous Indian sachem, a great wizard and medicine man, who ruled in olden times from O-sin-Sing to Spyten Duyvel. "Of his wizard powers," he says, "we have a token in a spring which wells up at the foot of the bank, on the very margin of the river, which, it is said, was gifted by him with rejuvenating powers, something like the renowned Fountain of Youth in the Floridas, so anxiously but vainly sought by the veteran Ponce de Leon. This story, however, is stoutly contradicted by an old Dutch matter-of-fact tradition, which declares the spring in question was smuggled over from Holland in a churn by Femmetie Van Blascom, wife of Goosen Garret Van Blascom, one of the first settlers, and that she took it up by night unknown to her husband from beside their own farmhouse near Rotterdam, being sure she should find no water equal to it in the new country—and she was right."

High up on the gable end looking westward, fastened securely to the wall are the mysterious figures in iron—1656. The untutored take this as positive evidence that the building, as it is, was finished in that year of our Lord. As we have seen, however, this cannot be the case. It is to be hoped that none are so uncharitable as to condemn one accustomed to modern conveniences, much less a man of Mr. Irving's taste, to the narrow spaces and inartistic devices of the Dutchman of three centuries ago. But the figures are none the less significant. In the famous days of Peter Stuyvesant there lived an intrepid Dutch burgher of no mean reputation, Wolfert Acker, who gathered up his valuables, and, with his household, sought the unmolested solitudes of the wilderness. He built him a house on the banks of the stream which his own countrymen had introduced into the geographies of the world. He took possession of this new homestead in the eventful year 1656. Bidding farewell to the world of conflict, he determined henceforth to claim the deeper joys of peace and prosperity. "In token of this fixed purpose," says Mr. Irving, "he inscribed over his door (his teeth clenched at the time), his favorite Dutch motto 'Lust in Rust' (pleasure in quiet). The mansion was henceforth called Wolfert's Rust (Wolfert's Rest), but by the uneducated, who did not understand Dutch, 'Wolfert's Roost'; probably from its quaint cockloft look, and from its having a weathercock perched on every gable." The drowsy days of the seventeenth century rolled on, and Wolfert Acker slept with his fathers—not altogether peacefully it seems, for among "the old gray, moss-grown trees of his apple orchard" behind the house (the only remaining relic of his labors), may be seen, according to the popular legend, his restless ghost stealing pensively along of a bright moonlight night. Jacob Van Tassel with his "great goose-gun" next appears on the scene, whose patriotic exploits in the Revolutionary war brought down the wrath and the guns of the British on his devoted head. The venerable walls and gables were shattered, the creaking weathercocks were brought low. The valiant defender fled, leaving behind shapeless ruins. Years of conflict ensued. "In the mean time," says the chronicler, "the Roost remained a melancholy ruin, its stone walls and brick chimneys alone standing, the resorts of bats and owls. Superstitious notions prevailed about it. None of the country-folk would venture alone at night down the rambling lane which led to it, overhung with trees and crossed here and there by a wild wandering brook. The story went that one of the victims of Jacob Van Tassel's great goose-gun had been buried there in unconsecrated ground." But during the peace that followed the Revolution Jacob Van Tassel returned and again made the wilderness to blossom as the rose.

Once more he put up the glittering weathercocks and hung his "great goose-gun" over the fireplace. Here the venerable Diedrich Knickerbocker found him tilling his broad acres and smoking his pipe contentedly in the chimney corner. His last days were lighted up by the golden visions of the past, and his great Dutch heart beat its last patriotic beat beside the river of his fathers.

On the return of Mr. Irving from the Court of Spain, he seems to have felt himself cramped in his little "snuggery" of which he was so proud. He therefore procured plans for an addition from George Harvey, his former architect. His addition was at the northeast corner of the house. He writes, April 13th, 1847: "I cannot afford a new saddle to my new horse. I am getting my old saddle furbished up, which must serve until I can recover from the ruin brought upon me by the improvement of my house." This annex, built of brick, nearly square, was surmounted by a roof which appeared to combine Swiss and Chinese ideas of architecture, which created some amusement among his friends. His old companion-in-arms Kemble banteringly quizzed him about "that pagoda" he had noticed in passing up the river by boat. "As to the pagoda," Mr. Irving answered, "about which you speak, it is one of the most useful additions that was ever made to a house, besides being ornamental; it gives me laundry, store-rooms, pantries, servant's room, coal cellar, &c., &c., converting what was once rather a makeshift little mansion into one of the most complete snuggeries in the country, as you will confess when you see and visit it. The only part that is not adapted to some valuable purpose is the cupola, which has no bell in it, and is about as serviceable as the feather in one's cap; though, by the way, it has its purpose, for it supports a weathercock brought from Holland by Gill Davis (the King of Coney Island), who says he got it from a windmill which they were demolishing at the gate of Rotterdam, which windmill has been mentioned in Knickerbocker. I hope, therefore, I may be permitted to wear my feather unmolested."

"Sunnyside" shows at every turn the exquisite taste of Washington Irving. One of the choicest of the interesting objects is a large ivy clinging to an eastern gable, which grew from a slip brought from Abbotsford. Abbotsford and Sunnyside! What a contrast superficially, yet what a similar interest they awaken! Did ever more congenial spirits meet than Walter Scott and Washington Irving?

A large variety of trees and shrubs surround the house. "As to my grounds," says Mr. Irving, "I have cut down and transplanted enough trees to furnish two ordinary places, and still there are, if anything, too

many; but I have opened beautiful views and given room for the air to circulate." The elm and locust preponderate. A tall cherry, directly west of the house, is a most beautiful sight in April and May. Hemlocks, maples and chestnuts are scattered in appropriate places, under whose wide-spread boughs are winding walks and cosy resting-places with the Hudson ever in view. Writing in August, the owner said: "My own place



WASHINGTON IRVING.

*From a Mezzotint Engraving by Turner, of the Painting by G. Stuart Newton, London, England.*

has never been so pleasant as at present. I have made more openings by pruning and cutting down trees, so that from the piazza I have several charming views of the Tappan Hill and the hills beyond, all set as it were, in verdant frames; and I am never tired sitting there in my old Voltaire chair of a long summer morning with a book in my hand, sometimes reading, sometimes musing, and sometimes dozing, and mixing all up in a pleasant dream."

In early spring violets are plentifully scattered over the bank. At its base there is an iron ring fastened to the foot of a large elm, by which





skiffs used to be secured, although now several rods from the water. This change was brought about by the building of the Hudson River Railroad, which passes immediately in front of the house, a few rods west of the old high-water mark. The intervening space has been filled in with earth and is now a thrifty meadow. The construction of this railroad was a source of many misgivings to Mr. Irving. To have his little paradise thus rudely invaded led him to affirm that, "if the garden of Eden were now on earth, they would not hesitate to run a railroad through it." It was this same incident that provoked that more famous wish that "he had been born when the world was finished." But he submitted gracefully to the inevitable, and afterwards learned to appreciate the utility and pleasure of rapid travel. He received \$3,500, in lieu of the loss sustained by this intrusion, yet he was not quite at ease on the subject. In a letter he says: "Excuse my not sooner answering your kind letter. It found me in a terrible state of shattered nerves, having been startled out of my first sleep at midnight on Saturday night last by the infernal alarm of your railroad steam trumpet."

The interior of "Sunnyside," as one would surmise from the outside, is full of corners and crannies. The dining-room, sitting-room and library take up nearly all the lower floor; and the second story under the eaves is not more extensive. The library, or "workshop," as he insisted upon calling it, is a cosy little room at the southeast corner. The number of the books is not large. Choice editions of authors whom he knew personally, occupy prominent places. The study table presented to him by his publishers stands in the center of the room; scattered through the house are interesting pictures, among which are several choice portraits of the author, representing him at the various stages of his career.

Amid such scenes as these our author spent his "golden age." Quite as interesting as any of his delightful books is this spot of earth which felt the molding influence of his fine taste. One can hardly be said to have thoroughly mastered Washington Irving until he has read this living book which brought out on every page the delicate harmonies of his nature. It is the proper setting. The jewel shows its full, rich luster. As one of his last birthdays approached he wrote characteristically to a friend: "At the last of the week I expect some of the family up here at my birthday, the 3d of April, when I come of age—of full age—seventy years. I never could have hoped at such an advanced period of life to be in such full health and activity of mind and body, and such capacity of enjoyment as I find myself at present. But I have reached the allotted limit of existence; all beyond is especial indulgence. So long as I can

retain my present health and spirits, I am happy to live, for I think my life is important to the happiness of others, but as soon as my life becomes useless to others and joyless to myself, I hope I may be relieved from the burden ; and I shall lay it down with the heartfelt thanks to that Almighty Power which has guided my incautious footsteps through so many uncertain and dangerous ways, and enabled me to close my career in security and peace, surrounded by my family and friends in the little home I have formed for myself among the scenes of my boyhood."

"Sunnyside" and its neighborhood is already classic soil. As each season recurs uncounted pilgrims visit its delightful precincts. The winding lane, shaded by magnificent elms and chestnuts, through whose foliage the sunlight at intervals finds its way ; the tumbling brooklet chasing along grassy slopes, under steep banks and down the rocky ravine ; the noble Hudson, sweeping in grandeur past bold promontories and thriving villages, bearing on its bosom the commerce of a thriving country ; the quaint little ivy-covered cottage itself, with white walls and antique weather-vanes—all these combine to please the taste and to feed the imagination ; and, far more than the simple marble slab that marks his last resting-place on the slope of Sleepy Hollow, form the enduring monument of the man who introduced American letters and literature to the notice of the world.

*Henry W. Hulbert*



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

*(Concluded from page 79, Vol. XII.)*

*From Cap<sup>t</sup> Marquard, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1781. 6 o'clock P. M.*

Sir

Three French officers took a survey of the ground behind Phillipse's \* the day before yesterday. They put to every house the name of an officer to be quartered in it. The commanding general to be at Ebert Brown's.

The works at Dobb's ferry on this side the W. River, opposite the block-house, † still carrying on. Heavy cannon are expected to be put in the works there. ‡ Their out-posts on the Sawmill River, and Sprain § roads, further advanced this way. Waterbury, reinforced by some Militia, arrived the 13<sup>th</sup> at Van Harts, at Scarsdale, a District between White-plains & Mamaroneck. ||

E: B: thinks Washington would soon take another position on Phillipse's, and

\* The upper Manor House, the Manor of Phillipseburgh, near Tarrytown, is probably meant here.

† At Sneed's Landing, before described in entry of 27th June, and note thereto.

‡ This work was begun by Washington's orders on July 8, "with a view to establish a communication there for the transportation of provisions and stores from Pennsylvania," was not finished on the 15th, but was so on the 19th, when it was armed with "2 eighteen and 2 twelve pounders." — *Washington's Journals under these dates, F.I. Mag. Am. Hist.* 119, 120.

§ The Sprain is an affluent of the Sawmill or Neperan River, which falls into the Hudson at the city of Yonkers. The roads then and now follow the two streams.

|| This "District" was the *Manor of Scarsdale*, which embraced the present *townships* of Mamaroneck and Scarsdale, and a very little of the *township* of Harrison (all three erected after the Revolutionary War), and extended from Long Island Sound to the Bronx River. The Manor was granted to Col. Caleb Heathcote in 1701, and in 1781 belonged to his grandchildren, the children of his two daughters and co-heiresses, Anne, the elder, the widow of James de Lancey, Chief Justice and Lieut. Governor of New York, who died in 1760, and Martha, the younger, the wife of Lewis Johnston, M.D., of Perth Amboy, New Jersey. "Van Harts" was a farm in the present town of Greenburgh adjoining the Manor, at its extreme northwestern end on the Bronx, a place afterward known as "Hart's Corners," and recently changed to "Hartsdale." It is about four miles south of White Plains, nine northwest of the village of Mamaroneck which lies on the Sound, and is now a station on the Harlem Railroad.

Valentine's hill ; either his own want of forage might induce him to such a movement, or to prevent us from bringing in this article.

A number of Artillery horses arrived yesterday from the Highlands, in the Rebel Camp. The Conductor of them was heard to enquire for the waggon M<sup>r</sup>\* General, for his orders about the distribution of them.

Agreeable to the accounts of some inhabitants in the neighborhood of the camp, it was expected that the Enemy's army, or a part of it, would have moved yesterday afternoon ; † a great deal of their baggage having been loaded ; also that they were fixing and mending the roads towards Young's Wright's Mills, and the post road towards Croton.

P. S. No magazines are known to be made, or making in their rear : all provisions and stores come by water to Tarrytown and is rather a temporary supply. ‡

I am &c

Marquard

To Maj<sup>r</sup> De Lancey

*Copy of a letter from W. H. § to Maj<sup>r</sup> De Lancey, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

Sir

It is not my fault that you have not heard from me before now. I left two packets at the place appointed for Bulkley to take them ; one of the 28<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup>, the other of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>. When I came to the place the second time I was surprized to find the first packet there ; but more so now when I found both there unmoved. ||

Soon after my return home from New York, I had an interview with our *friend*, and after acquainting him of the nature of those *services* expected from him (at

\* The "Waggon Master-General" here referred to is believed to have been Joseph Thornburgh, whom Congress on 18th June, 1777, resolved should "have the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Army of the United States." Journal, 1777, p. 170, ed. of 1823.

† "Yesterday afternoon" was the afternoon of the 14th of July, 1781. under which date, in his Journal, Washington says : "Near 5,000 men being ordered to march for Kingsbridge to cover and secure a reconnoitre of the enemy's works on the No. end of York Island, Harlaem River, & the Sound, were prevented doing so by incessant rain."

‡ "E. B.," who furnished the information in this letter, was the Elias Benedict mentioned before in entry of 7th June, and note thereto.

§ William Heron, of Reading, Ct., the member of the Connecticut Legislature who was in communication with the British during the war. The italics in this letter are underscored in the MS. See final note to entry of 2d February, 1781, *ante*, for a sketch of Heron.

|| It is to be regretted that some mischance seems to have befallen these two "packets" of Heron's of 28th June, and 4th July, 1781, or rather the means of sending them to Clinton, or they would have appeared in this volume of his "Private Intelligence," to the great advantage of students of American history, and of a correct knowledge of military affairs in the early summer of 1781. See *ante*, second entry of June 20th. for mention of the means and method of sending letters by Heron to the British headquarters (Mag. Am. Hist. Vol. XI. pp. 348, 349).

least as far as I could recollect the heads of the Queries you last showed me) we concerted measures for his conveying to me every material article of intelligence.\* The enclosed is the first essay of the kind, which serves to show the manner and the stile in which he is to write,—as to a confidential friend, anxious to know those matters and occurrences, which may in anywise affect the cause of the country.†

One thing he said in the course of our conversation which convinces me that I am not deceived by him; that is, when he talked about his son, he said, were he brought into New York, he wished that some provision may be made for him in the British Navy, to serve in Europe during the present contest. This is a fact, which will enable you to judge of him for yourself.‡

I expected to have been able to furnish him e'er this time with that paper you showed me last, containing the several heads of those matters to which you wished to have a clear and explicit answer.§ He readily agreed to pay the strictest attention to them. He will expect some money by me this time, but how to get it here I know not; as I would not wish to have any person besides yourself, or those you can confide in, made acquainted with anything of that nature.

The bearer will acquaint you where I am concealed, but it is not a proper place for me to see any body; not that I have anything to fear from the family, but from the Neighbors. ||

I came here under the sanction of a commission from Governor Trumbull to cruise in the Sound.¶ I am sorry I ever attempted to meddle with this plan of a commercial nature; this is the first essay, and I believe it will be the last. I entered upon it purely to draw in our *friend*: but I am sensible it is attended with more trouble and vexation to you, as well as danger to me, than it can be of real advantage to me, otherwise than that I know it is serving the cause of government essentially. So thoroughly are our leaders on the *other side* convinced of the truth of this assertion, that the severest laws are passed against it.

\* The queries referred to will be found in the above mentioned second entry of 20th June, 1781.

† The "enclosed" letter, given below, is evidently written to see if the manner of communicating intelligence thus "concerted" between Parsons and Heron, would be satisfactory to Clinton. The plan was, for Parsons to write to Heron as to a friend of the American cause, and Heron was to send his letters to Clinton. This protected the former perfectly in case of a discovery, Heron being known as a Whig member of the Connecticut Legislature in good standing. It was certainly a shrewd arrangement.

‡ This "son" whom General Parsons wished to be provided for in the British navy was named "Enoch." *Hinman's Connecticut in the Am. Revolution*, 419.

§ The queries in the entry of 20th June, above-mentioned.

|| The "here" was probably some place in Queens County, Long Island.

¶ These Commissions of Gov. Trumbull in 1781 are thus noted in his own Diary:—

"1781" Jan<sup>y</sup> 25th. A whaleboat commission to Capt. Joshua Griffith.

"Feb. 26. Commission granted for schooner Weasel and Capt. Hale's whaleboats, to cruise agst. the enemy and Illicit trade, under direction of Capt. Wm. Ledyard.

"March 24th. Granted liberty of commission of whaleboat to Abner Ely

I was at M<sup>r</sup>. K——p's seasonable enough to acquaint you of the movement of the troops to Kingsbridge, and of the French troops changing or shifting their first intended route for that purpose ; but M<sup>r</sup>. K——p \* was not returned home then.

The number of French troops is between 4 and 5000, and the late daily issues to the Continental army was about 7,300 Rations. In this calculation the Staff, Artificers, Waggoners, &c., are included. This I had yesterday from a person in the issuing Commissary's Department.† The Jersey and the New York line, which

" April 4th. Common commission for Whale Boat given John Waterman—sent by Mr. Torrey—p'd £3.

" May 10th. Gave commission to Capt. Elisha Hart, sloop Restoration. 10 guns." *Quoted in Stuart's Life of Trumbull*, 550. If all are given by Stuart, Heron's boat must have been one of the above.

These Connecticut whaleboat men, under these commissions of Gov. Trumbull, plundered and treated friends and foes without distinction, *outside of Connecticut*, with the greatest cruelty. All New Yorkers were considered by them as legitimate prey, no matter to which side they belonged. So wicked and savage were these piracies that the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, to whose attention they were brought by letters of Gov. Clinton of New York (on the 1st and 5th July, 1781, fifteen, and ten days, only, previous to this letter of Heron), on the 7th of August, 1781, severely condemned them and at once desired Trumbull to revoke the commissions; and that, too, on a report from a committee of three, of whom two were from New England, one of the two being from Connecticut itself. From this fact alone, without citing instances, an opinion can be formed of the great iniquities perpetrated under them by these " patriots " of Connecticut. The report is as follows :—

" TUESDAY, August 7, 1781.—The report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Mathews, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Ellsworth, to whom were referred letters of the 1st and 5th of July, from the Governor of New York.

It appearing to Congress from the representations of Governor Clinton and other information, that commissions have been granted by the governor of the State of Connecticut, for the purpose of suppressing commerce from the enemy into that state, authorizing the persons to whom these commissions are granted, among other things, to go to Long Island and other islands adjacent and seize the goods and merchandise they should there find, the property of British subjects ; and that the said commissions are attended with many abuses dangerous to the public, as well as distressing to citizens and friends of these United States inhabiting said islands, some of whom, under pretext of the powers contained in such commissions, have been plundered of their property, and otherwise evil treated ; and that the further continuance of said commissions would impede the public service in that quarter ; therefore,

*Resolved*, That the Governor of the State of Connecticut be, and he is hereby, desired immediately to revoke the said commissions, by him granted, so far as they authorize the seizure of goods on Long Island, or elsewhere on land not within the State of Connecticut." *Journals Congress*, 1781-2, p. 165 (*Patterson, Printer*).

\* Knapp, who seems to have lived at no great distance from Horseneck, was an agent of Heron in his communications with the British. Perhaps Knapp, a tavern keeper there after the war, was the man.

† So immediate, accurate, and almost official, was the intelligence Clinton had of the strength of the allied armies at White Plains. As the French were 5,000, this shows conclusively that the actual strength of the allied armies on paper was just 12,300 men, all told. Deducting 1,300 for non-combatants of all kinds in both services (a small allowance) we have 11,000 only as the fighting numbers of the allies. Yet, Clinton, with a force at least 25 per cent. greater, never even

will amount to about 2,300 men, are (I judge) by this time joined. West Point is to be garrisoned by the militia.

Should any money be sent our *friend*, it will be best to put it up in something like a belt.

I am, &c.,

W. H.

P.S. I thought it advisable to cut the name off the enclosed.

Our friend manifested a wish that a cask of wine may be sent : however, I gave him not the least encouragement.\*

*Copy of a letter from G——P. to W. H.†*

*Enclosed in the foregoing.*

Camp, Phillipsburgh, 8<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

We have now taken a camp within about 12 miles of Kingsbridge where I expect we shall continue until we know whether the states will in any considerable degree comply with the requisitions made of them, altho' we believe ourselves able to maintain our ground. You may easily conjecture what our future prospects are, when I assure you the five Regiments of our State ‡ are more than 1,200 men deficient of their complement ; and the other States (except Rhode Island and New York who are fuller) nearly in the same condition.§

The right of the front line is commanded by me, consisting of Connecticut and Rhode Island troops : the left by General Lincoln, consisting of the brigades of Massachusetts. The 2nd line, one brigade of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, commanded by General Howe.¶ General McDougall commands at West Point.

attempted to attack them, either before, or after, their junction. Was there ever a greater instance of military incapacity ? or had he private reasons for not doing so ?

\* This wish was similar to that in 1782 of another (but a New York) general of note in the Revolution who had a special fondness for Madeira. See IX. Penna. Archives, p. 675.

† "G——P. to W. H." "General Parsons to William Heron."

‡ Connecticut.

§ Parsons writes this on July 8, 1781. Thirteen days later, on the 20th, Washington gives the following account of the military department to Samuel Huntington in Congress : "That department is yet laboring under every difficulty and distress, and there seems to me little chance of its being relieved from the debility to which it is reduced ; for, notwithstanding my previous requisitions, and the more pressing occasion there is for recruits at this moment, I may almost say I have not received one man since my last demand." VIII. Sparks, 115. The "last demand" was on the 24th May, 1781.

¶ Parsons here gives the American front line, as it was at the date of this letter, July 8<sup>th</sup>, two days after the junction of the allied armies, and before a more permanent arrangement could have been made. Later the two lines were extended, enlarged, and the commands somewhat changed. The account of the two lines, however, given on the 18<sup>th</sup>, ten days later, by John Hubbill (entry of that date *post*) agrees with this letter of Parsons, except that Hubbill gives no names of the commanders

When the York forces join he will be relieved, which I expect will be soon, when I suppose he will take the right of the first line, and I shall be in the center : but this is yet uncertain.

Our magazines are few in number, as well as very small ; your fears for them are groundless. They are principally at West Point, Fishkill, Wapping's Creek & Newburgh, which puts them out of the enemys power, except they attempt their destruction by a force sufficient to secure the Highlands (which at present they cannot do) our guards at the magazines being sufficient to secure them from small parties.

As the object of the Campaign is the reduction of New York,\* we shall now effectually try the patriotism of our country-men, who have always given us assurances of assistance when this should become the object: Of this I have had my doubts for several years, and wished it put to the test.†

The Minister of France is in Camp,‡ and the French troops yesterday encamped on our left, near the Tuckey-hoe road. Their number I have not had opportunity to ascertain.

The other matters of information you wish, I shall be able to give you in a few days. The messenger waits.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

y<sup>r</sup> Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup> §

\* Such really was the object until August 14, 1781, five weeks later, when Washington was compelled to give it up and adopt in its stead the movement to Virginia. See note to entry of 17th June (vol. ix., p. 343), stating the facts which compelled that movement.

† If Parsons was sincere in this statement, the result showed that his "doubts for several years" were well founded, as we now have Washington's own word that the refusal and neglect of the Eastern States to respond to his calls for men was a main cause of his abandoning his long cherished plan of attacking New York. *Washington's Journal under date of 14 August, 1881. VII. Mag. Am. Hist., 125.*

‡ Luzerne arrived on July 6th.

§ This letter of General Parsons of July 8th, was received, enclosed in the foregoing letter of Heron, at Clinton's headquarters in New York, and entered there on July 15, 1781.

The revelations in this "Private Intelligence" as to General Parsons are as extraordinary as they are painful. As this MS. volume of Clinton's "Private Intelligence" ends on July 19, 1781, four days later, no other direct communication appears in it from General Parsons. What may have appeared in the succeeding volume cannot be known, unless it should turn up hereafter. The present volume shows conclusively that he was, while a Major-General in the American Army, and the Senior General officer of the Connecticut troops in that army, in secret communication with the enemy, and furnished them intelligence ; and this, too, only a few months after the treason of Benedict Arnold, and, as one of his judges, voting, and rightly, for the guilt and death of André.

The fact of such communication, however, does not depend upon the revelations of this volume of Clinton's Private Intelligence alone. It is very curiously corroborated by the following correspondence between British officers in the spring of 1781, which shows that he then had communications of some kind under cover of a flag. It shows, too, the dangers run in carrying on communications with an enemy, and somewhat amusingly illustrates Talleyrand's famous maxim in



affairs, "Not too much zeal." Major Kissam, to whom they were addressed and by whom they were preserved to see the light oddly enough about the same time with this MS. volume of Clinton's Headquarters Records, was John Kissam, Major of the Queens County Militia regiment, commanded by Gabriel G. Ludlow—the eldest son of Daniel Kissam, of the well-known Long Island family of that name, who was a magistrate of the county, its representative at one time in the Provincial Legislature, and a brother of Benjamin Kissam, the great New York lawyer, in whose office John Jay and Lindley Murray acquired their legal education. The Kissams were loyalists and, like nine-tenths of those of New York, they opposed the measures of the British ministry, but would not take arms against the king. Their estate and home was "Flower Hill," in North Hempstead, near Long Island Sound, three or four miles from Westbury, in Queens County. In virtue of his commission, which he received from Gen. Tryon, December 9, 1776, Major Kissam was actively employed during the war, especially in collecting forage for the British forces. This brought him in correspondence with many officers and others. The estate was confiscated, but was bought in by the Major's mother, and upon his return from Nova Scotia, after the war, was his residence till his death on the 10th of July, 1828, at the age of 80 years. Among a number of the revolutionary papers of Major Kissam are the following relating to Heron and Parsons, which were first published in 1883, by Mr. Henry G. Onderdonk, under the heading of "Flags of Truce," in a contribution to the *Roslyn News*, a Long Island newspaper, simply as an illustration of that subject, and without, of course, being aware of what the "Flag" in this case was really the cover. The originals are in the possession of a grand-daughter of Major Kissam, who kindly permitted the writer of this note to examine them.

To Major Kissam,  
Sir:

Westbury, 21<sup>st</sup> of April, 1781.

I had the honor to receive yours this evening, and have forwarded the letter to Major De Lancey immediately. The bearers of flags of truce, agreeably to general orders, are to be sent back as soon as they have delivered their dispatches; but if W<sup>m</sup> Heron has to transact business in his private affairs on this Island, he must first obtain His Excellency Gov. Robertson's particular leave for that purpose; and I shall therefore have the honor to wait upon you, sir, to morrow morning at 10 o'clock in order to see whether Heron's request is likely to be granted; and till that time I beg to detain him at your house or any other proper place. I am with great regard sir, your most obed't humble servant.

L. J. A. DE WURMB, L. Col.

To Major Kissam, Cow Bay.

Westbury, 23<sup>d</sup> April, 1781

Sir: I enclose a passport for Mr. Heron, and should wish for his return to Stamford whenever the wind will permit of it. I have not yet received an answer from New York, but as soon as those things wanted by Gen. Parsons shall arrive I will not fail to forward them to the General by another flag. I have the honor to be with great regard, sir, your most obed't humble servant.

L. J. A. DE WURMB, L. Col.

To Capt. Poers, Commander of His Majesty's brig Argo, &ca. &ca. &ca.

Brooklyn, April 26, 1781

Sir: Maj. Gen. Baron de Riedesel begs you will, in compliance with the directions from Head Quarters, (as you will see by the enclosed extracts of a letter from the deputy Adjutant General) order Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Heron's boat which you took possession of a few days ago, back in all haste to the place where you first found her; and the men who navigated her will be sent without any delay to that place to receive their boat, and it is requested, sir, that you will please to give such particular

directions to your people that she and every thing belonging to her may be restored to them as complete as she was found, without any further detention whatever.

I have the honor to be with all respect, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant

[*The Aid who wrote this letter omitted to sign it, and the "extracts of a letter from the Deputy Adjutant-General" are not among the Kissam Papers.*]

Westbury, April 27, 1781

To Major Kissam,

Sir: The enclosed papers will inform you that the people belonging to the flag of Mr. Heron are to be sent to the other side as soon as Mr. Heron returns. The prisoners I hereby send, and beg you will be kind enough to guard them until they leave the Island; and in case of necessity to furnish them with provisions which shall be paid for whenever you let me know the price thereof. The boat which was taken by the Argo brig will perhaps arrive at Hempstead Harbor to-day.

L. J. A. De Wurmb, L. Col.

N. B. If you think it necessary, some Jagers may stay with the prisoners as a guard.

The entries of 24th and 25th of April, 1781, in this "Private Intelligence," give the information brought by Heron on this occasion, when the Argo's unlucky capture of his boat gave Col. de Wurmb and the other officials so much trouble. But they make no mention whatever of "those things wanted by Gen. Parsons." What the "things" were must be left to conjecture.

"L. J. A. De Wurmb, L. Col.," as he signs himself, was Ludwig Johann Adolph de Wurmb, Commander of the German Jager Regiment, then stationed on the north side of Long Island, with its head-quarters at Westbury. Early in the following summer De Wurmb and his regiment were transferred to Kingsbridge, and he was the officer who from that point several times informed Clinton of the first movements of the allied armies toward Virginia, without being credited by that Commander. He became Lieut. General, and Commander of Cassel in 1806, and died in 1813. —*Von Elking*, 264.

From the very outbreak of hostilities in 1775, there seems to have existed in Connecticut violent personal and military antagonisms among her officers and soldiers, and between the troops, officers and men, and the civil authorities of the State. Troubles were breaking out continually, with more or less force, throughout the Revolutionary war. Military and personal jealousy seems to have been the rule rather than the exception, and it was more than even so strong a man as Governor Trumbull could do, to regulate matters successfully. The difficulties about rank, command, pay, and arrears of pay increased the bitterness, and led to the demands and charges, so disastrous to Washington and Trumbull, which Gen. Parsons in writing brought before each of them. "I am honored with your Excellency's letter of 25th of June last," writes Trumbull to Washington on the 9th of July, 1781, "enclosing a copy of one addressed to you by General Parsons, enclosed. Your feelings of distress excite a sympathy in my breast, and a readiness to do all in my power to remove the occasion. That the Committee from the Connecticut line of the Army did not accomplish a full settlement, was to me a matter of sorrow, and fear for its consequences. The veteran troops who faithfully served, and bravely endured so many distresses in defence of their own, and their country's righteous cause, in the unhappy contest with the British King and Ministry, and continue therein to the end, will be rewarded, acknowledged, and remembered with love and gratitude by this and future generations. Surely, none will forsake it, or cause disturbances at this time when in a near view of a happy issue. Those who do will meet with reproach and regret." . . . *III. Sparks's Corr.*, 350. Eight days later, on the 17th July, 1781, Trumbull again writes Washington: "Dear Sir—Since my last to your Excellency, I have received a letter from General Parsons, dated the 10th (This was two days after the above letter of the 8th of July sent by Parsons through Heron to Clinton) filled with severe remarks and reflexions on our Legislature. A copy

thereof with my answer is enclosed." And then, after giving at length the measures taken in relation to the pay of the Line and the officers, Trumbull exclaims: "Shall we suffer avarice to divide and ruin us and our cause, and give them (the enemy) opportunity to exult and triumph over us." . . . I wrote yesterday to the Treasurer to inform me this week what sum of hard money is and can be immediately collected for the army, which shall be sent forward without delay. The measures directed and orders given for raising and marching our troops to the army, are now diligently carrying into execution.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and consideration,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant

Jonathan Trumbull."

*III. Sparks's Corr.*, 350. Parsons's letter and Trumbull's answer Sparks does not give.

MAJOR-GENERAL SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS, mentioned above, born at Lyme, Conn., May 14, 1737, was the third son of the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, the friend and supporter of Whitfield, by his wife, who was a daughter of Gov. Matthew Griswold, of Connecticut, with whom, after graduating at Harvard University in 1756, he read law at the place of his birth. He was admitted to the bar in 1759, elected to the Connecticut Legislature in 1762, and re-elected annually till 1774, when he moved to New London, having the year before been appointed "King's Attorney" for New London County. He was one of the eleven persons who, without any authority, took out of the Connecticut Treasury £810 to get up an expedition to take Ticonderoga, giving their notes for the same, which notes the Connecticut Assembly, on Parsons' petition in May, 1777, directed to be cancelled and the said sum "to be charged over to the General Government." In April, 1775, he was appointed Colonel of the 6th Colony regiment; was later, after the war began, transferred to the Connecticut Line, made Brigadier-General by Congress in 1776, and Major-General in October, 1780. He succeeded Gen. Putnam as Commander of the Connecticut Line in the Continental Army, in 1779, in which command he continued to the end of the war. He then returned to the practice of the law at New London. In 1786 he was one of the persons appointed by Congress to hold the treaty of that year with the Indians at the mouth of the Miami. In 1787 he was appointed by Congress one of the Judges of the Northwestern Territory, and went to reside at Marietta, Ohio. In 1789 he was appointed by Washington Chief Judge over the same territory, and in the same year, as one of the Commissioners of Connecticut, he went to the Western Reserve of Ohio to arrange for a treaty with the Wyandots and other Indians to extinguish their title to that region; and, while on his return, was accidentally drowned in descending the rapids of the Big Beaver River, the 17th November, 1789, at the age of 52. He was also a member and President of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati. *Hinman's Cont. in the Revolution*, 144, etc. *Hildreth's Pioneer Settlers of Ohio*, 186, etc.

*From Capl Marquard to Major De Lancey.*

*Morris House, 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

Sir,

Captain Henricks\* who returned last night with the flag after having delivered the letters, says that he went by Stephen Ward's to the Whiteplains; that he met no Picket at all till he came to Chatterton's bridge,† where there was a guard of a corporal and three men. No troops encamped on the east side of the Bronx. The French Legion at the Whiteplains, the horse on Chatterton's, and the foot on

\* Captain John Heinrichs, of the Jager Regiment, is here meant. He went to White Plains with a flag to deliver certain letters sent by Joshua Loring, Commissary of Prisoners, to the allied camp.

† This bridge was over the Bronx at the northeastern foot of Chatterton Hill.

Hunt's Hill. On the road from Tuckey-hoe is a Picquet at a little distance from the camp, and another between the horse and foot of the Legion. The French Infantry under Count Rochambeau, near one mile and a half behind the Legion, having the 2<sup>nd</sup> position of Washington in the year 1776, in their rear. The French Artillery Park is [in] front of the Reg<sup>t</sup> of Soissonnois. The communication of the troops on the other side of the Sawmill River,\* with those on this side,† is by Storm's bridge. The French provision train drawn by oxen. He believes they receive their provisions by way of Bedford and North Castle. The Rebels get theirs by water from King's ferry to Tarrytown. It is said the heaviest French cannon were drawn by six horses.

The cavalry of the Legion consists of two squadrons, each 150 strong; but Henricks thinks them no more than 230 in all—40 of them very good, 60 middling, the rest not good. Thirty-five men are armed with Lances, wear fur Caps, are the best mounted, and exempted from mounting guards. The whole Legion a fine body of men, and their accoutrements for horses and men very good. Eight men lay in a tent, from the number of which he concludes the foot of the Legion cannot be 600 strong. Their forage, fresh hay and Indian corn. There is no harmony between the Rebel and French officers; the latter, being [for] the greatest part of good families, cannot bear to be in the same rank with men who were Farmers, Butchers, Tanners, &c., and now are Generals, Colonels, &c. As the Americans do not like the French, the Inhabitants bring little or no provisions or greens to their Camp. The want of wine and good beverage, and the difficulty of having good dinners, makes their situation disagreeable, and they hate the American Inhabitants in return.‡

The Signal of alarm to the Army is two guns from the Right and two from the Left Wing, and beating Drums. Five beacons are upon Hunt's Hill.

The whole army has been in great confusion the night before last; some cavalry from the right increased this confusion by running full speed into the Camp of the Main Army. Henricks cannot believe that they were more than 8,000 strong. They give themselves out for 12,000. They estimate the British army in this District 10,000 Regulars, and 6,000 Refugees and Provincials.

Some French officers pretended that Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington shewed great Generalship

\* The Americans.

† The French.

‡ There was a great deal of this feeling here spoken of, on both sides, very much more than American writers are willing to admit. The different accounts subsequently published by French officers show it on the one side; and to it, on the other, is to be ascribed much of the unwillingness of the New England people to furnish their quotas of troops. 'The French will fight it out for us, having agreed to do so, and there is no need of our troubling ourselves about more men,' was the view they took and acted upon. A century of almost continuous contest with France for supremacy in North America. left impressions on the people of the new States too deep to be effaced by a single year's alliance with their and their fathers' former foes, aliens in race, language, and religion. Arnold used this feeling in defending his treason, and as this "Private Intelligence" shows, Heron refers to it in Parsons (*entry of 25th April ant.*), as a reason for the same thing

in the affair of the 3<sup>d</sup>, as he [succeeded\*] that day in reconnoitring *Spiken Devil*, which on another he might not have been able to effect without risking a Battle.†

You will kindly excuse the length of this letter, it is taken from Henricks's German original, and I could find no means to shorten it.

I am, &c.,

Marquard.

Maj. De Lancey.

*Capl. Marquard ‡ to Maj. De Lancey.*

*Morris House, 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1781, 10 at night.*

Sir

Five armed vessels weighed anchor yesterday evening before 6 o'clock, and proceeded up the North River. Several Rebel boats were seen to get away as fast as they possibly could. Between 10 and 11, a severe cannonade was heard; the flashes that were seen left no doubt of its being near and about Dobb's ferry. The Rebel Drums beating an alarm were distinctly heard.

This morning at day-break we saw the shipping off Tarrytown. One cannon played upon them from the shore till eleven o'clock this day. About 12 o'clock we could plainly see that they had 4 pieces of cannon. The ships went higher up Tappaan Sea.§

Capl. Henricks, of the Jagers, who went out with a flag of truce, and delivered the letters sent here by Mr. Loring, returns just now and says, that M. Le Duc de Lauzun told him the British ships had taken the American vessels loaded with flour, and had set a house on fire with their cannon.

The whole Rebel and French army were under arms last night, since the first firing, in full expectation of an attack. The consternation has not been trifling; the men got under arms with nothing but their shirts on.

I am, &c.,

Marquard.

*From Capl. Beckwith.*

*16<sup>th</sup> July, 1781*

S. A. returned to Kingsbridge this forenoon, and says, he has been upon Tuckey-hoe heights, near the widow Underhills, which he left at 10 this morning.

\* This word in the MS. is unintelligible, but it is evident that it was intended to mean "succeeded."

† These italics are underscored in the MS.

‡ Captain Marquard, whose name appears so often in this "Intelligence," was a Captain of the Hessian Regiment, styled "Battalion Grenadiers Von Minnegerode," and aide-de-camp of General Knyphausen, as appears from the Army lists in Gaines's N. Y. almanacs during the war.

§ Washington thus describes the naval force which made the attack mentioned (*Journal May and July 11 and 15*): The Savage sloop of war 16 guns—the ship Genl. Washington lately taken by the enemy—a ten Galley (*so in the original*)—and two other small vessels passed our fort at Dobb's Ferry (which was not in a condition to oppose them.) The object of the attack was to destroy the stores at Dobbs Ferry and Tarrytown.

From the information he received, there was then no appearance of a move, but during the course of the night (Sunday) he heard a good deal of noise in Camp, particularly towards morning, when there was some firing in the N. River; and he afterwards understood that some Rebel stores collected at Dobbs landing had been destroyed by our shipping.

The French Cavalry remain upon Chatterton's hill; they have for three days past kept their horses constantly at the Pickets, feeding them upon cut grass.

Their picquets are posted upon the heights near the widow of John Underhill's; upon the widow Archer's hill; upon the rising ground near David Pugsley's; and another more to their right near Dobb's Landing.

He could not ascertain their having any heavy cannon in Camp. Nor any great quantity of provisions. He was told, that the French General was quartered at Sam'l Purdy's at the Whiteplains.

*Information by John Hubbill, Pris<sup>r</sup> of the 5<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup> and a Deserter of the 1<sup>st</sup> Con<sup>t</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

Colonel Scammell with the Light Infantry is encamped between the North & Sawmill River, on the heights the other side of Dobb's ferry. Sheldon's Drag<sup>s</sup> at garrisons, in Dobb's ferry plains.\* The Rebels in two lines. The 1<sup>st</sup> line with the Right to the Sawmill River, one mile above Pugsley's bridge, with the left at a small distance from Sear's house, consisting of the two Connecticut brigades, including the Rhode Island brigade, and one Bay brigade.† The 2<sup>nd</sup> line about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile in the rear of the 1<sup>st</sup>, consisting of the New Hampshire troops, and one Bay brigade. The French in one line, *align<sup>d</sup>* ‡ with the Rebel 1<sup>st</sup> line, extending towards Chatterton's hill. The French Legion on the left of the whole, on Chatterton's hill; covering the left flank.

The French Artillery Park, behind Sear's, (no particulars about the French or the Rebel park).

Each French Reg<sup>t</sup> [has] some Field pieces; Each Rebel brigade two six pounders. The Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup> 300 duty-men § upon an average. Those of the other provinces about the same number, the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup> excepted, being much stronger. Each brigade may be near 900 men. The Jersey brigade has not crossed the N. River. The shipping destroyed some provision sloops. Killed and wounded some of Sheldon's dragoons. A considerable quantity of salt meat and bread had been landed at Tarrytown the day before the ships came up. 300 men at work every day at Dobb's ferry. || The armed ships [are] in Haverstraw bay.

\* The comparatively level ground on top of the hill about a mile southeasterly from Dobbs Ferry landing, now covered with handsome country places.

† By this is meant a brigade from "Massachusetts Bay" or "The Massachusetts," as that State was often styled in the last century.

‡ Aligned.

§ Effective men is meant.

|| At the redoubt and batteries then constructing, on the brow of the hill directly above the landing.

The Rebel Generals in Camp are, Washington, Lincoln, Howe, Stirling, Hand, Parsons, & Huntington.

There are now 2, 18 & 2 12 p<sup>rs</sup>, and 2 Howitzers in the Battery at Dobb's ferry.

The whole of the Enemy's army constantly provided with two days dressed provisions. \*

19<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.

Jos. Clarke came in this morning, and says he left Fort Lee last night.

Washington was at Fort Lee yesterday, viewing the ground. Several officers were with him, and about 50 Light horse as a guard. He dined yesterday at one William Day's near Fort Lee.†

Clarke was informed, there were about 300 Continental troops in the neighborhood of Fort Lee, but could not learn where they came from.

19<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.

Samuel Tom came from Jersey last night, he gives the following information.

He was told, that the night before last, the Jersey brigade were encamped near Sneading's blockhouse; and yesterday on his way thro' the English neighborhood he was told by the Inhabitants, that a party of Continental troops had patrolled to the cross-road at the widow Demaries, ‡ which leads to Fort Lee. He saw this party, but at some distance. He was also told that Washington was yesterday at Fort Lee with a party. §

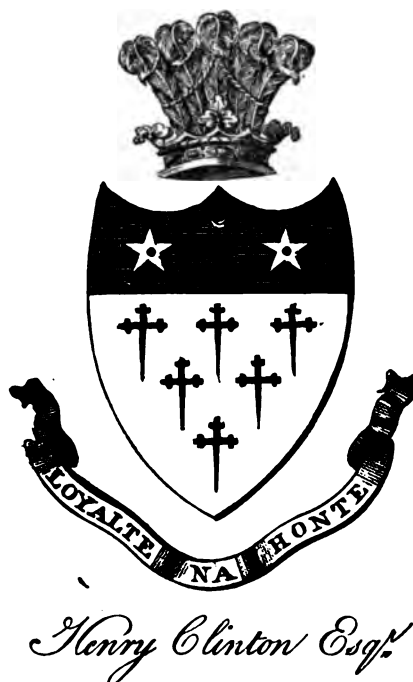
\* This account of the Connecticut deserter is very correct, as we now know from the French, and other American, contemporary accounts; and confirms Parsons' letter above given.

† This was the reconnoissance made by Washington and Rochambeau, with an escort of 150 Jersey troops. They crossed the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry.

‡ "Demarest's" is the name here meant.

§ Washington describes this reconnoissance at very great length in his Journal (*Mag. Amer. Hist.* 120, 121, and 122). He thus begins his account: "July 18<sup>th</sup>—I passed the North River with Count Rochambeau, Genl de Beville, his Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Genl. & Genl. Duportail in order to reconnoitre the Enemy's Posts and Encampments of the North end of York Island—took an Escort of 150 Men of the Jersey Troops on the other side," and then gives extremely full details. The above entries show that Clinton was informed of this reconnoissance the morning after it took place. One observation of Washington on this occasion (18th July, 1781), is of much interest when we consider the present wooded state of the north end of Manhattan Island: "The Island is totally stripped of trees and wood of every kind; but low bushes (apparently as high as a man's waste) (*so in the original*) appear in places which were covered with wood in the year 1776." A result of the hard winter of 1780–81.

Fac-simile of the armorial book-plate of Sir Henry Clinton's grandson, upon the inner side of the cover of one of the MS. volumes of Sir Henry's headquarters records, now belonging to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York. It is a singular fact that Governor George and General James Clinton, of New York, sons of Charles Clinton, of New Britain, Orange County, an Irish-born gentleman of another branch of the Clinton family, had the same arms and motto as Sir Henry, but without the crescent or other mark of cadency.



These arms are thus blazoned.

**SHIELD :** Argent, six cross crosslets fitchée sable, three, two, and one. On a chief azure, two mullets or, pierced gules, in the centre a crescent, argent, for difference.

**CREST :** Out of a ducal coronet gules, a plume of five ostrich's feathers argent, banded with a line azure.

**MOTTO :** Loyaltè n'a honte (Loyalty is not ashamed).

THE END.



## VALUABLE ORIGINAL LETTERS

### UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO JOHN JAY

*Contributed by General C. W. Darling. Original letter in possession of the Oneida Historical Society*

New York Dec<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1784

Dear Sir

The Baron De Steuben has informed me that he is about to set out for Trenton where he expects to make application to Congress for a final settlement of his pretensions. I feel myself so much interested in the success of his intended application that I cannot forbear taking the liberty to recommend his case to your particular patronage. I have been an eye witness to the services he has rendered this country: I will venture to say they have been of essential weight in the revolution. 'Tis unquestionably to his efforts we are indebted for the introduction of discipline in the army and that against a torrent of prejudice and opposition. 'Tis to that discipline we owe the figure we made with an handful of men in the latter periods of the war. 'Tis to that discipline we owe savings of different kinds of the utmost importance to our exhausted finances. The Baron De Steuben, whatever pride or personalty may say—is one of the *few* men who in the military line, has rendered substantial services to the American Cause. Justice demands he should have a liberal compensation. The reputation of our Country will not permit that he be necessitated to quit us to solicit the bounty of those whom he has not served. You, my dear sir I know will feel properly what justice and national reputation will dictate upon this occasion. But your absence from America has perhaps prevented you from receiving in some respects, just representations of men and things. I flatter myself that which I now make to you will be received as a just one. The Baron if he remains in this country will continue a Citizen of New York. It seems to me, circumstanced as we are, it is not a contemptable object to give inducements to stay among us to a man whose military experience would be of singular advantage in forming those establishments to which we may be driven. I shall not dwell longer on the subject, as I am convinced I need not multiply considerations to induce you to do whatever is possible, or proper.

I remain with the most sincere & respectful attachment

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your Obed<sup>t</sup>

Alex Hamilton

To the Hon John Jay

Three unpublished Letters from the correspondence of Vice-President Elbridge Gerry, which passing to his son-in-law and biographer, Hon. J. T. Austin, are now in possession of the eldest son of that gentleman, Mr. I. J. Austin, Newport, Rhode Island, by whom they are contributed to the readers of the Magazine.

*Alexander Hamilton to Elbridge Gerry.*

New York Sep<sup>r</sup> 6, 1788

Sir

I am a member of a Committee to whom the Baron De Steuben's application to Congress, founded upon a certain statement supported among other testimonials by a certificate from you, has been referred. Among the papers committed to us, is the copy of a written report made by the Committee appointed to confer with the Baron at Yorktown. As this report is of a nature to create difficulties in the case, I have thought proper to enclose it for your perusal, and I shall be obliged to you for any explanations which may serve to throw further light on the subject

I remain with esteem and regard

Sir y<sup>r</sup> ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

Alex Hamilton

E Gerry Esq<sup>r</sup>

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*Samuel Adams to Elbridge Gerry*

Boston Feb<sup>y</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1785

Dear Sir

The General Court being in the midst of a very busy Session, I have but a few moments to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 29<sup>th</sup> ult, and at the request of Mrs Gould of this town to beg the favor of you to enquire into the truth of a piece of intelligence forwarded to this town by a letter from a certain Mr John Stoughter at New York, which is, that the vessell in which M<sup>r</sup> Palfrey, Mrs Gould's two sons, a Mr Parker of New Hampshire, and several gentlemen of Philadelphia were passengers from France, four years ago, was carried into Algiers. I can hardly believe it to be a fact; but should there be good grounds for the story, will not Congress take measures for the relief of those unhappy persons, as well as to prevent any of our countrymen who may hereafter fall into their hands from suffering that indignity and cruelty which is the common lot of all their prisoners who are not under national agreement and protection.

Mrs Gould is the daughter of the late Mr James Griffin an eminent merchant of this town and she is a widow.

You will soon receive several instructions from the General Court which have passed in Senate. One of them is to use your endeavors to obtain an ordinance of Congress, that for the future their Secretary be elected annually.

Another, that no gentleman be appointed to offices of high trust while he is a member of that body.

Mr Lowell acquainted me with federal politics. Mr Sullivan is exceeding ill, his life despaired of.

We have added Mr Parsons to the Agency, and it appears to me necessary that we add another.

My respects to the President, your colleagues, and other friends

I am your affectionate

Sam<sup>l</sup> Adams

Hon<sup>e</sup> Mr Gerry.

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*Aaron Burr to Elbridge Gerry*

New York 23<sup>d</sup> June 1797.

Dear Sir

I congratulate you on your appointment, it has given much pleasure to your Republican friends in this quarter.

Allow me to call to your recollection young Prevost who was Secretary to Munroe and is now in Paris. I have thought that he might be useful to you in the same character, as he writes and speaks the French language with great accuracy and facility and possesses other advantages from his knowledge of country and of characters.

Present me respectfully to Mrs G, and be assured of my very great attachment and esteem

A. Burr.

Hon<sup>e</sup> Mr Gerry

## NOTES

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT—Rev. G. R. Van de Water, the first graduate of Cornell University ever invited to preach a baccalaureate sermon in Sage Chapel (June 15), touching upon the topics suggested by his text, said: "Joy and happiness prove themselves perpetual by the way they impress themselves on the mind, while tribulation and sorrow are seen to be temporal in the fact that all memory of them fades away when they are past. We seem in fishing up the things of the past to drop out of our drag-net all the sand, the sea-weed and the drift-wood, and retain only the tinted shells, with brilliant exteriors, smooth lining of pearl, and when held to the ear sounding the soft murmurings of a receding and unwritten music, angelic and sublime. One effect of all this is good. Another effect is dangerous, and needs to be guarded against. If it serve to make us forget the unpleasant things of the past, well. If in any estimate it cause us to paint the past in brighter colors than it deserves, then croak over the present and despair of the future, ill. Fanciful retrospection is a good thing for sentiment. It is a very bad thing for fact. Solomon rebukes the people for saying 'former days were better,' and tells them 'in this ye inquire not wisely.' To inquire wisely in the matter of estimate between past times and present ones, we must take epochs. The movement of society is not like the current of a rapid river running unceasingly in one direction, but rather like the swing of the mighty ocean with the rising of the tide. One wave comes in, breaks, rolls back. A single

glance shows no progress. Fix your eye for a half-hour on one point, and you see with all that flux and reflux of the waves, a steady advance.

"Never times better than these, never opportunities for greatness in everything good more abundant than now. This is an age of unceasing progress in the arts, in the sciences, in the moral and religious culture of the races. The golden fruits of a ripening civilization are waving upon a thousand fields. Our time is distinguished above all its predecessors for the increase of liberty, for the security of chartered rights, for a greater amount, present and prospective, of intelligence, industry, peace, order and prosperity. The Brotherhood of Men and the Fatherhood of God are two articles of a common faith, which reveals the unique features of the times. Art, science, commerce, philosophy and religion are working together to bring men to realize that God hath made of one blood all races of the earth, and that the highest law of life is that they love one another."

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BURGOYNE'S ORDERLY BOOK—Among the many invaluable Revolutionary documents which are preserved at Washington's Headquarters in Newburgh, few possess greater attractions for the student of American history than the Orderly Book of Gen. Burgoyne, from the time he entered the State at the north, till his surrender to the American troops, under Gen. Gates, at Saratoga, on October 16, 1777. The book contains the terms of surrender as agreed between the two generals. On the last page of

the book may be found the following interesting account of incidents connected with Burgoyne's personal surrender. We give it below, with its original orthography, capital letters, etc.

"When Genl. Burgoyne arrived at Bemises Heights he was received by Genl. Gates at the Head of the Continental Army, which was drawn up upon that occasion. Genl. Gates advanced to receive him, told him he was glad to see him"—Genl. Burgoyne replied, "I am not glad to see you,—it is my Fortune, Sir, but not my Fault." Genl. Schuyler's Carriage was sent for to receive and conduct Genl. Redsall, his wife and five Children to Albany—Genl. Burgoyne and the rest of the Staff-officers were escorted on Horseback—They all dined at Genl. Schuyler's. At Table Genl. Gates drank the King of Great Britain's Health. Genl. Burgoyne in return thanked him, and in the next Glass drank, the "Continental Congress." Genl. Burgoyne observed to Genl. Gates, he admired the Number, Dress, and Discipline of his Army: but above all the Decorum and Regularity was observed: said, your Funds of Men are inexhaustible; like the Hydra's Head, when cut off, seven more sprung up in its stead. When Genl. Burgoyne arrived in Albany, the Boys gathering 'round cried out—'make Elbow Room there'—the Rejaycing word." — *Newburgh Daily Journal*.

ANDRE'S PRISON AT TAPPAN—[III. 743, V. 57]—To be sold at Private Sale, that noted house and lot where Casparus Mabie formerly lived, at Tappan, two miles from the North River, and twenty-four from Hobuck Ferry: It is a convenient stone building, four rooms on a

floor. There is likewise on said place a good barn, garden, and sundry other conveniences. Whoever inclines to purchase may apply, to Mrs. Elizabeth Herring, on the premises, Mr. Cornelius C. Roosevelt, at New York, or to Doctor G. Stones, in Morris County.—*N. Y. Gazette, Feb. 26, 1776.* W. K.

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LITERATURE AND HISTORY—President McCosh, at Princeton College, said in his baccalaureate sermon of June 15, 1884: "Literature should fall down before its king. Speech is the gift of God. We are not to regard blessings we enjoy as less a gift from on high because they come from second causes. Literature, in all its forms, is a divine endowment. God has made a revelation of his will in the highest forms of literature. No one wrote purer history than Moses. Deeper themes are discussed in the Book of Job and in a grander manner than in the tragedies of Æschylus. We have no lyrics like those by David. I shrink from comparing any other literature with the discourse of our Lord. Paul had a style much like his character, abrupt, living, piercing like a sword, and yet lifting us to Heaven in its sublimity. Our literature owes much to Athens and Rome, but much also to Jerusalem. The Bible has given the world new ideas, such as are not found elsewhere in the province of letters. Grand and tender ideas have been thrown into the thought of men by religion. Superb themes for poetry and eloquence have been furnished. It is thus that high enjoyment is attained and the mind refined. Literature, like every other work of man, is under the law of God."

QUERIES

THE FIRST ENGLISH TAVERN-KEEPER IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK—What was his name? "On Saturday last departed this life Mrs. Elizabeth Cockran, in the 92<sup>nd</sup> year of her age. Her Father was the first Englishman who ever kept a Tavern in this Province after it was conquered from the Dutch. She was the wife of Capt. Cockran, and supported the character of a good Christian." I take the above from Gaine's *New York Gazette and Mercury* of Nov. 27, 1780. Can any of your readers give us his name? Perhaps some member of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society may be able to do it.

WESTCHESTER

THE TELESCOPE OF WASHINGTON, TAKEN FROM KINGS COLLEGE—Where is it? In the "Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention and Committee of Safety of New York," vol. I. p. 561, under date of August 8<sup>th</sup> 1776—the Convention then sitting at Harlem—appears the following: "A letter from John Berrien and Henry Wilmot, Esqrs., dated and received yesterday, was read and filed. They therein mention that they had by application to the Reverend Mr. Inglis [then Rector of Trinity Church and a Trustee of Kings College] obtained the telescope belonging to the college for the use of His Excellency General Washington, and delivered it to his aid-de-camp, whom the General had sent to receive it; that Mr. Inglis readily consented to the delivery of it, and the General had been anxious to obtain it." Judge Thomas Jones in his striking and interesting

"History of New York during the Revolutionary War," after giving a most indignant account of the plundering of the Public Libraries in New York by the British troops, says, "To do justice even to rebels, let it be here mentioned, that though they were in full possession of New York for nearly seven months, and had in it at times above 40,000 men, neither of those libraries were ever meddled with (the telescope which General Washington took excepted.)" Vol. II. p. 137.

I suppose Washington heard of the telescope, and sent a request for it, and obtained it through Berrien and Wilmot from the Provincial Convention.

Where is this telescope, and does it not belong to Columbia College now? or did Washington practically consider it a capture?

OPTIC

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY—In looking through Drake's Dictionary of American Biography, I notice there are two Livingstons mentioned as signers to the Declaration of Independence, Robert R. and Philip; as Philip Livingston's signature is attached to the Document, why was Robert R. Livingston's omitted?

JOHN ROWE

AMSTERDAM, NEW YORK, *July* 12, 1884

[Robert R. Livingston had the honor of being chosen one of a committee of five to draft the Declaration of Independence; but owing to absence, he was prevented from signing the document, having been summoned to New York to attend the Provincial Congress, of which he was a member.—EDITOR.]

## REPLIES

NINE PARTNERS [xii. 89] is the name of a land grant *in* Dutchess County, N. Y. Its name was derived from its being owned by nine men. The following are the names of eight of the partners, viz.: Sampson Broughton, Rip Van Dam, Thomas Wenham, Rodger Mompesson, Peter Fauconier, Augustine Graham, Richard Sackett, and Robert Lusting. I do not recollect the name of the ninth partner.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PA.

BLUE HEN'S CHICKEN [xii. 89]—"Blue Hen," a nickname for the State of Delaware, United States. The term arose thus: Captain Caldwell, an officer of the 1st Delaware regiment in the American War for Independence, was very fond of game-cocks, but maintained that no cock was truly game unless its mother was a "blue hen." As he was exceedingly popular, his regiment was called 'The Blue Hens' and the term was afterward transferred to the State and its inhabitants."

E. H. G.

MELROSE, Mass.

BLUE HEN'S CHICKENS [xii. 89]—During the Revolutionary War, a company or regiment from Delaware, under an officer named Caldwell, became known as "game-cocks" from their valor and the fact that their commander was noted for his fondness for *cock-fighting*. Caldwell had a theory that a genuine game-cock must descend from a *blue hen*, and hence the men of his command were

called *blue hen's chickens*, a name subsequently applied to Delawareans generally.

Respectfully,

N. B. WEBSTER

NORFOLK, VA.

THE LEADEN PLATE (xi. 360)—What evidence has Mr. Lambing that De Celeron's (not Oloron) plate deposited at the "Indian God Rock" (No. 2 on Mr. Marshall's map) was found by a boatman named Andrew Shall in 1832?

Rupp, Albach and others say that this plate *was found*. Rev. Dr. Eaton, in his Historical Sketch of Venango County, 1876, says (p. 5), "This plate was not permitted to remain long in its little bed, as it was stolen by the Indians, and taken to the State of New York, that the 'devilish writing,' as they called it, might be interpreted."

Dr. Wm. H. Eyle, in his History of Penn-Venango County (p. 1122), gives Dr. Eaton's second statement: "This plate was stolen from Joncaice by the Senecas the following year, and brought to Colonel Johnson to be read, who made good use of it to exasperate them against the French."

Mr. Marshall (*Mag. Am. His.*, ii. 129, et seq.) shows conclusively that this stolen plate had not been *buried*, or *dug up* or *used*, but that, as the Cayuga Sachem stated, "the Senecas got it by *some artifice* from *Jean Coeur*."

Now Mr. Marshall, a writer of such careful research that it is not safe to dispute his statements without evidence, says in his article (ii. 141) of the French

Creek plate: "The leaden plate deposited at this point *has never been found*, and some zealous antiquarian living in the vicinity might, from the record now given, be able to restore it to light after a repose of more than a century and a quarter."

Five years ago, when I was at Franklin, especially interested in this plate, I inquired particularly of Rev. Dr. Eaton and other local antiquarians, and was assured that there was no evidence that the plate located at the Indian God Rock was ever found. If it was, the silence on the subject has been most profound. When the Pt. Pleasant plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Kenawha was discovered by Mr. Beall in 1846, and its description and fac-simile given in the *Olden Times*, and various other historical works, no mention was made of the second plate having been found fourteen years before by Andrew Shall. If Mr. Lambing has evidence of the finding, it will be a matter of great interest to those who have examined the De Celeron history.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

BURR, HAMILTON, AND JAMES MONROE [xii. 80]—Mr. Cist will find a full account of the matter referred to, in *Hildreth's History of the United States, Second Series, Vol. II.* 104-120 pp.; in which Monroe figures very discredibly.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PA.

THE MONROE LETTER [xii. 80]—The letter of Monroe in the collection of Mr. Cist can be found in "Observations on Certain Documents, contained in Nos. V. and VI. of the History of the United

States for the year 1796, in which the charge of speculation against Alexander Hamilton, late Secretary of the Treasury, is fully refuted, written by himself." By James Thomson Callender. Phila.: printed for John Fenno by John Brorèn, 1797. Appendix, p. lvii. Reprinted, "Pro Bono Publico," Phila., 1800, and again in, I think, 1864, by Hamilton Club, New York.

INDEX

CORRECTION [xi. 236-32d Judge]: Nineteenth line from bottom of page: for "great-great-grand niece," read "grand niece." E. E. S.

THE FIRST PIECE OF ARTILLERY (xi. 360)—It is *claimed* that cannon were cast in England as early as 1335 by one John Owen, but the *Encyc. Britt.*, says none were made in England before 1551. So it is *claimed* that cannon and cannon balls were made in Massachusetts in 1664, though within ten years later Massachusetts ordered the *purchase* of sixty great guns here from abroad. It is also asserted that in 1748 cannon of light calibre were made by boring in Massachusetts about 1748. It is certain that large and small arms of fine quality were made in the colonies before the Revolution. As early as 1774 many of the military companies of Rhode Island were armed with home-made muskets, and in that year sixty heavy cannon were cast by order of the State. When the Revolution began, Holmes says, two cannon belonging to Boston and two belonging to Massachusetts "constituted the whole train of artillery possessed by the British Colonies of N. A." (ii. 369.)

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN



AN ARMY DUEL. JENIFFER-GASSOWAY (iii. 638)—This query of Mr. Craig's has remained long unanswered. The Lieut. Daniel of St. Thomas Jeniffer who fought the duel with Ensign Wm. Pitt Gassoway at Legionville in 1793 (the latter receiving a wound from which he died the same day) was doubtless the uncle of the Daniel Jeniffer to whom Mr. Craig refers. This "Daniel" was only two years old in 1793. It is a singular fact that all who bore the name of "Daniel of St. Thomas" Jeniffer died without issue.

Daniel Jeniffer M.D. of Charles Co. Md. had among other children.

1. Daniel<sup>2</sup> b 1727. d 1795.
2. *Daniel of St. Thomas*<sup>2</sup>. b. 1729. He was a Mem : Genl : Assembly of Md ;, and of the Council in 1774. In 1776 President of the Md : Council of Safety, and in 1779 was addressed by Washington in a letter as "President of the Senate at Annapolis" Del : to the Continental : Congress 1778-1782. Mem of the Convention which framed the Federal : Constitution and signed that instrument. Elected to that body May 26, 1787, the delegates first elected in April having, with one exception, declined to serve. His name heads

the list of subs, June 16, 1780, "Members of the Senate and House of Delegates" to aid in clothing and arming the Maryland troops for \$2,000. he d. unm.

1. Daniel<sup>2</sup> b 1727. m. Eliz<sup>a</sup> Hanson and had
3. *Daniel of St. Thomas*<sup>3</sup> b. 1753. d. s. p. *evidently the one who fought the duel.*
4. Daniel Jr<sup>3</sup> M.D. Served 5½ years in Revolutionary Army. Physician and Surg. Genl Hospital. Mem Md Soc of the Cincinnati. m Sarah Craik dau Dr James Craik, then of Charles Co, Md, where he was a Judge and a physician of large practice, before he moved to Mt Vernon. Dr Jenifir had with others
5. *Daniel of St. Thomas*. b. 1789. d. s. p. 1822.
6. Daniel<sup>4</sup> b. Apl. 15 1791. d. Dec 18. 1855. Lawyer. Mem : Md : Leg : Rep : U. S. Cong : 1831-3 and 1835-41 then appointed Minister to Austria m Miss Campbell and had, with others,
7. *Daniel of St. Thomas*<sup>5</sup>. 1814. d. s. p. 1843.
8. Daniel<sup>5</sup> m Miss Ristead and had
9. Daniel, et al : H. E. H.

## SOCIETIES

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—** At its regular quarterly meeting, July 1, President Gammell in the chair, Mr. Moses B. J. Goddard read a valuable and interesting paper on "The Voyages and Wreck of the *Ann and Hope*," an historic trading ship in early American commerce. Mr. Goddard said:

The old ship *Ann and Hope* was built by Col. Benjamin Tallman, at the shipyard on the west side of the river above the Point Street bridge and just below the steam mill. Brown and Ives commenced collecting materials for the new ship March 11, 1795, which was completed in May, 1798, and named after Ann, the wife of Nicholas Brown, and Hope, the wife of Thomas P. Ives.

President Gammell stated that Gen. Cullum, retired officer of the United States Army, had recently published an excellent and valuable paper (in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*) on the early defenses of Narragansett Bay, both in colonial and revolutionary times. Mr. Gammell also spoke very highly of Mr. William E. Foster's recent publication on Stephen Hopkins.

**SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI, NEW YORK—**The anniversary meeting of the State Society of the Cincinnati was held July 4, at Delmonico's. Hon. Hamilton Fish presided, as he has done for thirty consecutive years. The business part of the meeting concluded with the election of officers, as follows: President, Hamilton Fish; Vice-President, William S. Popham; Secretary, John Schuyler; Treasurer, Alexander James Clinton; Assistant Treasurer, Edward William

Tapp; Chaplain, Rev. Mancius Holmes Hutton; Standing Committee, Pierre Van Cortlandt, General John Cochrane, Thomas W. Chrystie, Anthony Walton White Evans, Charles Scott McKnight, Alexander Hamilton, Matthew Clarkson and William Henry Crosby. Delegates to the General Society, Hamilton Fish, William S. Popham, John Cochrane, John Schuyler and Alexander James Clinton. The Society then proceeded to the great dining hall, where an elegant banquet was served.

**CINCINNATI OF NEW JERSEY—**The Society held its annual meeting, July 4, 1884, at Princeton, N. J., a large number of members attending. Sixteen persons were elected hereditary members in right of their ancestors. A dinner was given at the University Hotel. The officers for the ensuing year are: President, Colonel Clifford Stanley Sims; Vice-President, William Bowen Buck; Secretary, Francis Barber Ogden; Assistant-Secretary, Wm. Chetwood Spencer; Treasurer, Dr. Herman Burgin; Chaplain, Rev. Dr. Samuel Moore Shute, D.D. *Standing Committee*—Wm. Lloyd, *Chairman*; Francis Barber, Hon. John Fitch, John Clark Sims, Robert Morris Boggs, Rear-Admiral Charles Henry Baldwin, of the United States Navy. *Delegates to the General Society*—Colonel Clifford Stanley Sims, Hon. John Fitch (City of New York), Francis Barber Ogden, Hon. John Thompson Nixon, William Bowen Buck. *Alternates*—Rear-Admiral Charles Henry Baldwin, of the United States Navy; Hon. Joseph Griffiths Scott, and others.

## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF AMERICA

We publish for the public convenience the following list of Historical Societies in this country, carefully collated within the past few weeks by the indefatigable Secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, General C. W. Darling.

NAME.	CITY.	STATE.	FOUNDED.
New York Historical Society.....	New York.	New York.	1804
The Albany Institute.....	do.	do.	1829
American Ethnological Society.....	do.	do.	1842
American Geographical Society.....	do.	do.	1852
American Numismatic and Archaeological Society..	do.	do.	1857
Buffalo Historical Society.....	Buffalo.	do.	1862
Long Island Historical Society.....	Brooklyn.	do.	1863
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society..	New York.	do.	1869
American Philological Society.....	do.	do.	1869
Genesee County Pioneer Association.....	Batavia.	do.	1869
Westchester County Historical Society.....	White Plains.	do.	1874
Waterloo Library and Historical Society.....	Waterloo.	do.	1876
The Oneida Historical Society.....	Utica	do.	1876
Livingston County Historical Society.....	Mount Morris.	do.	1876
Cayuga County Historical Society.....	Auburn.	do.	1877
Historical and Forestry Society.....	Nyack.	do.	1878
The Huguenot Society of America.....	New York.	do.	1883
Chautauqua Historical Society.....	Jamestown.	do.	1883
Historical Society of Newburgh Bay.....	Newburgh.	do.	1884
Historical and Philosophical Society.....	Cincinnati.	Ohio.	1831
Fireland's Historical Society.....	Norwalk.	do.	1857
Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Soc.	Cleveland.	do.	1867
Licking County Pioneer Historical and Arch. Soc..	Newark.	do.	1867
Toledo Historical and Geographical Society.....	Toledo.	do.	1871
Pioneer and Historical Society.....	Astoria.	Oregon.	1871
Oregon Pioneer Association.....	Buteville.	do.	1873
American Philosophical Society.....	Philadelphia.	Pennsylvania.	1743
German Society of Pennsylvania.....	do.	do.	1764
The Franklin Institute.....	do.	do.	1824
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.....	do.	do.	1824
Lutheran Historical Society.....	Gettysburg.	do.	1846
Presbyterian Historical Society.....	Philadelphia.	do.	1852
American Baptist Historical Society.....	do.	do.	1853
Moravian Historical Society.....	Nazareth.	do.	1857
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society.....	Philadelphia.	do.	1857
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.....	Wilkesbarre.	do.	1858
Linnæan Scientific and Historical Society.....	Lancaster.	do.	1862
Dauphin County Historical Society.....	Harrisburg.	do.	1869
Friends' Historical Association.....	Philadelphia.	do.	1873
Hamilton Library and Historical Society.....	Carlisle.	do.	1874
Historical Society of Pittsburgh and Western Pa..	Pittsburgh.	do.	1879
The Historical Society of Montgomery County....	Norristown.	do.	1881
Rhode Island Historical Society.....	Providence.	Rhode Island.	1822
Newport Historical Society.....	Newport.	do.	1853
South Carolina Historical Society.....	Charleston.	South Carolina.	1854
Tennessee Historical Society.....	Nashville.	Tennessee.	1855
Historical Society of Galveston.....	Galveston.	Texas.	1871
Vermont Historical Society.....	Montpelier.	Vermont.	1838
Middlebury Historical Society.....	Middlebury.	do.	1843
Virginia Historical Society.....	Richmond.	Virginia.	1831
Southern Historical Society.....	do.	do.	1869
Historical Society of Roanoke College.....	Salem.	do.	1875

NAME.	CITY.	STATE.	FOUNDED.
West Virginia Historical Society.....	Morgantown.	West Virginia.	1869
State Historical Society.....	Madison.	Wisconsin.	1849
Alabama Historical Society.....	Tuscaloosa.	Alabama.	1851
Arkansas Historical Society.....	Little Rock.	Arkansas.	1878
Society of California Pioneers.....	San Francisco.	California.	1850
Territorial Pioneers of California.....	do.	do.	1874
Historical Society of Southern California.....	Los Angeles.	do.	1883
Connecticut Historical Society.....	Hartford.	Connecticut.	1825
American Oriental Society.....	New Haven.	do.	1843
New Haven Colony Historical Society.....	do.	do.	1861
New London County Historical Society.....	New London.	do.	1870
Historical Society of Delaware.....	Wilmington.	Delaware.	1864
Georgia Historical Society.....	Savannah.	Georgia.	1839
Chicago Historical Society.....	Chicago.	Illinois.	1856
Indiana Historical Society.....	Indianapolis.	Indiana.	1831
State Historical Society.....	Iowa City.	Iowa.	1857
Kansas State Historical Society.....	Topeka.	Kansas.	1875
Historical and Scientific Society.....	Maysville.	Kentucky.	1875
Louisiana Historical Society.....	Baton Rouge.	Louisiana.	1852
Maine Historical Society.....	Portland.	Maine.	1822
Bangor Historical Society.....	Bangor.	do.	1864
Maryland Historical Society.....	Baltimore.	Maryland.	1844
Massachusetts Historical Society.....	Boston.	Massachusetts.	1791
American Antiquarian Society.....	Worcester.	do.	1812
Pilgrim Society.....	Plymouth.	do.	1819
Universalist Historical Society.....	College Hill.	do.	1834
New England Historic Genealogical Society.....	Boston.	do.	1845
Essex Institute.....	Salem.	do.	1848
American Congregational Association.....	Boston.	do.	1853
Old Colony Historical Society.....	Taunton.	do.	1853
Dedham Historical Society.....	Dedham.	do.	1859
Boston Numismatic Society.....	Boston.	do.	1860
Old Residents' Historical Society.....	Lowell.	do.	1868
Pecumtuck Valley Memorial Association.....	Deerfield.	do.	1870
Worcester Society of Antiquity.....	Worcester.	do.	1875
Historical Society of Old Newbury.....	Newburyport.	do.	1877
Webster Historical Society.....	Boston.	do.	1878
The Archaeological Institute of America.....	do.	do.	1879
Weymouth Historical Society.....	Weymouth.	do.	1879
Boston Memorial Association.....	Boston.	do.	1880
New England Methodist Historical Society.....	do.	do.	1880
Bostonian Society.....	do.	do.	1881
Plymouth Society.....	Plymouth.	do.	
Dorchester Historical and Antiquarian Society.....	Dorchester.	do.	
Houghton County Historical Society.....	Houghton.	Michigan.	1866
Wayne County Pioneer Society.....	Detroit.	do.	1871
Pioneer Society.....	do.	do.	1874
Minnesota Historical Society.....	St. Paul.	Minnesota.	1849
Missouri Historical Society.....	St. Louis.	Missouri.	1876
Mississippi Historical Society.....	Jackson.	Mississippi.	
New Hampshire Historical Society.....	Concord.	New Hampshire.	1823
Nashua Historical Society.....	Nashua.	do.	1870
New Hampshire Antiquarian Society.....	Contoocook.	do.	1873
New Jersey Historical Society.....	Newark.	New Jersey.	1845
Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society.....	Vineland.	do.	1864
Passaic County Historical Society.....	Paterson.	do.	1868
The New Brunswick Historical Club.....	New Brunswick.	do.	1870
New England Society of Orange.....	Orange.	do.	1870
Historical Society of New Mexico.....		New Mexico.	

AN AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN CONTEMPLATION—Call for a meeting on September 9, 1884, at Saratoga. It is proposed to organize, under the auspices of the American Social Science Association, during its next annual session at Saratoga, September 8-12, 1884, an American Historical Association, consisting of professors, teachers, specialists, and others interested in the advancement of History in this country. The objects of the proposed Association are the exchange of ideas and the widening of acquaintance, the discussion of methods and original papers. Such an Association will certainly prove of great advantage to American teachers and students who are now more or less isolated in their fields of work. Friends of History can profit by association with one another, and also with specialists in the kindred subject of Social Science, Jurisprudence, and Political Economy, which are represented at this annual meeting in Saratoga. By conference with co-workers historical students may widen their horizon of interest and cause their individual fields of labor to become more fruitful. The advantages of meeting at Saratoga are obvious. It is an excellent environment, attractive to all. The Social Science Association has already established itself at Saratoga, and offers the advantages of its name and existing organization, the use of its hall for historical sessions, and special rates at the United States Hotel during the week of the Social Science convention.

Arrangements will be made for the presentation of a few original papers, in abstract, at the first meeting of the American Historical Association, which

will be held in Putnam Hall, Saratoga Tuesday, September 9, 1884, at 4 P.M.

JOHN EATON, *President of the American Social Science Association.*

F. B. SANBORN, *Secretary of the American Social Science Association.*

C. K. ADAMS, *Professor of History, University of Michigan.*

M. C. TYLER, *Professor of History, Cornell University.*

H. B. ADAMS, *Associate Professor of History, Johns Hopkins University.*

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NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA—Report of the Secretary, Henry J. Philips, Jr., for the year 1883, in pamphlet of forty-six pages. During the year were held eight meetings, at which eighteen papers and communications were read. The Society is now in the twenty-seventh year of its existence. Its officers are: President, Eli K. Rice; Vice-Presidents, Daniel G. Brinton, M.D., Wm. Chandler, Edwin W. Lehman, Lewis A. Scott; Treasurer, Henry Philips, Jr.; Secretaries, Henry Philips, Jr., R. Stewart Culin; Librarian, Thomas Hockley. It has also sixteen honorary Vice-Presidents, from as many different States; with a Historiographer, Charles Henry Hart, a Curator of Numismatics, Robert Coulton Davis, and a Curator of Antiquities, Edwin Atlee Barber. Necrological notices for the year 1883 occupy fifteen of the closing pages of the Report, from the pen of the Historiographer, Charles Henry Hart. The subjects are Charles Perrin Smith, Lucius Quintus Elmer, and George Sharswood, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

## BOOK NOTICES

PROSE WRITINGS OF WM. CULLEN BRYANT. Edited by PARKE GODWIN. Two vols. Vol. First—Essays, Tales, and Orations. Vol. Second—Travels, Addresses, Editorial Comments and Criticisms. Square 8vo, pp. 431 and 424. New York: 1884. D. Appleton & Co.

These two handsomely printed volumes are uniform in size with the "Biography" and with the "Poetical Works" of Mr. Bryant, constituting altogether a set of six volumes. Mr. Godwin has brought into this collection, with scholarly care and discriminating taste, such valuable specimens of the prose writings of Mr. Bryant as tend to illustrate the scope, vivacity, and versatility of the author's powers, the range and current of his studies, and his opinions at different times, as well as the relation of his intellectual activities to the various historical developments of our politics and literature. The literary essays include four lectures on Poetry, delivered in 1825 before the New York Athenæum, and papers on "Early American Verse," "Trisyllabic Feet in Iambic Measure," "Nostradamus's Provençal Poets," "Moriscan Romances," "Female Troubadours," "Oldham's Poems," "Abraham Cowley," and "Poets and Poetry of the English Language." The narratives are five in number, "The Whirlwind," "The Indian Spring," "The Marriage Blunder," "The Skeleton's Cave," and "A Story of Cuba." The commemorative discourses are those on Cooper, Irving, Halleck, and Verplanck.

The sketches of travel in the second volume include "Illinois Fifty Years Ago," "A Tour in the Old South," "The Early Northwest," and "A Visit to Mexico," which all students of American history will appreciate the opportunity of possessing in so desirable a form. The division styled Occasional Addresses embraces twenty-nine chapters, and that of Editorial Comments and Criticisms about twenty chapters. The work, as a whole, is one of permanent worth. As a memorial and record of the life of one of the earliest and most eminent of American men of letters, it will prove itself a treasure not only to scholars but to the general public. It is a model of bookmaking, large type, wide margins, and the finest of paper and press work.

HISTORY OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN HARTFORD, 1633-1883. By GEORGE LEON WALKER. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 503. Hartford: 1884. Brown & Gross.

This work will be welcomed by all who are interested in American church history. It is carefully and elegantly written, and covering so long a period—two hundred and fifty years—it

naturally brings into notice a large measure of fresh material, aside from correcting many points in the general narrative that have been mistold. The events of the year 1633 on both sides of the Atlantic are concisely presented, together with numerous preceding occurrences which the author very justly remarks "may be accounted their natural progenitors." The refusal by Bishop Hooper, in 1550, to be consecrated in the usual Romish vestments, marked the beginning of a controversy which was to give rise to the Separatist movement. With the succession of Mary, eight hundred Protestant clergy and prominent laity were driven by persecution into foreign lands; and among those who went to Germany the controversy first made prominent through Hooper's scruples was emphasized, and resulted in the party of Separatism, which is said to date from 1554. The men, however, who desired separation from the Church of England were very few compared with those who only wanted a reform of the doctrine and practice of the Church. Thus when, through the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, the exiles were enabled to return to England, the chief struggle of the reformers was a Puritan rather than a Separatist endeavor. The reader is carried in these pages step by step through all these early religious conflicts, and made to understand clearly "how the First Church in Hartford came to be." There is nothing in the history of the human race more striking and instructive than the career of these pioneers in the roadless wilderness of New England. The Church did not progress in one straightforward line, but it had schisms and divisions and heart-burnings. Strong and good men with iron wills were every now and then arrayed squarely against each other. Even witchcraft crept in. The chapter on Early Church Usages is one of special interest. The distraction of continued political anxiety, and the demoralizing influences of border-life experiences are admirably portrayed; also the personality of each successive pastor. The illustrations are pertinent, and add to the valuable character of the work.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, for Year ending May 1, 1884. Pamphlet, 12mo, pp. 14. Philadelphia, Pa.

The officers of this valuable and interesting institution are: President, Rev. John Hall, D.D., New York; Vice-Presidents—Rev. John Leyburn, D.D., Baltimore; Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., New York; Rev. M. D. Hoge, D.D., Richmond; Rev. Francis L. Patton, D.D., Princeton; Rev. J. T. Cooper, D.D., Alleghany; Rev. S. J. Nichols, D.D., St. Louis;



and William L. Wheelock, Samuel Sloan, and William E. Dodge, Jr., of New York; Secretaries—Rev. J. B. Dales, D.D., and Rev. D. K. Turner; Treasurer, Prof. De B. K. Ludwig; and an Executive Committee of twenty-four gentlemen. It is the only society of this character connected with the Presbyterian Church of the United States. The beginning of a museum has been made, and the library already contains nearly twenty thousand volumes, and about sixty thousand pamphlets, sermons, etc. During the year donations have come in from almost all parts of the Presbyterian world. The little pamphlet gives us the Constitution of this Society, with its plan of membership and endowment.

MEMOIR OF GEORGE BARRELL EMERSON, LL.D. By ROBERT C. WATERSTON.

Presented at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, May 10, 1883. With a Supplement. 8vo, pp. 124. 1884. Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson & Son, University Press.

The interesting subject of this memoir was born in 1797 and died in 1881, at the home of his son-in-law, Hon. John Lowell, Brookline, Mass. The sketch of his long and useful career skillfully condensed into thirty-five pages, is supplemented by several excellent essays on the growth and development of the country during his lifetime. Mr. Waterston argues that no man can be properly understood except by measuring him with the period in which he lived. He says: "We must know the condition of society in which he acted; how it influenced him, and how he in return was affected by it. The life of a man resembles in some respects that of a city. It is not simply the crowded streets and squares that impart to a metropolis its interest. The question will present itself: Has it a history, recollections, traditions? Why do men ask where Franklin was born, and where Hancock lived? What to us would be the little town of Palos, if we forgot that Columbus sailed thence to discover America?" Mr. Emerson's life covered so large a portion of the nineteenth century, and witnessed such unprecedented expansion and progress in the country and age, that the facts brought together by the author are of surprising interest and importance. When Mr. Emerson was an infant in his cradle, Napoleon, with forty thousand men, invaded Egypt. When a lad of ten years of age, Fulton launched his first steam vessel on the Hudson. When he was twenty years of age, not one railroad existed in Europe. During the last ten years of his life over fifty thousand miles of railroad were built. Mr. Emerson was forty-seven years old when the first line of electric telegraph was laid on this continent, between Baltimore and Washington, and yet he lived to see the iron thread covering not less

than fifty thousand miles in this country alone. When he was fifty-seven years old there was not an ocean cable in the world; but he lived to see more than seventy thousand miles of cable crossing seas and oceans. Chapters on discoveries and inventions, the telephone, the Civil War, men of thought, and Emerson and his friends, in addition to those on the subjects above named, teem with suggestive information.

ON HISTORY AND THE STUDY OF HISTORY. Three Lectures by WILLIAM P. ATKINSON, Professor of English and History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 16mo, cp. 107. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1884.

The true principles of education are presented in this little volume with much force. "No form of liberal education can afford to omit the study of history," is the text of each able essay. Professor Atkinson has presented the subject in the most convincing style, and has crowded so much that is excellent and instructive into his pages that we cordially recommend each and all of our readers to indulge in the intimate companionship of the work. In clear, terse paragraphs he pictures the material of which school compendiums are composed, and how chronology is mistaken for history, as in the olden time. And he tells us that when we have worried painfully into our memories, in their proper order, all the kings of England and of Europe, and all the battles, and the date of Magna Charta and the Reformation, etc., we have still no more history than we have a house to live in by simply erecting a frame. Such educational framework tumbles to pieces as fast as it is constructed, except in the case of that very stupid class of mortals who in lieu of mind have only memory. Concerning the proper nourishment of the human mind, the placing of it in a favorable situation for growth, and the general process of development from variety of intellectual food, we receive valuable lessons. The author defines literature as the written record of man's thoughts, and history the story of men's thoughts as they have developed into action. A poem may prove the most precious of historical documents, though it may not contain the record of a single real occurrence. History is the story of the growth of civilization; and yet the events of yesterday or of the last hour are as much history as if they had happened a thousand years ago. The true office of history is to trace the gradual and often interrupted steps of progress—not to be the monotonous chronicle of battles which are only its incidents. In all the walks of life, and in all its industries, we are taught in this book that no study has more to do with whatever tends to make men than history. "You might," says Professor Atkinson, "call it the story of

the engineering of life, where is spread out the record of all manner of experiments of living, the plans of all sorts of social structures men have raised, and why they stood or why they fell, and what lessons they transmitted. \* \* \* The student of history is led to look upon human life as a whole, and to consider human thought and human action in all their possible relations. \* \* \* Its greatest service is not so much to increase our knowledge as to stimulate thought, and broaden our intellectual horizon, and for this purpose no study is its equal."

**MYTHS OF THE IROQUOIS.** An advanced section of the Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. By **ERMINNIE A. SMITH.** Quarto, pp. 68. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

This careful study of the myths and folk lore of the once powerful Iroquois is admirably classified, each division of the subject being treated in separate chapters, entitled, consecutively, "God and other Supernatural Beings," "Pigmies," "Practice of Sorcery," "Mythologic Explanations of Phenomena," "Tales," "Religion." The illustrations are all from native Indian drawings executed over fifty years ago. The stories are told in the same style, as nearly as practicable, that they were jotted down by the author of the work in the several reservations of the Iroquois in the United States and Canada. The savage story-tellers were gifted with remarkable imaginative powers; but through their wild fables and historical legends, handed along through the ages, the student will be able to glean valuable lessons concerning the family life and history of the men of the forest in the olden time.

The many who are at present interested in this particular branch of ethnology will find much that is new and entertaining in these folk-lore stories by Mrs. Smith, whose dictionary of the Iroquois dialects is soon to be published by the Bureau at Washington.

**THREE VILLAGES.** By **W. D. HOWELLS.** 16mo, pp. 198. Boston: 1884. James R. Osgood & Co.

The names of the three villages which form the subject of this little book are Lexington, Shirley and Gnadenhütten. Mr. Howells describes them with the pen of a master, and we cannot presume that he has made use of anything less than personal and practical information. The region about Boston, he says "seems to be the battle-ground of all the seasons when the spring is nominally in possession." Lexington, he tells us, lies ten or twelve miles inland; only a little beyond the worst of the east wind, but just a little too far from Boston to be strictly suburban in aspect, and has not yet been overtaken

by the unpicturesque prosperity which has befallen so many New England villages. Shirley is in reality the title to an animated chapter about the Shakers, whom the author pictures from many points of view other than their trade in applesauce and garden seeds. Gnadenhütten introduces us to the Moravians of early America, and their arduous labors among the Indians of Pennsylvania, and beyond. Chief among these devoted missionaries was David Zeisberger, who worked sixty-two years in the Indian field without compensation, never willing to take pay for his services. He was the author of a German and of an English grammar of the Onondaga language, and a dictionary in that tongue containing nearly two thousand pages, as well as a Delaware grammar and spelling-book. He also translated innumerable hymns and sermons for the use of Indian congregations. The Rev. John Heckewelder labored almost as long among the Indians, and he bequeathed to our literature a work on the history, character and customs of some of our North American tribes. One of his daughters, born in one of the Indian villages on the Tuscarawas, survived until last September in Bethlehem.

**BOUND TOGETHER. A Sheaf of Papers.**

By **DONALD G. MITCHELL.** 12mo, pp. 291.

New York, 1884. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The title to Mr. Mitchell's volume is suggestive of its varied contents. "The book is a medley," he tells us in a prefatory note, "in which the grandiloquence of open-air speech is set beside the cozy familiarities of the chimney-corner." It contains the oration on Washington Irving, delivered at the centennial celebration of Irving's birth, held a year ago at Tarrytown; a course of lectures on "Titian and His Times," "Two College Talks," "Beginnings of an Old Town," an address delivered on the occasion of the second centennial of the foundation of the town of Norwich; and two very delightful series of essays, which have in them all the beauty and delicacy of thought and expression which thirty years ago made the name of *Ik Marvel* a famous and beloved one. They are grouped under the general heads "Processions of the Months," and "Indoors and Out-of-doors."

**THERE WAS ONCE A MAN. A Story.**

By **R. H. NEWELL** (*Orpheus C. Kerr*). Illus-

trated. 12mo, pp. 526. New York: 1884.

Fords, Howard & Hulbert. For Our Continent Publishing Co.

The scene of this story is laid among the citizens of New York sixty years ago, shortly after the town was surveyed and streets planned above Houston Street. The odd title of the book, and the name of the author who won fame and other rewards some twenty years ago by a





work of which 60,000 copies were sold, are sufficient to insure it a wide circulation. The plot is ingenious and original, and the quaint style in which it is treated, lighted up here and there with bright flashes of humor, render it delightful reading, particularly at this season of the year when the tired brain seeks diversion and entertainment.

**THE DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA** to the year 1525. By ARTHUR JAMES WEISE, M.A. 8vo, pp. 380. New York, 1884: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Weise has produced a charming as well as an exhaustive work on an obscure but by no means an uninteresting subject, and the general reader may join with the antiquarian scholar in animated gratitude for the achievement. He seems in its preparation to have left few sources of information unexplored. He has examined with care the various statements of historical writers concerning the voyages of persons whom they believed to have been the discoverers of certain portions of the coast of America, between Baffin's Bay and Terra del Fuego, and tells us that the asserted discovery of America by the Northmen rests more upon conjecture than evidence. The interest of the volume is very greatly enhanced by copies of the rarest old maps in existence, of which one is a part of the Cabot map of 1544 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and another is a part of the map of the world, made by Johann Ruysch, contained in the edition of Ptolemy's geography printed in Rome in 1508. Three of the maps are neatly folded in a cover pocket of the handsome volume. The opening chapter, embracing some fifty pages, touches upon the origin of the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere; and it also shows the fictitious nature of the so-called evidence that the Northmen ever saw or traversed any part of the eastern coast of the United States. As for the long-fostered delusion concerning the stone-built mill at Newport, Mr. Weise sweeps it away entirely, saying: "The remarkable statement that it was erected by the Northmen is also an instance of the infatuation of the learned men who believed it to be a Norse monument." The second chapter, one of the most entertaining in the book, contains the unique story of the Polo travelers, the prologue that introduces the notable acts of the explorers of the fifteenth century. It was never before told in a style so realistic; we can almost see in the flesh those three oddly-clad, sun-embrowned men returning to their native city of Venice after so many years' absence, that they were almost forgotten by their kindred, having walked across the whole longitude of Asia. Every chapter throughout the volume bristles with the evidence of painstaking research, and the material is so agreeably presented that the study of it becomes a pleasure. We are

treated to much that is new to many of us, but it bears the unmistakable stamp of authenticity. The book is not too large for convenience, it is elegantly printed, and we know of no other which contains so well-condensed and thorough an account of the discovery of America.

**A PALACE PRISON.** On the Past and the Present. A Novel. 16mo, pp. 347. New York, 1884: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

The reader will not be long in making the discovery that the writer of this volume possesses familiar knowledge of the institutions of which he writes, and an intense earnestness, as if but for a clear and intelligent self-restraint much more could be told than appears in the printed lines. It is a vivid picture of the sad life to which so many of our tenderest and most sensitive friends—those who have been worried, wearied, or worn out—are condemned. The author says in his preface: "A prominent physician read this book in manuscript. He is one of the trustees of a large asylum, and is not satisfied with its conduct. Yet he declined to commend the book, because 'Its publication will have a tendency to depopulate asylums, and reduce their maintenance fund. How then,' he asked, 'can we support the institutions?'"

"Is, then, the 'institution' of more worth than the unhappy living souls and suffering bodies for whose care it was created? May God grant that his fears be realized,—at least so far as to compel public interest in a new 'prison-reform,' for the more humane treatment of those who should receive the tenderest Christian care!" And we are also told that the story is a true one, and although the action of the story began twenty-seven years ago, its hapless heroine still lives, and so does the system which holds her.

**CATHOLIC.** An essential and exclusive attribute of the True Church. By RIGHT REV'D MONSIGNOR CAPEL, D.D., Domestic Prelate of His Holiness Leo. XIII. 8vo, pp. 140. New York: 1884. Wilcox & O'Donnell Co. D. & J. Sadlier & Co.

This work is addressed to the members of the Episcopal Convention, held at Philadelphia in 1883, and those whom they represented. Its object is professedly to prove who is the lawful possessor of the name "Catholic." The eminent author says, "That in the representative body of the Protestant Episcopalians there should have been found one-twelfth of its members claiming the name 'Catholic' for their religious society is a remarkable sign of the times." He esteems the issue of the controversy important, "Catholic having been decreed a note of the Christian Church fifteen hundred years ago, by its teachers in General Council."





MURILLO.

*From the original picture by himself in the Private Collection of the King of the French.*





# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## A GLIMPSE OF THE VALLEY OF MANY WATERS

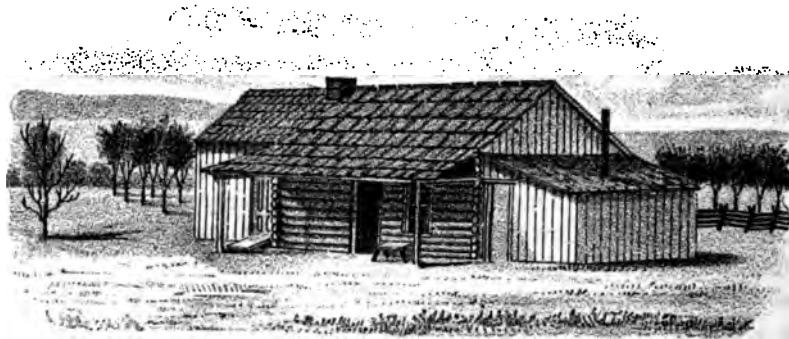
### ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

IT would be difficult to find in all American history a chapter of more thrilling and romantic interest than that relating to the origin of the permanent settlement of the beautiful Walla Walla valley—the valley of many waters—in the high inland region at the head waters of the Columbia River, just beyond the Rocky Mountains. Here, six hundred or more miles from the Pacific Ocean, “where rain scarcely ever falls,” a city of seven thousand inhabitants has, within the last quarter of a century, sprung into healthful and flourishing existence, with substantial business blocks, handsome residences in the midst of flowery grounds, gas and water works, a fine city hall, an opera house, a free library, five flourishing newspapers, two banks, eight large churches, numerous well-sustained public and private schools, all or nearly all the useful industries in active operation, not less than fourteen secret societies, railway communication with other parts of the continent, and a surrounding source of wealth in a large and rapidly developing farming community. We are accustomed in this country to the swift rise of towns and cities in all manner of unexpected places; but the inquiry is none the less active in the human brain as to the particular character of the powers which suddenly transformed this remote and almost inaccessible savage wild, “five months distant from the centers of civilization,” into a smiling and fruitful field. The city of Walla Walla is but twenty-two years old, having been duly incorporated by the Territorial Legislature in January, 1862. Washington Territory itself, it will be remembered, had no separate political existence until 1853. The whole region was Oregon.

So far as the visible work of mankind is concerned, our subject is destitute of antiquity. The oldest house, albeit of logs, is a modern structure. The country is all youth and promise. Yet it has won a prominent page in our national annals through the vast and curious complex of historical forces acting together in its discovery and development. “The events of yesterday, or even those of the last hour,” we are sagely taught, “are as much history as if they happened a thousand years ago, and may

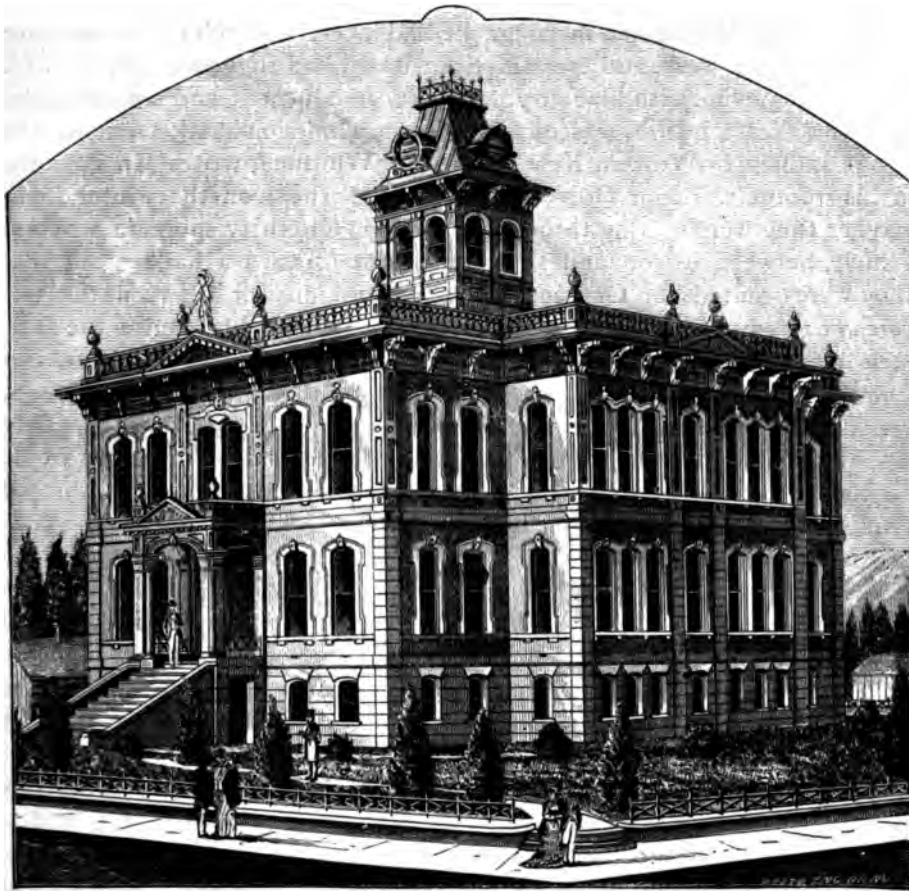


be of infinitely greater scientific importance." There is much in the series of marvels we are about to chronicle worthy of critical study. The beginning was not when, in 1836, the gates of Fort Walla Walla—an old English log trading-post, with two bastions and a stockade—opened to receive a party of tired travelers who had been four months on their western way since crossing the Missouri River. The guiding star of the mission enterprise that Americanized Oregon is as old as the world itself. We have seen in all ages, and in all phases of intellectual unfolding, in all conquests,



HOUSE BUILT IN 1859.

and in all new civilizations, the presence and power of the religious principle. It is no new lesson that "the individual who puts forth the greatest efforts for any beneficent purpose of magnitude, and displays the noblest heroism and the loftiest self-sacrifice, is inspired by religion." The bridal tour that established the great mountain route over the Rocky Mountains, and terminated when the two brides alighted at Fort Walla Walla from the first vehicle that ever crossed the continent on wheels, was the result of the action of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in deciding to open a Christian mission in Oregon. Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman were sent out in 1835 in the capacity of explorers. Dr. Whitman returned to report what he had seen, to procure an outfit, to marry the lady to whom he had been for some time engaged, and to go forth into the desert wilderness for his great life work. Miss Prentiss, daughter of Judge Prentiss, of Prattsville, N. Y., whom he married, was a handsome blonde of twenty-seven, refined, affable, accomplished, of fine figure and commanding presence, with a deeply sympathetic nature, and a voice of winning sweetness. She was an enthusiast in the cause of educating and christianizing the Indian, and cheerfully bade adieu to home and friends for isolation in a land so far away that its very name con-



WALLA WALLA COURT HOUSE, 1881.

veyed a sense of loneliness and mystery. She was a member of the village choir (in Cuba, New York), and on the memorable Sabbath morning prior to her final departure, the attempt was made to sing a farewell hymn. One voice after another grew hoarse, trembled, and ceased, until finally hers alone was heard, in clear, unwavering notes:

“ Yes, my native land, I love thee,  
All thy scenes, I love them well ;  
Friends, connexions, happy country,  
Now I bid you all farewell.”

The whole congregation was in tears, while sobs and audible lamentations broke forth at its conclusion from different parts of the church.



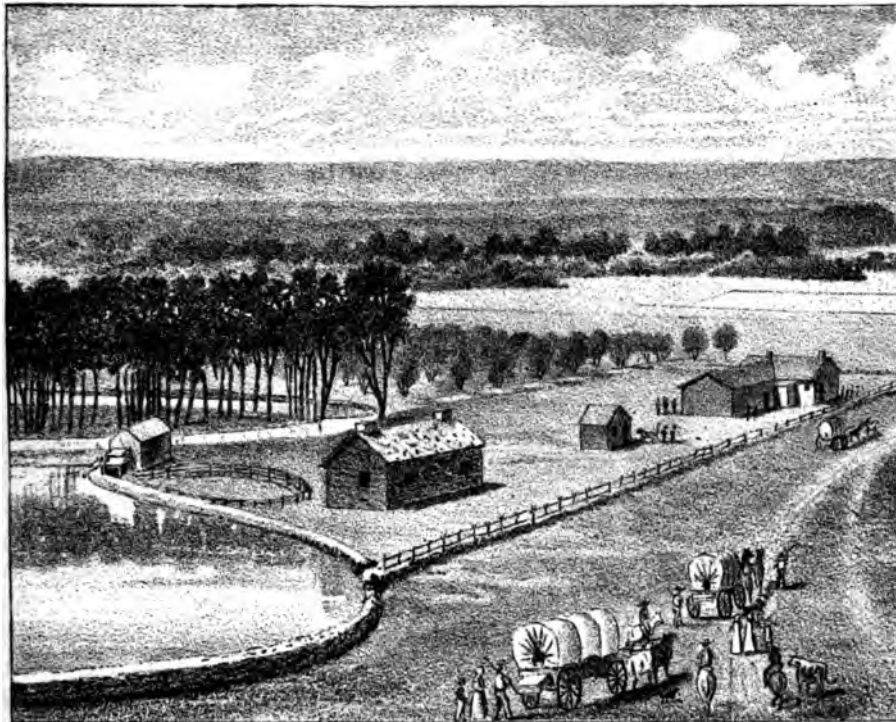


Before Dr. Whitman's marriage he had been in search of an associate for this Oregon work, and the American Board had suggested the Rev. H. H. Spalding, who, with his fair young wife, an educated and amiable lady, in very delicate health, was on his way to a mission station among the Osage Indians in Western New York. Dr. Whitman, writes Mr. Barrows, in his recent work on Oregon, "overhauled them on the winter highway, as they were cutting through the crispy and crusty snows in a hybrid vehicle, between wagon and sleigh, and sent forward a hailing call that they were wanted for Oregon. Question and answer between the two carriages soon summed up the case: the journey might require the summers of two years; they could have the convoy of the American Fur Company to the 'divide'; the Nez Percés, their future parishioners, would meet them as escort for the remainder of the journey; the food would be buffalo, venison, and other game meats; the conveyance would be the saddle, alternating with the feet; the rivers they would swim on horseback; and their housing would be tents, blankets, and stars. Talking back and forth between the sleighs, that were inverted wagons, both parties entered the little backwoods village of Howard and drew rein before the small tavern." The touching answer of the young bride, who had been seriously ill a short time before, and whom her husband tried to dissuade from voting in the affirmative, was given with great firmness ten minutes after having been left alone for her conclusion: "I have made up my mind for Oregon."

This party of four was joined by Mr. W. H. Gray, agent for the proposed mission, who subsequently wrote the history of the journey and of Oregon. The mishaps and perils, the practical and irrepressible energy of Dr. Whitman in taking his old wagon through for the ladies to ride in; the intrigues, obstacles, and incidents, and the historic scene when the missionaries, kneeling under the American flag, took possession of the western side of the American continent for Christ and the Church, are graphically pictured in the published volume. Mr. Barrows, with all the authorities before him, writes of Mr. Spalding: "He was kicked by a mule, shaken by the ague, stripped by a tornado, not only of his tents but his blankets, and crowded off the ferry by an awkward, uncivilized frontier cow, to which he made a caudal attachment as a life preserver." His discouragements suggested a return, but his feeble wife would bring him to himself by the remark: "I have started for the Rocky Mountains, and I expect to go there." Our daring travelers were not in pursuit of wealth, and they had no hopes of earthly honors. But they faced the great work of Christian civilization firmly, and with high resolves; and, in the results, were largely instru-

mental, as we shall see, in adding to the area of the United States not less than 341,000 square miles—an area greater than that of the six States of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin combined.

After a little rest and considerable prospecting, the spot was selected for Whitman's Station; and friendly Indians rendered some slight assistance in erecting the first small house. It was the intention of the missionaries to show the natives how to obtain a livelihood from the soil, the



WHITMAN STATION. SCENE OF THE MASSACRE.

quality of which they examined with great care. Mr. Spalding, Dr. Whitman, Mr. Gray and Mr. Pambrun in charge of the English trading post, unanimously concluded that some ten acres in all, about the new station, could be cultivated. It was possible, too, in their judgment, that little patches of land along the streams and at the foot of the Blue Mountains of from half an acre to six acres might be made available for the use of the Indians. No white settlement, however, was at that time contemplated.

Six years passed by and the mission was fairly prosperous. One bright October morning, in 1842, Dr. Whitman was summoned to old Fort Walla

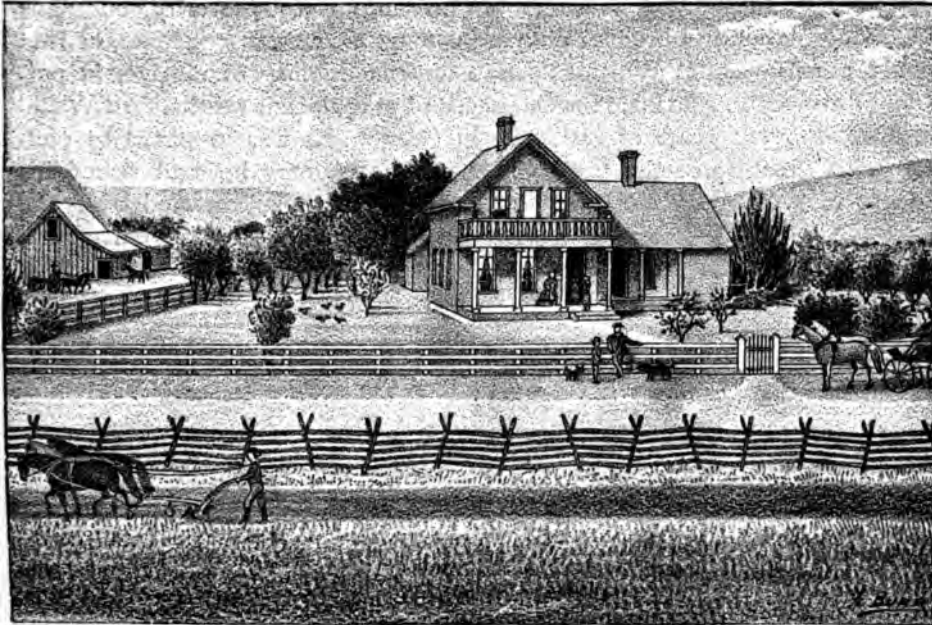


METHODIST CHURCH. BUILT 1879.

Walla to see a sick patient, and dined with a party of chief factors (English) and, according to the account of Mr. Gray, some Catholic priests, who had just arrived on their way to the interior of the country. While at the dinner table an overland express came in bringing news that a party of colonists—some one hundred and forty in number—had safely reached Fort Colville. The shouts of delight opened wide Dr. Whitman's eyes. One of the young Britons cried out "Hurrah for Oregon! America is too late; we have got the country!" Another exclaimed, "Now the Americans may whistle; the country is

ours!" Dr. Whitman was not slow in making the discovery that this emigrant colony had been brought from the Red River settlement as a counter-influence to American emigration. Over these Red River settlers the Hudson Bay Company had unlimited control. The American missionaries had gained a firm foothold, from which they could not be dislodged without war between Great Britain and the United States. But their influence could be neutralized by the planting of colonies hostile to American institutions and rule. The able and sagacious managers of the Hudson Bay Company, whose chief aim hitherto had been to perpetuate wilderness and propagate fur, had suddenly awakened to the necessity of a change of policy. Holding a lease of Pacific territory one-half as large as Europe, for use only, and the Oregon portion of it by joint occupancy with the United States, many important questions hinged upon that of English supremacy. Thus the double scheme of peopling Oregon with English subjects, and frightening away all enterprising emigrants from

the United States; "for," as argued by Sir George Simpson, in behalf of England, "until some other power puts a good title on paper, actual possession must be held to be conclusive in her favor." Dr. Whitman was

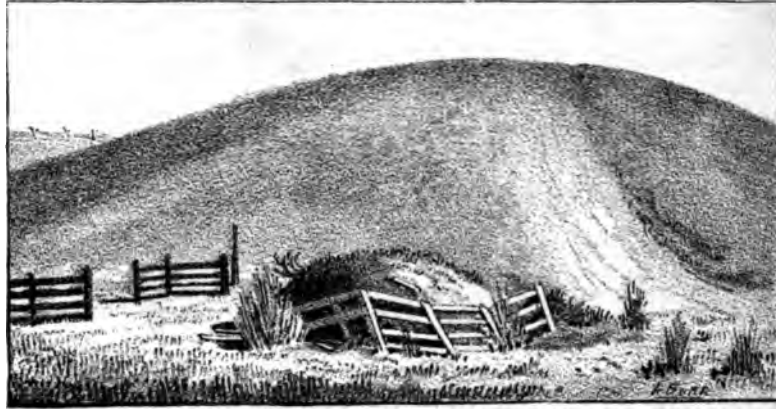


THE FARM OF THE PRESENT DECADE.

the only representative of the United States present; and when he heard the statement that an embassy would soon start for Washington to maintain Oregon as British property because of the founding of the largest settlement, he responded with warmth, "It shall be prevented, if I have to go to Washington myself." "But you cannot go there to do it," was the exasperating reply. "I will see," said Dr. Whitman.

As the energetic missionary rode his Cayuse pony back to the lonely mission station, his mind acted with phenomenal rapidity. He must start at once for Washington to induce the government to send a company of settlers over the mountains to possess Oregon. In just twenty-four hours he was on his perilous journey. His wife entreated, and his associates used every argument in the language to prevent the execution of his bold project. A sense of duty to his country prevailed, however, over every other consideration. He even threatened to throw off his connection with the mission if the opposition to his purpose was not abated. His

brave wife was the first to yield, and her example was contagious. The narrative of this winter expedition over the mountains would fill our entire space, and we must refer our readers to Mr. Barrows's recently published work on Oregon for a spirited record of its principal and wonderful features. There have been other journeys of vast import to posterity, but none involving higher and broader and more magnificent consequences, or that could possibly equal Whitman's ride in true nobility of motive, in personal intrepidity, romantic persistence, and magnificent results. In Washington, after six years of residence in Oregon, he was prepared to picture with great force the possibilities of the country he had risked his life to save. In the language of Mr. Barrows, "his knowledge of the case was original, personal and experimental, and at the national capital he made it declarative."



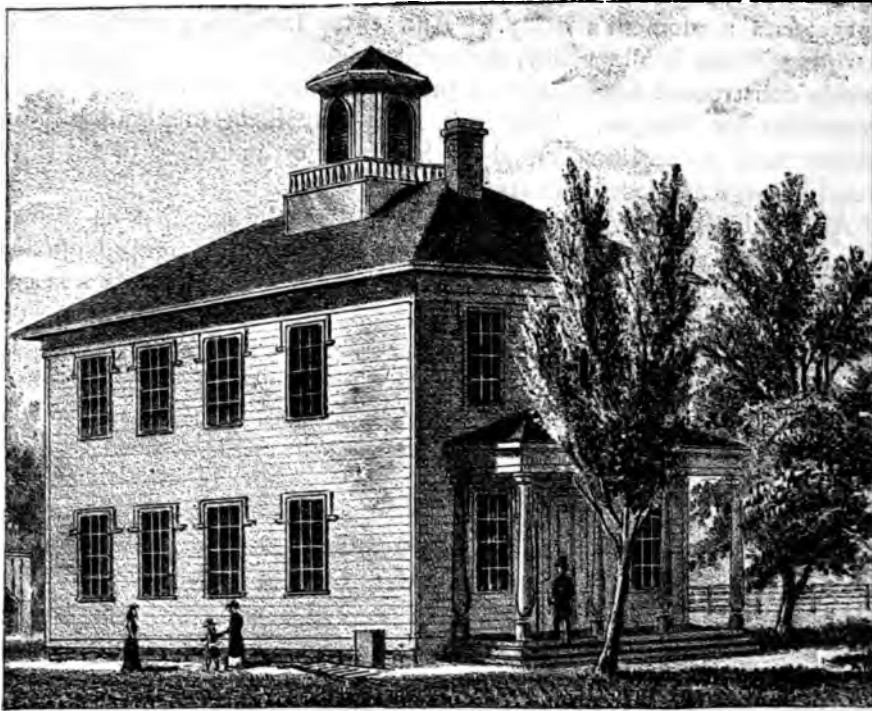
GRAVE OF DR. WHITMAN AND HIS MURDERED ASSOCIATES.

He was absent from his wife and the mission eleven months; and during that time not a line or message from him could be received. The joy when he again appeared, weary and worn, but leading a caravan of eight hundred and seventy-five persons, with two hundred wagons, and thirteen hundred head of cattle, can be more easily imagined than described. He had brought over the mountains many rough adventurers, but also some of the best elements of American society. He had been the life and soul of the whole party—the general in command. Every night a fortification had been made of wagons. Every day he was like an angel of mercy, everywhere present, cheering the weary, mending wagons and broken bones, hunting stray cattle and comfortable resting-places, and continually urging forward the train. "Travel, travel, travel," was his motto; "noth-

ing else will take you to the end of your journey ; nothing is good for you that causes a moment's delay." And these families, pouring into the charming Walla Walla valley, scattered themselves here and there, and quickly constructed log-houses for present comfort. It was the army of occupation for Oregon. The fruit from that little mission-house had swollen into proportions equal—it has been estimated—"to thirty-two States as large as Massachusetts."

Although this movement practically settled the question as to which nation Oregon should ultimately belong, yet the Oregon treaty languished until 1846; and even then the boundaries were undefined. It was not a comfortable period for the dwellers in the disputed territory. The conflicting policies of the Hudson Bay Company and of the Americans turned the confused heads of the Indians. The former fostered the natural life of the savage by encouraging him to hunt wild animals ; the Americans meant wheat-growing and factories and roads—in short, civilization of the broadest type. It took the Hudson Bay Company many months to close its affairs and retire from the joint occupation of Oregon. In the interim one of the most shocking of Indian massacres converted Walla Walla into a deluge of blood. It was a murderous assault upon the Whitman Mission, beginning on the 29th of November, 1847, and continuing through eight days. The first man slaughtered was the noble Dr. Whitman himself. "My death may do as much good to Oregon as my life can," had been his prophetic words on a former occasion of great peril. The immediate cause of this succession of blood-thirsty and fiendish acts is supposed to have been the bringing of scarlet fever and measles into the country, which the Indians caught, and becoming restless from pain or fever, would jump into the water or indulge in other imprudences. Of course death followed. Many Indians died ; and whisperings were industriously circulated to the effect that Dr. Whitman was poisoning them with his medicines, and would kill them off to secure their lands. They were superstitious to an extravagant degree, very much mixed in their ideas concerning the rival settlers and their differences, and thought the imported diseases were more or less the direct work of the kind doctor who administered to their needs. Thus perished the man who shaped the destiny of the Pacific coast. Mr. Spalding, Dr. Whitman's associate, wrote a detailed account of the tragedy, saying :

"There were connected with or stopping at the station at the time of the massacre seventy-two souls, mostly American emigrants, on their way from the States to the settlements in the Willamette Valley, compelled to stop to winter on account of sickness, give-out teams, or the lateness of



WHITMAN SEMINARY.

the season—distributed as follows: at the saw-mill there were living Mr. and Mrs. Young from Missouri, three grown sons; Mr. Smith and wife, Illinois, five children, oldest child a daughter sixteen years of age. In the blacksmith shop, Mr. Canfield and wife, of Iowa, five children, oldest daughter of sixteen; Mrs. Hays and child; Mr. Marsh and daughter, and Mr. Gill, a tailor. In the Indian room, Mr. Osborne and wife, of Oregon, with three children, all sick, Mrs. Osborne dangerously. The Doctor's family at the time consisted of twenty-two persons, viz.: himself and wife; Mr. Rogers, a missionary; seven adopted children of one family by the name of Sager, whose parents had died on the plains in 1844; three adopted half-breed children, one a daughter of the mountaineer, Bridger, and one a daughter of J. L. Meek, and a half-breed Spanish boy, whose mother had cast him into a pit to perish, in revenge for having been deserted by her Spanish husband; Miss Bewerly, a pious young lady of twenty-three, sick up-stairs; her brother and Mr. Sails, both sick in the sleeping-room; Mr. Hoffman of New York; J. Stanfield, a Canadian. *Joe*

*Lewis*, a Catholic half-breed, from Maine; two half-breed boys, of Hudson Bay Company, in the school; and my own daughter Eliza, ten years of age. Mr. Marsh was running the mill; Mr. Hall was lying on the floor in the cook-room; Mr. Saunders teaching the school, which was just taken up for the afternoon; Messrs. Hoffman, Kimball, and Canfield were dressing the beef between the mill and the blacksmith shop; Mr. Rogers upon the river bank; John, oldest of the Sager family, a stout young man of seventeen, and the Bridger girl lay in the kitchen sick; Doctor Whitman, his wife, Catharine Sager, thirteen years old, in the sitting-room with three very sick children. The Indians, with weapons concealed under their



THE CULTIVATION OF FRUIT IN WALLA WALLA VALLEY.

blankets, were ready at all these points, waiting a signal from *Joe Lewis*, who stood at the south door, watching both the Doctor and those without. Mrs. Osborne, for the first time in six weeks, had just stepped upon the floor, and stood talking with Mrs. Whitman near the sick children. An Indian opened the kitchen door and called to the Doctor for medicine. The Doctor went in and sat down by the Indian, who kept his attention while *Tamahos* stepped behind the Doctor and buried the hatchet in his head. \* \* \* With this the terrible work commenced at all points at the same time. \* \* \* The women naturally ran to the Doctor's house, meeting savages naked, painted, yelling, laughing, frantic, hewing, cutting down their victims everywhere."

The children were in the school when the yells commenced. The teacher was dragged out and killed, and the little ones driven by a



crowd of the screeching fiends from the school door to the kitchen, with tomahawks, guns and knives brandishing over their innocent heads. These children were huddled in a corner, and the Indians, filling the room like so many maniacs, scraped up the blood that was deep upon the floor, flung it about, painted their guns and tomahawks with it, and flourishing them, kept crying out "Shall we shoot?" "Shall we shoot?" Mr. Spalding continues: "Eliza, who could understand the language, says, 'I covered my eyes with my apron, that I might not see the bloody tomahawk strike that was just over my head.' The head chief (afterward hung at Oregon City) stood in the door to give the order. In this fearful situation these dear

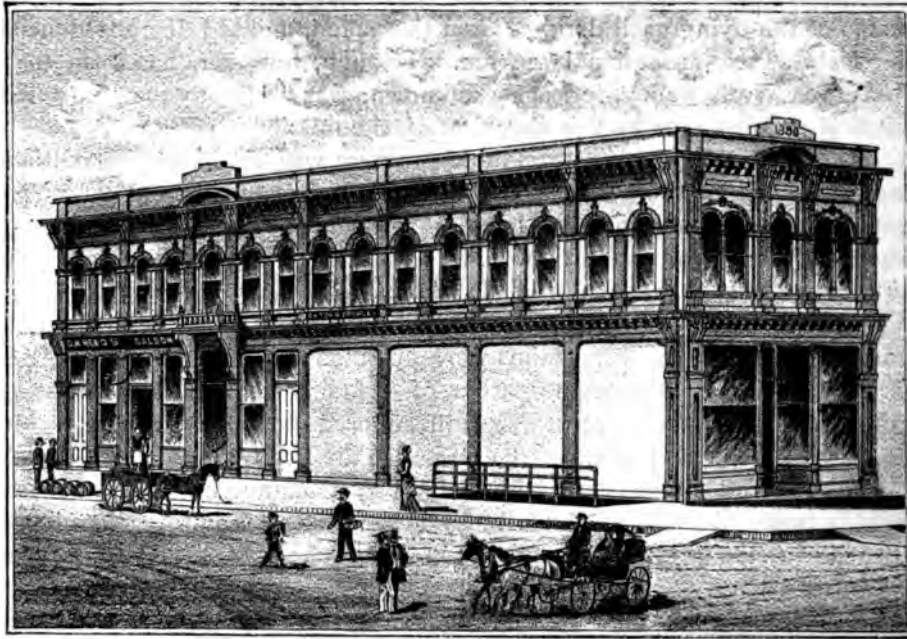


THE CULTIVATION OF WHEAT IN WALLA WALLA VALLEY.

children were held for an hour. \* \* \* Ups and Moolpod, the Doctor's Indian herdsmen, crawled in, threw their robes around the children, and huddled them out of the north door into the corner. But here the Indians, who seemed to have finished up the bloody work elsewhere, soon collected in great numbers, arranging themselves three or four deep the whole length of the seventy-foot ell, with their guns drawn and pointing to the same door." This would bring the group of terrified children in range. About this time another scene of demoniac violence commenced, which the children were compelled to witness, entirely beyond the reach of pen or words to describe. Mr. and Mrs. Osborne escaped with their sick family, all of whom had had the measles, by removing the loose floor and dropping under it, pulling the floor over them. They could hear the roar of guns, the yell of the savages, and the crash of the clubs and the knives and the

groans of the dying until dark. Then the naked, painted demons danced the scalp-dance around a large fire. Enough, however, has been told. The Walla Walla valley, for ages unknown, was "now to pass into the hands of another race by this covenant of the missionaries' blood."

During the next twelve years little progress was made in the cultivation of the soil of the Walla Walla valley. The acquisition of land presented limited attractions so long as it could be had for the taking nearer the centers of civilization. The Indian was during that period comparatively secure in his Walla Walla hunting grounds. But the discovery of gold in California demoralized the whole of Oregon. Farmers left their grain uncut in the fields; claims were abandoned; homes were pledged to raise means to enable the father of a family to seek the glittering treasure. Men risked everything and suffered unspeakable disappointments. When in 1855 gold was discovered in the Pend d'Oreille, or Clarke's River, where it empties into the Columbia, a home sensation was created between the Cascade and Rocky Mountains. Following close upon this, and in view of the rush of white men into the gold regions, Governor Stevens procured the signing of treaties with various tribes, who ceded to our government an area of a little over 20,000 square miles of territory. The payments were carefully agreed upon, and to the Indians generally the purchase money was a glittering temptation. But the head chief was hostile to the transaction. The Walla Wallas, Cayuses and Umatillas would not have sold their country to the whites but for the stain upon their hands of the blood of the murdered Dr. Whitman. Many of them, remembering the scene of butchery, believed avengeful spirits were bringing misfortune upon the guilty. The leading chief of the Walla Wallas was sullen and declined to talk business when the Council met at Camp Stevens, on the site of what is now the city of Walla Walla. He remembered that his own son had been educated at the Whitman mission; had visited California by invitation of Captain Sutter, and had been murdered in that gentleman's fort. Great favors promised finally induced him to append his signature to the document. This treaty was concluded at Walla Walla on the 9th of June, 1855. But at Colville the Indians were even more seriously averse to coming to terms. Suspicious danger-clouds appeared in the horizon. The treaties in any instance could not be made obligatory on either party until ratified by the Government at Washington; and nearly four long years elapsed before that ratification. Meanwhile, gold-seekers flocked to the Colville mines, occupying the land, and the Indians grew more and more hostile. Thus commenced an Indian war of the most desolating character. The beautiful valley of Walla

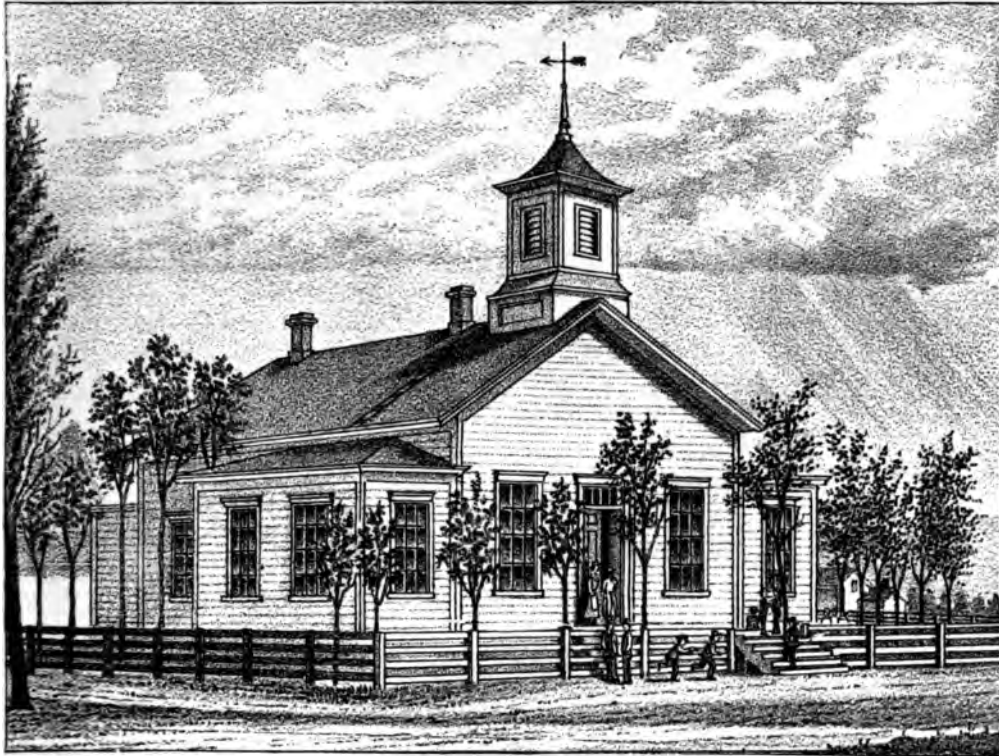


CITY STORES. DR. JOHN HARVEY DAY'S BLOCK.

Walla was changed into a battle-field. This was a critical period. But after many months the Indians were promised that no white men should be allowed to settle in their country, except by their permission, or "on land not confirmed by the Senate and approved by the President of the United States;" and Colonel Steptoe was to build a fort and live in peace among them. None of the Indians were to be punished for past offenses. This final surrender to the savages occurred November 21, 1856, and the war ended. The new fort was ready for comfortable occupation on Christmas-day, 1856. And this event was really the beginning of the rise of the inland metropolis.

In 1858 the Walla Walla country was practically thrown open to settlement; a few farmers located along its streams. In 1859 there was a marked increase in the immigration, and it began to be generally understood in the United States that the "uninhabitable desert, not worth a pinch of snuff," was suited for agricultural purposes, and, in fact, one of the most promising regions on the continent. There was as yet, however, no market for farm products outside of the garrison. In 1860 gold was discovered at a place in the mountains, which afterward became the fa-

mous Oro Tiro mines, in what is now Idaho. This changed the whole aspect of affairs. In the blaze of excitement, gold seekers from Oregon and California, coming up the Columbia River, paused at Walla Walla for mining outfits. By this means a home market was speedily created. Other mining regions were within a short time discovered. Cattle were

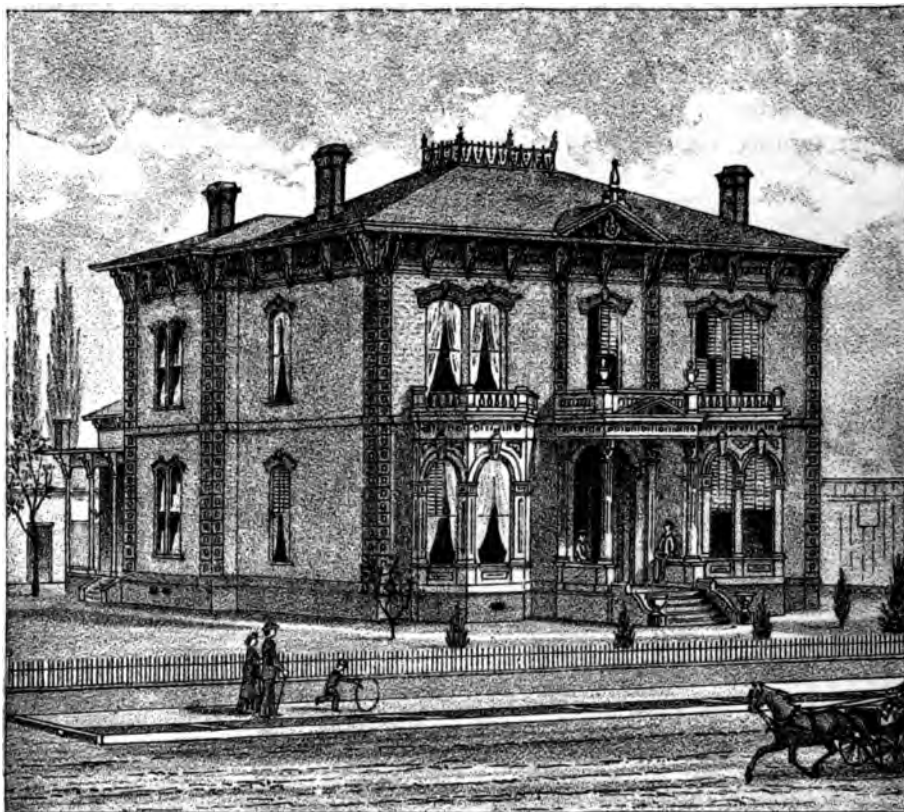


PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDING. NO. 34. WALLA WALLA CITY.

driven into the pastures, wheat-fields were cultivated, and the demand for food started any number of dairies and provision stores. The miners came, in many instances, to Walla Walla for winter quarters. During the year 1862, eighty buildings were erected in the little commonplace village, on the dry, flowerless, cheerless plain, at first called Steptoeville, then Wailatpu, and finally Walla Walla. The wave of emigration brought many permanent citizens. Two daily stage lines were established between Walla Walla and Wallula, on the Columbia River, a distance of thirty

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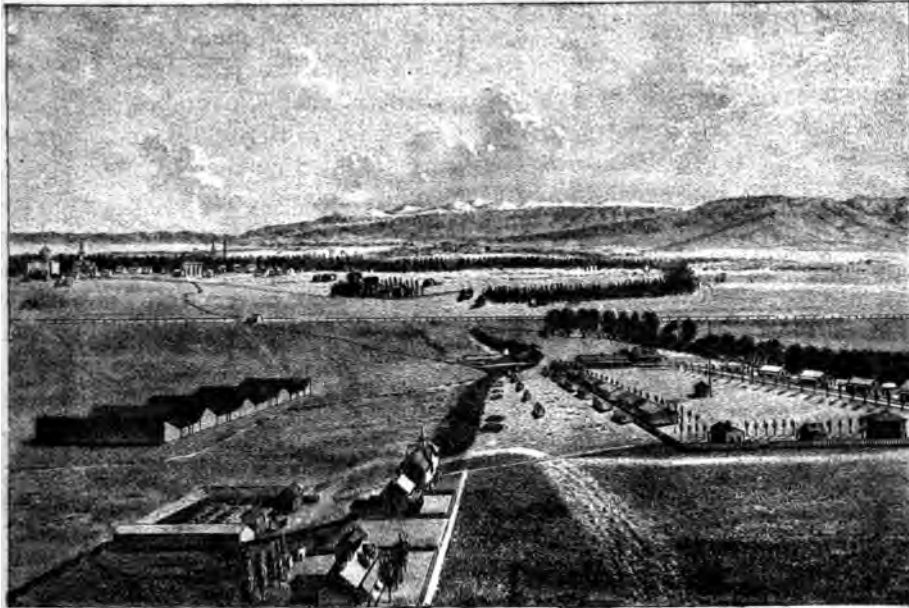




A WALLA WALLA HOME.

miles, and the rude vehicles were usually crowded with passengers at a fare of \$5 apiece.

The year 1868 marks the first organized effort to secure a railroad as an outlet for the rapidly increasing products of the valley. The question was difficult to manage, and it was seven years before the project was brought to a successful termination. In the meantime other important towns had been founded; the landscape, for hundreds of miles, had been converted into fields of grain; and an enterprise laden with results of vast importance to all Christendom, the Northern Pacific Railway, had become a fixed fact. Presently other transportation facilities were inaugurated, and so rapidly did they take shape and strength, that the merest statistics would read like a romance. Fruit trees were first introduced into the valley by Dr. Whitman, and the orchards he planted are still produc-



THE MILITARY POST, WALLA WALLA.

tive. Peaches, pears, apples, plums, cherries, grapes, and the smaller fruits are produced with ease. It is thought that dried fruits will, ere long, become a leading item in the commerce of the country. Melons are quite prolific, also all the garden vegetables of the temperate zone. The grazing of stock is a source of fabulous profit, the purchase of cattle for the eastern markets having commenced about 1876. The winters are so mild that there is usually little need of feeding stock during that season of the year.

The military post is one of the institutions of Walla Walla, and a great benefit to the citizens in a commercial point of view. It is a half mile or so from the city proper, occupying ten or more acres, with a parade ground, officers' quarters, barracks, cavalry stables, and commissary buildings. A strong military force always occupies the place, as it is well situated for reaching all points in case of Indian troubles. It was no later ago than 1877 that a general Indian alarm affected the whole valley. Travel was obstructed, and business came to a standstill. But the Nez Percé war, which caused the excitement, never crossed the Snake River, and quiet was restored. The improvements of the years 1881 and 1882 were the elegant court house of the sketch, costing some \$60,000; a handsome



brick Catholic church, costing \$20,000; numerous costly residences and stores; and the introduction of gas made from pitch-pine.

In the formative society of the Walla Walla valley, the same characteristics may be observed as in early Ohio. Schools, churches, and good local government seem to have been foremost in the minds and plans of the leading settlers. Whitman Seminary, founded on the old mission site, and chartered by an Act of the Legislature in 1859, was after awhile located in a substantial building within the limits of the thriving young city. Recently the trustees have placed it upon a solvent foundation as a permanent seat of learning, and developed it into a college. Other seminaries and public schools are multiplying with the natural growth and necessities of a cultivated community.

Of the several religious denominations, the Congregationalists were the first to found a church in the valley—through the self-sacrificing missionaries Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding. The earliest services of the Methodist Episcopal Church were held during the Indian war of 1856. The Episcopalians established worship here in 1864, although no regular organization existed prior to 1872; St. Paul's Church was erected in 1873. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church was founded in 1873, and services were held in the old Court House until the new edifice was ready for occupancy. The regular Presbyterian denomination was first represented in the valley in 1877. The Baptists held services as early as 1870, but it was not until 1879 that they perfected an organization. The Seventh Day Advent Church was founded about 1874, with eighteen members. The Methodist Episcopalians organized in 1876 with seven members. The United Brethren Church has existed since 1865. The Catholics established their mission in the valley about 1847, and in 1850 the first steps were taken toward building a sanctuary; in 1863 forty acres of land were purchased, and St. Vincent's Academy founded by the Charity Sisters of Montreal; St. Patrick's School for boys was opened in 1870, and St. Mary's Hospital in 1879; the church edifice, as stated above, was built in 1881.

It would be instructive as well as entertaining to trace the growth of the pioneer newspaper of the valley—founded in 1861 under many discouragements; but our limited space forbids. We will only add one item in this connection. The *Statesman* in 1862 was printed on wrapping-paper for want of better material, and subscribers at the mines were notified "that gold dust sent for subscriptions ought not to be one-half sand."

*Martha J. Lamb*

## FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE CÁLDAS

### I.

In the year 1771, in the town of Popayán, in the *Nuevo Reino de Granada*, now the United States of Colombia, in the northern part of South America, Francisco José de Cálidas first saw the light, a man whose name, destined to immortality in those regions which lie between the Isthmus of Darien and Cape Horn, is almost unknown in those regions which lie between Darien and the Bay of Fundy.

For the lad then and there born, fate seems to have been none too kind. His parents on both sides were of respectable descent strictly speaking, belonging to families of the law. They were plain people, with no special gift, I dare say, of detecting Hans Andersen's young swan in the midst of the brood of farm-yard fowls which formed their little family. Francisco José in his youth developed abilities of no common order, with inclinations no less marked. Cálidas *père* laughed at the inclinations, while he resolved to utilize the abilities by concentrating them upon law. The dearest wish of the father was to see his son pleading before the courts of the Viceroy at Santa Fé de Bogotá. That of the son was to dedicate his life to the study of the sciences. It was by the merest accident that Francisco learned that there were sciences to which grave men had dedicated lives, rich with fruit, to a grateful humanity. Before he was sixteen he had seen some geometrical figures and a few globes. But what did these amount to, after all? How little there was in these to vitalize the intellectual instinct in the simple boy may be judged from the thousand youths who, endowed with good minds, see globes only to yawn over them, and confront geometrical figures only to curse them. Soon, too soon, he reached the end of his book-resources. Then, he stood impotent but eager; hopeless but resolute.

At sixteen he had not advanced one step toward the profession which his parents had chosen for him. He would do nothing at Popayán. Then, it was clear, he must be transferred to Bogotá, the capital of the colonial kingdom; the center of its civilization; that glorious place where the Viceroyal Court scattered its gold and its honors, and where the fledglings of the law feathered out into profound expositors of jurisprudence. To Bogotá, therefore, he went, entering the *Colegio Mayor del Rosario* under, at least, a passive promise to do his best to issue from its walls a Cicero. That he did his duty must be admitted; that he did his best, his parents






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querulously denied. He obtained his Fellowship on the 21st of October, 1788. In succession he reached the grade of Bachelor, Licentiate and Doctor of Law. Here, then, was Francisco theoretically embarked in his profession, but theoretically only. He had eyes and ears only for the sciences; and, even for them, he was too intelligent and too simply modest, as becomes those noble minds that are great, not to know that he had merely raked up the top-soil, and that his studies halting at this point would be fruitless. Indeed, we can put our hand upon personal testimony to this effect. In a letter to Dr. José Celestino Mútis, the Director of the *Expedicion Botanica*—writing in August, 1811—he acknowledges, in referring to his life at this epoch, that *éstos no eran sino las semillas de las ciencias, que era preciso fomentarlos, multiplicarlos de todos modos*—that these were only the seeds of the sciences, which it was

necessary to nurse and multiply in every way. With him, to reach a decision was to act upon it. He began on the spot to put in practice the principles which he had already mastered. His fancy was specially excited by the wonders of astronomy; and the tradition is still extant in Bogotá which notes the young man gazing for hours at night at the mighty framework of mysterious worlds overhead. Here, again, he probed himself conscientiously, and acknowledged that his theoretical knowledge was "ignorance glossed over." About this time he felt himself strongly drawn toward the relations of Astronomy with Navigation and Geography. The vista opened to him was as splendid as the aspect of the Aurora Borealis to the voyager in Arctic snows; it was as luminous, but in the absence of the requisite instruments, it seemed as chill and as delusive. He could always hit a sharp blow when the blood was hot, and very hot it must have been when the young enthusiast asks, "What can be done in a country in which the names of the quadrant, the telescope, and the pendulum are unknown?" We can almost see the tears filling the young eyes, and catch the thud of the brave young heart beating against its bars.

For one like Cálidas, there was but one answer to such a question. He could not buy these instruments. Therefore he would create them. Across the ocean, in that Europe which, to him, is the shrine of the science so dear to his heart, he knows that there are grand watchers of the stars and gifted students of Nature, into whose hands civilization, recognizant of efforts in her behalf, has tenderly placed every aid and every appliance. If he were only rich, he is sure that those weapons would be his. But how can he venture to ask his parents, who are already scowling upon him; already summing up their losses—for such they consider the expenses at *Rosario*—already planning, if he could but know it, a final estoppel to his silly longings and starry hallucinations? He can only try, and so, after many failures, there comes from his hands a little *gnomon*, or sun dial. This humble victory gained under the colors of science, was the signal for a desperate counter-war against the noble cause. Cálidas *père* was tired of this trifling. His son had deceived him about the law; but he must no longer continue to thwart him. He must be a merchant, and under these conditions alone would he be condoned. He consented to drop the quadrant for the cash-box, and to exchange the altitudes of the sky for the yard-stick of the counter. A field was found for him in Timana and La Plata. The venture, after a feverish trial, ended in a crash, as everybody had predicted. It is not recorded how Cálidas accepted his defeat, but it is certain he wore no mourning for it. Nor was it without its good side. His parents grumbled, but their mouths



were shut thenceforth forever. He was only twenty-five years old and the whole future was before him to hope, to labor, to plan and to wait.

*On revient toujours à ses premières amours* is true of Cálidas in the singular number only. He had had, from the days when he ran barefooted, or, at best, with *alpargatas* on his feet, through Popayán, but one sweetheart. To her, his true heart now turned joyfully. In Bogotá, where he had gone, he was enabled, for the first time, to read "Lalande's Astronomy" and the Abbé Besont's "Elements for the Marine Guard of France." These two books taught him plainly how hard a task it was to hope to become an astronomer in his native country. With his small means he bought a sea-compass, a marine-barometer, two thermometers, and a reflecting octant. Through these simple aids, he set about that awful mystery, the study of nature. Cálidas was scarcely of the order of men that tremble before the Difficult. Some of the agencies with which he worked were gigantic enough, but the daring soul, growing daily in strength, was not unworthy of them. The Andes were his workshop. His observatories were of Nature's free gift—the noble peaks that raised their ancient heads to the right and left of him. His tools were yet to be fashioned. His assistants were the carpenter, the blacksmith, and the silversmith. The great German Baron was to see his remolded pendulum and to confess to an agreeable surprise, dashed with admiration, at such a display of ingenuity on the part of a youth so little favored by birth, nationality or circumstances.

It should have been stated, in the proper place, that, when Cálidas was at Timana, he had dipped a little into literary work. He now began a scientific sketch of his journey to that place. He ascended Guadalupe, and wrote a paper on its elevation. He did the same service for La Mesa, Tocayme, Gigante and Pitat. He settled, on being appealed to, in a chart of singular clearness, a question of disputed township limits between Timana and La Plata. It was at this time that his active mind turned toward supplying his defective scientific apparatus. Having desired to establish a point in longitude through some astronomical observation, the eclipse of the moon on the 3d December, 1797, gave him an opportunity. He set about constructing a solar quadrant of wood (*madera de bromate*) with a radius of 17 French inches, and divided it with as much exactitude as possible. One of his treasures besides this was a glass of four *palmas* in size. This once finished, nothing more was needed save a co-observer. The priest of Gigante, a man of some talent and a devoted friend, came to his assistance. These two worked well together, with results satisfactory to both. Returning from Timana to Popayán, he fixed the geographical position of his native city, and calculated other latitudes and longitudes,

that, after later comparison, were found to vary very little from those calculated with the most accurate European instruments; and such were positive results with limited aids—aids as inadequate in their elements as they were common in their origin. Cálidas, at twenty-seven, resembled one of those chained giants working, in darkness, in the bowels of the Caucasus, dealing stout blows about them but hopeless of freedom. It seemed hard that the great work was to be wrought out with *tali auxilio*, and without other than *istis defensoribus*. Nay more, it would have been hard enough if, just at this juncture, a hand had not been stretched out through the gloom of his career; and that hand was the jeweled one that signed, on this side of the great sea, the mandates of His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain. The voice of the Viceroy at Santa Fé was the first authentic expression of that potent cry of the future, which told that the heights of the Andes, awful mysteries with cloud-pointing heads, that had stood upon their ancient thrones for ages,

“Down gazing like a solemn company  
Of grey-heads, met together,”

had, for the first time, found an interpreter in one born within their solemn territory.

## II.

Cálidas did not grow tired of astronomy, but he certainly was discouraged. Compelled to pursue his studies with instruments as wretched as those he had been able to secure, he found that astronomy did not fill his time. Gulping down his disappointment—by this time he had become rather familiar with it—he sought around for *una ciencia que no exigiese el aparato de aquel*—for a science not exacting the apparatus needed by the other. “Such appeared to me,” he adds, “botany, before I knew what botany was.” Satisfied with the little *Curso* of Ortega, he applied himself to its study. He soon became aware that it was insufficient for his purpose. Fancy him now rummaging all the book-stores of Popayán in search of text-books, and meeting on all their shelves nothing save “Tournefort’s Institutes.” “Tournefort” was doubtless as dry in 1801 as he is in 1884, and it was a real boon for him to be favored by a generous friend with the use of the Practical Part of Linnæus, translated by Palan. With this inestimable work, he was enabled to determine many plants, the desire to learn the nature of which had largely increased his ardor for the study of botany. He unfortunately lacked, however, the Scientific Part of the same work, as also the author’s Botanical Philosophy. These he made great efforts to obtain. He sent for them, but without success, to Bogotá,

Carthagena, and Quito, the three nearest metropoli of that day. He had quite lost the hope of prosecuting his studies when the kindness of the first botanist of his country, the priest-scientist, Dr. José Celestino Mútis—a total stranger to him, save to his growing reputation—placed in his hands the “Botanical Philosophy.” The response of Cálidas is characteristic, both of the gentle-hearted student and the enthusiastic scientist. He feels the kindness to his heart’s core. He will preserve the book all his life, as the noblest monument of a great man’s generosity, and the best title of honor which he himself can acquire. He can thank him only with his eternal gratitude; and he will never forget the 3d August, 1801—the day on which he had received this present, so worthy of a sage.

The study of this “Philosophy” gave a new direction to the scientific hopes of Cálidas. He resolved to make himself acquainted with the properties of plants. But his was a life, it would seem, of great designs balked by a fate always mocking and often adverse. A lawsuit gained by him at Popayán compelled his departure for Quito. The necessity of taking the journey awoke in him once more that grand passion for astronomy, which had long lain in a Lazarus-sleep. Indeed, Quito was well worthy of being the stepmother of such a passion. That famous city possesses for scientific minds two attractions, as remarkable as they are picturesque. She occupies one of the most elevated planes of the large cities of the world. She is so near the Equator, moreover, that the measurement from that mystic line may be said to begin almost in her very streets. Great volcanic heights look down upon her, as it were, in mingled protection and menace; while she, in her turn, looks down upon deep valleys, sweltering under all the discomforts of that equatorial line which, if a fiction in topography, is a reality in science. Nor has she been left there solitary in her lofty state. Before Cálidas came, Quito had been a haunted land for the learned from across the sea. She had been visited by brave champions of science, who had left around her the most precious monuments of their labors and the most conclusive proofs of their triumphs. “These,” Cálidas admits, “draw me with more violence than gold and all riches.” It was the nature of the man thus to make light of what is most precious in the sight of meaner men, and while standing with keen, but humble, eyes upraised in the presence of the marvels of the sky, to ignore the golden mysteries that lay buried, not fathoms deep, in the earth under his very feet. He did not abandon botany altogether, for he saw and availed himself of many opportunities to utilize upon the journey his knowledge already acquired. But once at Quito, the heavens, bending grandly over the great eminences, seem so near that it appears a *l'esc ma-*

*jesé*, standing before the altars of the one, not to do homage to the magnificences of the other. What is more, it was in Quito that Cálidas hoped, in spite of certain vexatious consequences resulting from his lawsuit, to find the great European, whose fame was upon all lips, the Gamaliel at whose feet he yearned, with a mighty yearning, to sit, and from whose golden mouth he longed to hear drop the priceless lessons of an eternal creed. "I shall leave for Quito on the 10th August," he writes on the 5th, "and I have not been able to await here Baron Humboldt. In Quito, I shall have the satisfaction of knowing him, and *of learning something*." Meanwhile, he was not unmindful of his promise to Dr. Mútis. The fruit of his journey was a memoir upon the "Nivelation of Plants," cultivated in the neighborhood of the Equator, which he dedicated and forwarded, in 1802, to that professor. This sketch, which contained important observations applicable to various plants, especially wheat, was the skeleton of a more useful and comprehensive work which he contemplated, and for which he long continued to gather materials. This was the "Geography of Plants" in the Vice-Kingdom of Santa Fé (Bogotá) and their "Botanical Chart," with the profile of the various ramifications of the Andes in the extension of new degrees of latitude, enabling one to calculate the altitude at which vegetates each plant, the climate which it needs, and what elements are best for its development. Through the reference to this project and by his memoir upon the "Caloric Properties of Water," Dr. Mútis began to estimate the abilities of the young *Popayanajo* at their proper value. The result was soon seen in his appointment to the Botanical Expedition, a department organized by the State and, since 1782, under the direction of the "priest-scientist."

His association with that expedition acted as a stimulant upon Cálidas. It was not because his modest efforts had been thus partially appreciated. Throughout his life, he had cared but little, save as a means, for the "bubble reputation." What he desired was a broader field for his exertions—a larger measure of good to result from his inquiries—a nobler and more beneficent tribute to be laid by his country, through him, at the portals of modern science. This desire was met half-way by his new patron. He was charged with collecting and classifying the vegetation of the kingdom of Quito, paying special attention to its *quinas*; with studying the geography and statistics, together with the customs, of the same country; and with taking astronomical, barometrical and thermometrical observations. He was furnished with an achromatic telescope, a chronometer, several books, and—what was of moment—a slight pecuniary assistance. The new broom of the proverb does not sweep cleaner than does a



great soul relieved, of a sudden, from the pitiful-make-shifts of poverty. Strengthened by these appliances, Cálidas began his duties with zeal. He was no longer a scholar on probation; he had become a worker in her ranks, whom Science had at last deigned to recognize. For the rest, he was the very kind of coadjutor whom Mútis had long needed, and in whom the country hitherto had been found lacking.

Under his new appointment, he projected in July, 1802, a series of scientific excursions with Quito as the center, which were wonderful in their extent, notable in their completeness, and of signal utility to the Government. But even while he was placing his observations in a form to be properly understood, his busy brain was planning another and a more extensive expedition, southward of Quito. His pretext was the search after *quinas*, then, as now, a lucrative branch of exportation. But beyond that was another motive of which his superior at Santa Fé got not an inkling. Greatness likes to measure itself with its brother greatness. Cálidas, feeling his own powers, could not escape the spell. Years before, far back in the eighteenth century, two brave and devoted French *savans*, La Condamine and Bouguer, had undertaken a memorable scientific pilgrimage into the heart of the equatorial region. They had performed that pilgrimage in such a manner as to make it an heirloom to those who delight in great victories achieved over a rich but unwilling nature. They had prosecuted their labors with the advantage of every instrument known to the science of their day. They had filled their charts with observations and valuable notes. With all the love of Frenchmen for the *bizarre*, and all the devotion of *savans* for the true, they had left behind them monuments of their labors under the form of stone tablets, memorials of peaceful triumphs far grander, in far less prejudiced eyes than theirs, than the Thracian Pillars of Hercules or the victorious column of Constantine. What Cálidas wished then was to test the correctness of their observations, and to measure himself, so to speak, with his splendid predecessors. But under this noble ambition came also the hope of the scholar to save from destruction the relics of the Europeans, whose courage had made their names household words from Santa Fé to Asuncion. Long was he unsuccessful in his search. Often, very often, did he pass over what he knew to have been the very route pursued by the Frenchmen. As often did he fancy that he could trace their footprints upon the stubborn rock or see them on the yielding clay; but, for months, he could find nothing that spoke to him of those who, brothers in spirit, had gone before him. At last one day—surely, he must have marked it with a white stone—he came upon a relic. But what a disillusion! It was an exemplification, subtle though pitiful, of Ham-

let's sneer upon the base uses to which man, and all of man, may return. Only by chance did he stumble upon it—and what? A flat stone of white marble, a once shapely slab bearing a learned inscription relative to the mensuration of the earth's meridian, but degraded hopelessly in the very sight of the nature which had yielded to the victorious standards of a conquering civilization. That which had once been pledged to science, he found perverted to utilitarianism. Punctured and perforated, it had, for years, been placed as a lattice to regulate the passage of certain intemperate waters. Is there not marvelously little difference here between the precious dust of imperious Cæsar, patching

“A wall to expel the winter's flaw,”

and this prostituted stone of La Condamine and Bouguer, piecing a highway to check a mountain drain?

Those who seek them can catch in the *Biblioteca Pineda*—now called *La Biblioteca de Obras Nacionales*—the manly lamentations of Cálidas at this irreverence. The lively Frenchmen would have fired up in anger, and then laughed in contempt, at the insult. But the *Popayanajo* had little of the nimble lungs that could be tickled at the desecration of noble things. “How sad a fate,” he asks, “is that of the most celebrated journey of which the eighteenth century can boast! Stones, inscriptions, pyramids, towers—everything that can possibly announce to posterity that these countries served to decide the famous question of the figure of the earth—have disappeared. We, desirous of perpetuating them as far as can be done, have fixed in our plan (of the city of Cuenca) the spot on which was built this tower (*de la iglesia mayor*), more celebrated than the pyramids of Egypt.” His own efforts, however, were now to meet with their reward. In Múti, Cálidas found not only a sympathetic spirit, but a useful friend. It was the story of Winkelmann and of his Cardinal-patron told over again. The elder scientist looked approvingly upon the ardent enthusiasm with which the younger had undertaken, and brought to a happy conclusion, tasks so gigantic and problems so complex. It had been the labor of Hercules, executed with the patience of a Palissy and the genius of an Audubon.

### III.

Soon after his return to Bogotá in March, 1805, the venerable Múti placed Cálidas in charge of the Astronomical Observatory. This was a new building—“the first Temple erected to Urania on the New Continent,” as he himself daintily said on first seeing it. It had been completed on the






20th August, 1804. For seven months, therefore, had this fair temple been without its altars, its sacraments and its priests. The priest appeared in the young man who had just returned from his Andean journey. He undertook the task with his usual disregard of personal ease. There was a certain exaltation, indeed, in the thought that, in that *Templo* (as he fondly called it) lay the germ of the future scientific position of his country. To him who had been all his life deprived of instruments, the sight of the boxes in which those intended for the Observatory were still packed was exceedingly cheering. These had either been furnished by Mútis himself, or sent from Europe by the Government. On opening them, Cálidas found a Sisson quadrant of the circle, two of Adams' theodolites, a graphometer, several octants, and an artificial horizon, four achromatic telescopes and three Dolland various minor glasses, Dolland and Nairne thermometers, barometers with six dozen substitutes, sea-compasses of different classes, two Emery chronometers, and one Graham astronomical pendulum. About this last, by the way, lingers a piece of gossip. If we refer to it at all, it is because it does one good, now and then, to analyze the simple pleasures of the simple great. As the uncle in the Arabian tale, throwing aside the jewels which glittered in the mystic cavern, sought tremblingly for the old smoky lamp that lay neglected on the floor, so did Cálidas, above all this dazzling show of scientific apparatus, seek one humble and time-worn instrument. That was the Graham pendulum. In itself, it was a simple piece of iron, fastened with steel rivets. To Cálidas' dazzled eyes, however, it shone at once a veteran by its age and a hero by its career. It had played no small part in that memorable equatorial campaign of the French Academicians, which event served to stimulate Cálidas, as the battles of the great Frederick had inspired the young Napoleon. It had aided those famous scientists in the determination of complicated questions, and had assisted in giving the configuration of the globe. Its fortunes had not been unchequered. It had changed hands more than once. It had passed from the possession of La Condamine to that of a Dominican friar; from the friar it had found its way to a skillful jeweler; from the jeweler it had been received by the Observatory, where it fell into the hands of the new assistant. There is no record of the venerable instrument's proving more useful than its fellows, but the fact that it was made to occupy the post of honor remains a bit of poetical romance in a life that, for its major part, was given to sterner and darker things.

The life of Cálidas from this date (early in 1804) to September 11, 1808, was one of technical and scientific labors. With the aid of only one servant—an humble private in the ranks of the great army of science, of

whom we hear nothing more—he did wonders. He saw more clearly than any man of his age—indeed, it would seem more clearly than any of the present day—the real necessities of his country; the real condition of political dependence and of scientific darkness which she occupied, and the remedies best adapted to their correction. Better fortified by fortune than before, and able, for the first time, to strengthen the work of the scientist with the authority of the public functionary, Cálidas hoped to enter more securely on what he felt to be his mission of developing and fixing his country's real powers.

## IV.

Cálidas was in the full discharge of his duties when the death of Dr. Mútis, in his seventy-eighth year, fell as a heavy blow upon the interests which had so long brightened under his auspices. Nor did the young man himself escape from the evil consequences of this misfortune. The veteran, with advancing years, had long felt the need of introducing some fresher spirit, fully capable of grasping them, into the mysteries of his life-work the "Flora." He had more than once, both verbally and by letter, assured Cálidas that he had destined him for his successor, or, as he himself once expressed it, as "his legal confessor, the depository of all his knowledge, his manuscripts and his treasures." Unhappily these intentions ended in words. Although the blow had been long expected, death at last found the old botanist in this respect wholly unprepared. He had never called upon his assistant, never revealed his "Flora" to him, never given him the key to its mysteries. He died and, like Cardinal Beaufort, "gave no sign." His papers and manuscripts were left in deplorable confusion, and Cálidas set himself to the task of bringing them into order—a task of great hardship and of vexing responsibilities, with no adequate reward. In the pursuit of his chosen career, Mútis had displayed powers of a high order. His signal ability had not escaped the notice of the most eminent judges of the Old World. Caranilles deemed his name "worthy of being enrolled among those of the chiefs of Botanical Science in Europe." And a greater than Caranilles—the eminent Linnæus himself, then at the height of his fame, called Mútis the "enlightened American botanist, whose immortal name time will never obliterate." It was the guardianship of this lofty reputation that had fallen upon Cálidas. The circumstances were adverse. To the almost hopeless confusion in which he found the papers was added the petty warfare which an indolent and unsympathetic government, and the jealous rivalries of inferior minds, know so well how to wage against the labors of those unselfish spirits bent on the elevation of mankind. Against




this combination he fought long and patiently, but unsuccessfully. Deceived and disappointed in his efforts to preserve intact the labors of Mútis—but not until then—did Cálidas begin to think of saving the fruits of his own. He endeavored to draw from the ruin which had fallen upon the “Flora” his botanical labors on the *Parte Meridional* of the vice kingdom. Here again he found a shiftless government and a bitter rivalry. He was thrown into despair. He had already learned what these had meant in the wreck of another's hopes. He pleaded for his MSS. as any mother might plead for the life of an only child. They were his by a right indisputable, that of creation, by the toil which they had cost, by the health which they had jeopardized. He appealed for the means to publish these precious works, so as to place them above the reach of destruction. The Viceroy was not churlish, but he was miserly. Placidly refused, Cálidas yielded the point. He bent to the unavoidable, but he raged. Then it was that, for the first and only time in this life of a strong self-denial, we can see Black Care in state, and him on his knees paying sour homage to her. “Why did he not give me that knowledge which would have enabled me to master *his* ‘Flora?’ What is *his* ‘Flora’ to ME?—to me, now that——” Nor was he, after all, without some reason for this outburst. Had the Vice-regal government displayed ordinary energy and liberality in regard to the labors of Mútis and Cálidas, such a course would have resulted in leaving to the keeping of posterity a series of botanical observations which “the most favored nation” might be proud to possess. The opposite course has robbed these men of their legitimate fame, and has threatened to consign their labors useless wrecks to the great lumber-room of Knowledge. If the Government did not respect the wishes of Cálidas, however, it at least showed itself appreciative of his services. He was retained in charge of the observatory, and was allowed \$1000 per annum on assuming the management of the Botanical Expedition. These were the happiest days of this hard-worked, brave-hearted, oft-balked, always ardent champion of science. The gossip of admiring friends, deepened possibly by their bitter grief over the catastrophe that ended his life in blood, has preserved a pleasant picture of Cálidas in the tower of his observatory on a night favorable to observations, now communing gravely with the stars as between equals; now, as though seized with a sudden inspiration, seeking to fasten upon paper those inferences which he drew from their mysterious round; now stepping softly to and fro in the room, buttoning and unbuttoning with a quick nervous movement, as was his wont, his long coat; now turning around to explain, in a voice at once mild and low, to some young disciple, a point that, luminous to him, was as darkness to the

other; and again breaking into a cheerful albeit stately jest, with some friends, who, true to *him*, not to his *art*, would each evening gather around him to woo him from the moments of depression which too often clouded his mind. There are no brilliant colors in this picture perhaps, but on looking, even in imagination, upon the scene, one cannot but feel the better for it. The workshop of genius is never the worse for its *intimes*.

By the terms of his appointment, Cálidas was expected to prepare, every four months, a report upon the condition of the astronomical and botanical labors intrusted to his charge. Nothing could seem to have been more likely to prove grateful to him than the opportunity thus afforded of bringing into view, as they progressed under his hands, the sharp details of the geography and topography of that broad region which extends from the Gulf of Darien to the Marañon. Here again, however, the indifference of the authorities and their failure to publish the papers thus exacted of their subordinate, rendered the labor involved in their preparation totally unproductive. This was a revelation to Cálidas. He felt that before his aim to advance his country in the scale of civilized nations could be practically accomplished, it was necessary to find a vehicle of communication with the people and the world, more direct and positive than the tape-bound records of the Colonial Government.

## V.

That vehicle was found in the *Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada*—a periodical which first appeared a few months before the death of Mútis. Originally started by various enlightened and patriotic gentlemen of the capital to supply a serious want felt by the intelligent classes, it had continued to publish scientific papers, as well as to foster, by means of essays and statistics, the material interests of the country. But the *Semanario* could not be said really to have done more than breathe until Cálidas became connected with it. It had first been published in weekly sheets—beginning from the 3d January, 1808, and continuing through that year and the next. This punctuality, however, was not destined to continue. Its managers subsequently decided to issue it monthly, in a shape somewhat similar to the magazine of our day. But science finds it hard to live amid the sounds of war. The matter between Spain and her American colonies was coming to blows. The sword was soon to take the place of the plowshare, and the telescope, directing its peaceful disk against the battlements of the sky, was shortly to be hurled from its pedestal, to be replaced by the cannon hiding within its blackened mouth the balance of



human lives and the safety of precious provinces. And, in these disastrous days, the journal devoted to a noble but too delicate creed, suffered equally with the creed itself. It appeared in its monthly form only eleven times—and that at long intervals—before the hostile flags had met; and then ruin fell upon it as upon the other intellectual and humanizing forces of the State.

In his style as a writer, Córdas showed more of the freedom of one born and reared among great mountains than the didactic nicety and formal attention to dry details of those wedded to the schools. He knew, intimately, by heart, no writer save Humboldt. He admired none of what nation soever, as deeply as he admired Humboldt. Had he ever had any inclination toward the jargon of the schools, the intellectual influence of that great name—as elegant a writer as he was a profound philosopher—would have saved him. One of his most important contributions to the *Semanario* was a paper upon the "Geography of the Vice-Kingdom," more specially with relation to the practical uses of commerce. In this paper, he makes the following observations upon a matter which has, within the last score of years, become a question involving infinite discussion and conjecture. Referring to the union, by water, of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans at the Isthmus of Darien, he thinks that "the Northern extremity of the Vice-Kingdom—the narrowest part of the new continent—that which constitutes the Isthmus of Panama, the most famous in the world, should have called the attention of all statesmen from the very date of its discovery. A tongue of land fifteen leagues in breadth, cut at every point by rivers which seek and find outlets directly into the two seas, with mountains scarcely meriting the name, has claimed recognition from all the geographers and statisticians of the world. It is impossible to hear without a sense of humiliation that three hundred years have passed since that period, and that, up to this time, we are without a single plan that gives an idea of the interior of the country, of the aptitude of these rivers, or the difficulties in the way of their navigation, of their distances one from the other, and of the possibility of uniting them. We have been for some time talking of the Atrato, of its proximity to the San Juan, of the 'repair-dock' of San Pablo, and we have consequently looked upon the junction of the Pacific and Atlantic as easy. But what have we really done with these flattering hopes? We have not taken a single step in this important matter—one capable of changing the aspect of the commercial prospects of America."

## VI.

It was early in the beginning of the century that Cálidas, while in Popayán, made what is, by his countrymen, regarded as a discovery every bit as authentic as Watt's discovery of the properties of steam, or Franklin's solving of the problem of electricity. Nor is the merit of this discovery lessened by the fact that the principle involved in it should have been then already suspected if not actually known in Europe. While repairing an English thermometer that had been broken, he made repeated experiments turning into very peculiar channels, jotting down rapidly his notes, not so much of what he had seen as of what he thought then that he had seen, reaching the conclusion that "*the elevation of mountains can be ascertained through a thermometer, with an exactitude equal to that to be obtained through the barometer.*"

About this time, in a formal official report addressed to the Secretary of the Vice-Kingdom, on Oct. 16, 1808, he writes:

"In 1799, and at the beginning of 1800, I formed various ideas upon the immutability of boiling water, and upon its variation. I ascended the Andes of Popayán four times. Laden with my barometers, thermometers, and with a spirit-lamp (*lámpara de ebullicion*), I verified a large series of observations." The result was that mountains may be measured with the thermometer as they are now with the barometer.

From further experiments, Cálidas inferred that "*the heat of boiling water is not the same in Popayán as in London.*" From this came the deduction, "*Equal heat presupposes an equal atmospheric pressure.*"

Cálidas had never, as it appears, happened to meet this particular principle in "Ortega's Little Course" or in the "Institutes of Tournefort." "It is not in my books, but it may be in books that I have never read," was all that he used to say in speaking of it to his friends. This did not prevent him, however, from being so fortified in his modest conviction of the essential truth of the principle itself, that he spoke of the discovery as one that was (so far as he himself knew) his own; and in its support he formulated the following proposition:

"The heat of boiling water is in proportion to the atmospheric pressure. The atmospheric pressure is proportional to the elevation above the surface of the sea. It follows the same law as the elevation of the barometer, or, speaking correctly, the barometer does not teach us any other thing than atmospheric pressure.\* As soon as the heat of water indicates the

\* This scientific proposition is so firmly believed by the educated countrymen of Cálidas to be his own, that I give his own words in relation to its main clause:

"*Luego el calor del agua nos indica la presión atmosférica del mismo modo que el barómetro, luego puede darnos las elevaciones de los lugares, sin necesidad del barómetro y con tanto seguridad como el.*"

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atmospheric pressure in the same manner as the barometer does, it can give us the elevation of places without the aid of the barometer itself, and with as much exactitude as it."

Even after this, a bitter truth creeps out from the painful uncertainties surrounding him.

"What doubts!"—exclaims he—"how sad a fate for an American! After many labors, if he should have succeeded in meeting something new, all that he can say is: 'It is not in my books (*no está in mis libros*).'<sup>\*</sup> Is it possible that any people on the earth can ever become wise without an accelerated communication with cultured Europe? How dark are the clouds which surround us! But at last we doubt, we begin to work, we desire, and that is having already reached the half of the journey."

In a work seen by the writer while in South America, published in Paris by a Colombian, appears, as translated in Spanish, the following alleged extract bearing on this subject from Humboldt's writings; and quoted by the author as a point in favor of Cálidas:

*"El grado de calor que adquieren los líquidos antes de hervir depende del peso de la atmósfera; y como este peso varía como las alturas sobre el nivel del mar, cada altura tiene su término ó punto de ebullicion correspondiente.*

*"En el curso de mis viajes, hice muchas experiencias sobre el hervor del agua en las cimas de los Andes: me propongo publicarlas y, con ellas, otras ejecutadas por M. Cálidas, natural de Popayán, físico distinguido, que se ha consagrado con un ardor sin ejemplo, a la astronomía y a otros muchos ramos de la historia natural."\**

This notice of the scientific labors of Cálidas, perhaps unduly lengthened, was needed to show what a Titan of Science the man really was and would have been recognized beyond its borders to be, if his country, politically, had been in a normal condition. In the thirtieth year of his career he was another Samson in Gaza, blind and bound, working for his Philistine captors. In his later years the war of Independence came to trample upon the harvests of the farmer, and to drown with the roar of its artillery the observations of the thinker. That war saved the freedom of the country; but it cost the life of its greatest philosopher.

\* "The degree of heat acquired by liquids before reaching the boiling point depends on the weight of the atmosphere; and as this weight varies with the elevations above the sea-level, each elevation has its corresponding term or boiling point.

"In the course of my voyages, I made many experiments upon the boiling heat of water on the heights of the Andes. It is my purpose to publish them and, with my own, others made by M. de Cálidas, a distinguished scientist who has consecrated himself with unexampled ardor to astronomy, and to many other branches of natural history."

## VII.

It is not told that Mars ever dallied with Urania. It is by no means astonishing, therefore, that when the *pronunciamientos* of Carthagena and Socorro against Spain and her Viceroy, followed closely, on the 20th July, 1810, by the insurrection at Bogotá, came to tell that the contest for political freedom, threatened for years, had begun, Cálidas felt a presentiment of evil. He had long been a witness of the petty spirit with which Spain had watched the progress of her colonies. He had for years believed that no positive step in advance could be taken by his country, so long as the foot that was to take it was crushed under chains. But even with this conviction, when the first gun was fired in the name of colonial rights, Cálidas experienced an undefinable anxiety. In this there was no lukewarmness in love for country; his patriotism was of proof. He had always felt himself to be American before being Spaniard, Granadan before being American, but the eye with which he looked into the future had borrowed much of the keenness and largely of the accuracy of the seer. He foresaw that the pleasant union existing between him and his studies was necessarily to be broken. He foresaw, moreover, that that union could never be entered into again, so long as a single hostile regiment held the field, or a single hostile gun awoke the echoes of the Andes. The *Junta Suprema Gubernativa* was in 1810 the highest authority among the patriots. It proposed to Cálidas that he should assume, in conjunction with D. José Joaquin Comacho, the charge of the first paper which was to serve as the medium of communication between the capital and the provinces. The paper was *El Diario Politico*. The first number appeared on August 27, 1810; it was distributed far and wide. It was to the press of New Granada what the *Moniteur* in the days of revolutionary action had been to France. It soon became a magazine from which burst forth spark after spark to kindle through the country the fires of patriotism that were to bring against Spain the dash of Sucre and the wisdom of Bolívar. Indeed it is curious to see how soon the editor in his style exchanged the precision of the naturalist for the inspiring appeals of the patriotic writer. He threw away his barometers and telescopes. From the moment that he grasped the pen he lowered his eye from the study of the heavens to fix it upon the tactics of the great Captain, revered by all of Spanish-American blood. The contest, strengthened by the appeals of the *Diario*, proved as formidable a bone of contention to the supporters of colonial rights as that which had, after the Revolution, hazarded the establishment of our own Federal Government. A conflict arose as new to Spanish America as it was then familiar to ourselves. There were advocates of centralization :



there were also supporters of the sovereign rights, in embryo, of the provinces so long enthralled, but now clamoring for autonomy. Here arises, curiously enough, however, a marked distinction between the English colonies in North America and the Spanish colonies in South America. The former wisely allowed the vexed question to sleep until independence was gained. The latter lugged it into the initial phases of the war, hazarding the success of young Freedom herself. In the United States, Yorktown was fought before the real war of ideas began. In South America, the war of ideas opened, and grew rancorous, before Boyacá was won.


The inauguration of a Federal Congress in Bogotá—the home of the Federalists—soon came to strengthen the hopes of the Centralists. But the enemy had advanced beyond the sea-shore, and were approaching the mountains. It was fortunate that a tried soldier was at the head of affairs. The President, Navarino, presented in himself a happy combination of the wisdom of the statesman and the skill of the soldier. His quick eye told him that a man, who had earned fame in science, might be made useful in the enginery of war. He offered to Córdas the position of Captain of Engineers. So prominent a military honor in the rebel interest would inevitably compromise one who had hoped, in the fluctuating fortunes of the coming war, to have kept the peaceful light of science free from alarms, burning, as it were, a lamp upon the spotless altars of a holy church. Córdas hesitated, but his hesitation was only for a moment. Patriotism gained the day.

#### VIII.

In executing the new duties devolved upon him, Córdas at once devoted himself to the closest scrutiny of military studies in general; to the improvement of the artillery; to the theory of fortifications, permanent and field, reaching down to the boring of muskets and the casting of cannon. This is not the place to do more than refer to the zeal and marked ability with which these duties, so foreign to many of his tastes, were discharged. The scientist filled a place in the van of struggling patriots, which could have been supplied by no other Colombian of his day. His services were not unappreciated. He was, on January 14, 1814, promoted to the rank of Colonel of Engineers. Idleness was a word not found in his lexicon. He would leave for a time the casting of metals to plan out the fortunes of a projected campaign. If the report of contemporaries be believed, there was no safer tactician among the sashed and epauletted captains who stood around the "Liberator" than the modest philosopher. Nor was his ability

in this direction unrecognized by his military associates. Once, however, his voice of prudence was raised, and not heard. This was when he opposed an attack designed by the *Federalistas* upon Bogotá, then held by the enemy. His counsel was unheeded; the attack was made. It proved to be an almost fatal mistake, which resulted, for a time, disastrously to the entire country. Cálidas was with the defeated army compelled to retreat. He escaped to Carthagena, whence he wrote a letter on the 5th May, 1814, which throws some light upon his feelings of indignation at this period: "I am not an engineer"—he says—"I am not an officer of the Union. I am simply F. J. de Cálidas. By this mail I send my resignation, and with four lines I have acquired my true imprescriptible rights, which are my peace, my liberty, my mathematics and my repose." To this vaunt of a repose which he was never to find, of mathematics for which he was to plead, but vainly plead, from his prison cell, he adds, speaking of that assault upon the capital which had so fully vindicated his military judgment, "against my express vote, and that of the best officers of the Union: I can no longer live upon this soil, dear but stained with the innocent blood of so many victims sacrificed to obstinacy and ignorance. Blessed be God! my votes were pacific. Not a single death of those on the 9th in Santa Fé is due to me." In this crisis, it was not possible that Cálidas should have forgotten his Observatory, which, for him, represented the long life-labor born of his study, his zeal, and his dangers. In the request to a friend in Bogotá to take charge of the establishment, we see cropping out that bad blood which has too often existed between Philosophy and War, between the men of the lamp and the swashbucklers of the sword. "Do this service"—he entreats—"for the sake of posterity! Apply yourself seriously to the science of Kepler, Copernicus and Newton. Continue what I have commenced, and sustain by your generous and repeated efforts the honor of that establishment which does more for the glory of your country than all those armies, those feathers, those sashes, those stupid, vain and puerile badges."

This was the last expression which Cálidas gave of his deep desire for the repose of the closet. Civil war knows no difference between the hut of the peasant and the closet of the sage. For a time, indeed, he thought that he was to find his place in Antioquia, one of the revolted provinces. Antioquia welcomed him with delight. But the time cast a baleful shadow upon even the hospitalities of a State. Her welcome bore the insignia of war. It was blazoned not upon the vellum of the University, but upon the parchment of the War Office. It called him not "Doctor in Laws" but "Colonel of Engineers." It directed him to assume dictato-




rial powers. It fastened upon him those responsibilities which he had left Bogotá to escape, and which had compelled him to forward his resignation to the Federal Government. He found that his first duty was to fortify the passes of the Cauca. He performed the work ably. The fortifications answered their purpose. They no longer cumber the earth, but the plans may be seen and admired to-day in the National Library. Medellín, the capital, appealed to him to found an Academy of Military Engineers. He began by sketching out a higher standard for the military education of young Granada, which, if carried out, might have changed, in the present generation, the desultory character of much of Spanish American warfare. But Bogotá—once more under the patriot flag—called her great philosopher back to her side. She appealed to him with a bait that would have won Humboldt if offered by Frederic William. He was to have all that he wished, he was to witness a new birth of science, he was to complete that splendid Atlas of New Granada, to which his first years had been dedicated. He was at the same time to establish a military school. Valenzuela himself, Secretary of State, signed the flattering invitation. The journals of the day published it with laudatory comments. Cálidas accepted: what else could he do? He left Medellín with as pleasant a hope as ever flitted before a student. He proceeded to Bogotá with his family. He had not well settled himself when the news from the North and the Atlantic coast began to alarm the Government. On the 6th of March, 1815, Cartagena fell before General Morillo. The victorious column quickly invaded the interior. The patriots were routed at Cachiri. The provinces of Magdalena and those of the North yielded. On the 6th of May, 1816, the royal flag waved once again over the defenses of Bogotá. New Granada seemed passive, like a soldier grievously stricken awaiting the blow that is to bring death. Before the capture of Bogotá by the Spaniards, the officials had fled in the midst of surroundings as sinister as those which at Richmond, in 1865, followed the battle of Five Forks. Cálidas, among others, went southward, with the hope of being able, at least, to escape by way of the port of Buenaventura on the Pacific. But the dogs of war were after him. Popayán, his native city, fell. Cálidas and his friends took refuge in the hacienda of Parispamba—ten leagues from that city. There they were surprised and captured by the enemy. Even at this time there were not wanting among his enemies, signs of that recognition of a high and unselfish destiny which Lucan has so finely expressed in his

*Nec sibi sed toto genitum se credere mundo ;*

a recognition sufficiently strong to raise, for an instant, a curtain of pro-

tection before the philosopher who had, through love of country, reduced during a war of patriotism the mighty boundaries of the science born for the world to the petty, though to him infinitely precious, limits of his native land. Persons of reputation—some of them, indeed, living at a recent date—have declared that Muñoz, the leader of the capturing party, showed for Cálidas the pity that Marcellus had felt for Archimides. It is said that, one day during the march, Muñoz seized a moment to linger behind with his prisoner. He told him earnestly that he revered his genius, and that he was a believer in his future. Nothing was easier, he urged, than to save him by sending him and his family secretly back on the road to Quito—Quito where D. Torribio Montes, a commandant after the order of Vasco de Castro at Cuzco, famous for his gentle rule and noted for his love of art, reigned in the name of Charles IV. Cálidas, who had forgotten science for country, was not the man to forget honor for safety. He was not content to receive his own life, and that of those dear to him. He claimed the lives of the friends captured with him, as a prerequisite to the acceptance of his own. This condition was submitted with a simplicity, of the heroism of which he himself seemed wholly unaware. Muñoz, apparently half ashamed at his unwonted pity—a quality rare, indeed, among the Castilian officers of that day—rejected the proposition in a burst of brutal disappointment. Cálidas received Muñoz's refusal with that impassiveness which belongs, in equal proportions, to greatness and fatalism. Without more word, he took the high-road that led from Popayán to Bogotá.

The Military Tribunals of Spain between 1811 and 1821 were never long in organizing. Nor were they laggard in reaching judgments, which revealed more the spirit of Draco than that of Solon. Some of the most distinguished officers of the royal service composed the Court. Branlio Molina—himself a gallant officer of the famous Battalion of Tambo—did for Cálidas the duty that the venerable Malesherbes had, a quarter of a century before, performed for Louis XVI. It was, however, all in vain. Eloquence is potent only before free courts; the courts, through which Spain punished her rebels, were not free. It is clear enough that Cálidas had begun, before this time, to hold a high conception of his responsibility to the work to which he had devoted his life. He thought it his right to address his judges. In other respects, he was not devoid of many of the elements that go to make up the successful orator. His style was warm without being diffuse; strong without being aggressive. While his manner exhibited much of the vivacity so common among his countrymen, it showed a power of restraint more frequently met farther North. His



voice is said to have been singularly musical. He spoke for the knowledge that was in him ; and his appeal so affected certain members of the body judging him that, according to the reports of the trial current among the patriot circles of the day, they were *conmovidados hasta verter lágrimas* (so moved as to shed tears). But the Tribunal represented the Spain that had grown proud since the reign of her Ferdinand and Isabella, since the expulsion of the Moors, since the discovery of America; the Spain that in the hands of her effeminate Kings had become base enough to class, as prime state-maxims for a great Continent, two colossal lies: *the right of despotism to be a thief, the right of despotism to be a butcher*. What could Cálidas expect from such a Tribunal? He was a student, who had confessed himself artillerist: he was a philosopher, who had not hesitated to declare himself rebel. He was found guilty and sentenced to death. His bearing before the judges had been worthy, in its enthusiasm, of the patriot. In prison, it was worthy, in its dignity, of the philosopher.

The hours that remained to Cálidas were not spent by him in struggling with those twin horrors of the condemned, idleness and despair. He addressed a letter to General Morillo, in which he begged for time, even though that time should be passed in prison and in chains. He needed time, he said, to complete his labors in that "Botanical Expedition," which had been intrusted to him by his dead master Mútis. He needed it for the systematization of his own great geographical and astronomical work, so that he might put it into a shape, by which the world might not lose the lessons of which it, through him alone, contained the fruitful germ. Such was the spirit which moved the learned Doctor Peter Van Vordt, burnt at Häärlem, for wizard, in 1306, to declare that "*Had they left this poor head a little longer on my shoulders, it would have done more for human happiness than all this bonfire.*" Such, also, was the spirit that moved the prayer of Archimides to his Roman assassin, to "*forbear a moment, so that he might not leave his theorem imperfect.*" If separated by centuries, these are scenes of history which, save for the faces and the accessories, might, in photography, be fitly substituted the one for the other. Archimides with his assassin; Peter Van Vordt with his bonfire; Cálidas with his death volley! Had the world of science known beforehand of the sacrifice which was to be exacted of it, had it had time to act intelligently in its own defense and for its own honor, it would, in Europe, have ransomed the ashes of Van Vordt as it would, in America, have claimed the life of Cálidas.

It is said (and it seems with some reason) that General Morillo, the commander-in-chief, favored granting temporarily, under the conditions

submitted by his prisoner, the life of Cálidas. It is also said that Eurile, the second in command, was as violently opposed to granting it. Morillo was a puma, with a touch of mercy rising, now and then, from a very satiety of blood. He had waded through carnage to power. He had achieved fame at Madrid, but among the crushed populations that then lay in the lands ravaged by his brutal soldiery, that fame was only another name for infamy. He knew well enough that, were he once believed to lean to clemency, once known to become human, his past massacres would, at home, avail him nothing. Morillo was no mixture of high honor and remorseful ferocity like Othello. But he had in Eurile a Lieutenant that might have stood with Iago when, with false clink and falser heart, he hobnobbed with Cassio. Could the result be doubted? Cálidas found the most unsteady of friends in the commander, as he found the fiercest of enemies in his lieutenant. The council ignored his appeal, as judges of their calibre had, nearly five centuries before, rejected that of Van Vordt. The inquisitive student of history may find in the *Pacificador*—a journal of that day—the names of those condemned to suffer *la pena capital* and the following entry:

"*En 29 Octubre (1816) Doctor Francisco Cálidas, Ingeniero general del ejercito rebelde y general de brigada. Fue pasado por las armas, por la espalda, y confiscados sus bienes.*"

Which, put into English, reads:

"October 29 (1816) Dr. Francisco Cálidas, Engineer-in-chief of the Rebel Army and General of Brigade. He was shot in the back, and his goods were confiscated."

It is not to be wondered at that New Granada should claim for Francisco José de Cálidas a place as her representative in the scientific world by the side of Linnæus and Humboldt, Newton and Hugh Miller, Franklin and Agassiz. Nor can it be held as a reproach against those who are not Colombians that they should not know him as intimately, or honor him as highly, as his countrymen. But it would seem to be something worse than either, if those who constitute the Supreme Council of Science in both hemispheres, not recognizing at their proper value the lofty qualities of a brother born for great things and cursed by small ones, should fail to see that the debt due to his memory shall not be protested at the Bank of History.

*John Dimsity.*



## EARLY CONNECTICUT CLAIMS IN PENNSYLVANIA

IN April, 1662, King Charles II. issued letters patent, confirming to the colony of Connecticut certain rights and privileges, and defining the boundaries of the colony. On the south it was bounded by the sea, and "in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts colony running from east to west, that is to say, from the said Narragansett Bay on the east, to the South Sea on the west part, with the islands thereunto belonging." \* This charter confirmed the patent granted to the Earl of Warwick some years before. As early as 1655 some New Haven people had made a settlement on the Delaware, near the site of Philadelphia, thus showing that it was the original understanding that the Earl of Warwick's patent extended two degrees in breadth below Massachusetts, and stretched across the continent. The southern boundary of this claim was the forty-first parallel of north latitude, and took in almost the entire northern half of Pennsylvania.

Such was the ignorance of the Europeans respecting the geography of America, says Morse, that their patents extended they knew not where. Many of them were of doubtful construction, and very often covered each other in part, and thus produced innumerable disputes and mischiefs in the colonies. Connecticut construed her charter as authorizing them to pass over New York, which was then in possession of a Christian prince, and claimed, in latitude and breadth mentioned therein, to the South Sea.† For nearly a century, however, Connecticut neglected to claim these lands, which lay westward of New York. But after she had granted all her lands eastward of that colony, a company was formed with the design of colonizing the lands within her charter on the Susquehanna. This company was formed in 1753, and the next year a purchase was made, or at least was claimed to have been made, from the sachems of the Six Nations of a large tract at Wyoming.

This tract was within the charter granted to William Penn. In a short time considerable settlements were made in the valley of the Susquehanna, and fierce disputes arose between the colonies of Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The first intimation we have of the coming trouble is in a letter from James Parsons, a justice of the peace of Northampton county, to Deputy Governor Hamilton, February 8, 1754. He writes that he had

\* Colonial Records of Penn., Vol. x., p. 122.

† Morse's American Geography, p. 470. Ed. of 1796.

heard that some persons, under "pretence of an authority from the government of Connecticut," had gone to Wyoming, "giving out that those lands were included within the boundaries of the royal charter to that colony;" that upon further inquiry he found that his "information was but too true;" and he adds, "I thought I should be wanting in my duty if I did not give your honor this information."\* A few days later, Daniel Broadhead, also a justice of Northampton county, writes to the governor on the same subject, and says that he "was at a loss how to act," lest he should "do the thing not just," and asks for advice in the matter."† This letter being laid before the council, it was decided that Governor Hamilton should write to the authorities of Connecticut, apprising them of these movements, and requesting their interference, lest "the colonies should have the additional affliction of seeing a civil war commence in the bowels of two of their most prosperous provinces." Governor Hamilton wrote accordingly on the 4th of March, and on the 13th of the same month Governor Wolcott, of Connecticut, wrote a letter in reply, in which he says, "I don't suppose our people had any purpose to quarrel with Pennsylvania." At the same time Col. John Armstrong, who had acted as the messenger of Governor Hamilton to Governor Wolcott, reported that the people of Connecticut earnestly and seriously determined to make a settlement on the Susquehanna, within the latitude of their province. In November following, Armstrong, who had been sent again to inquire into and report upon the matter, wrote that the purchase of lands from the Six Nations "was intirely of a private nature," and that the government had had nothing to do with it. He adds: "The generality of the more knowing people despise the scheme as wild and preposterous, but some others mightily cry up the antiquity and extent of their charter whereon their claims are chiefly built."‡

The defeat of General Braddock in 1755, and the subsequent irruptions and devastations by the Indians, seem to have put a stop for some years to the attempts at settlements at Wyoming. In February, 1761, Governor Hamilton called the attention of the council to the fact of renewed encroachments by Connecticut people in the northern part of the province, and laid before them a report on the state of affairs by the sheriff and justices of Northampton county. In this report the whole difficulty is gone over from the beginning. By advice of the council the governor issued a proclamation, "strictly requiring and enjoining in his Majesty's

\* Col. Rec., Vol. v., p. 736

† Col. Rec., Vol. v., p. 757.

‡ Col. Rec., Vol. vi., p. 260.





name all and every person and persons already settled or residing on the said lands, immediately to depart and move away from the same." \*

The Connecticut people, however, continued to flock into the disputed territory, forming their principal settlement at a place called Cushietunck. Governor Hamilton sent Captain Hyndshaw to observe what was doing there, or likely to be done; and in April, 1761, he made a report, from which it appears the settlement was in a thriving state, and fresh settlers were crowding in. In the following September, Governor Hamilton issued another proclamation, "requiring and enjoining," etc., which seems to have had about as much effect as the first. At the same time the Indians of the Six Nations kept on remonstrating and threatening, but Governor Hamilton succeeded in preventing any outbreak by promising that measures would be taken to prevent those "troublesome people" from encroaching upon their lands. In June, 1763, the king issued a commission to require and command the settlers in the disputed region forthwith to desist from their undertaking, and "to depart and remove from thence within such limited time" as the commissioners might think "necessary and reasonable."† This action on the part of the king was based entirely on the fact that the land in question had not been purchased from the Indians; and it seems to have had the desired effect; for there is no notice of any further trouble from this source until the year 1769. Having in the meantime settled by purchase with the Indians, the Connecticut people felt themselves at liberty to resume operations at Wyoming, and the Susquehanna Company was revived. In April, 1769, Governor Penn wrote to General Gage, commander-in-chief of the royal forces in America, detailing the history of the trouble; and he adds: "They now not only openly resist the execution of the king's process and set government at naught, but have lately gone so far as to attack and fire upon a party of our people, who had one of their associates under legal arrest. \* \* \* I find myself under the disagreeable necessity of applying for the aid of the military to support the civil power." This application General Gage respectfully declined. "The affair in question," he writes, "seems to be a dispute concerning property, in which I can't but think it would be highly improper for the king's troops to interfere." But if the "king's troops" were not to participate in the controversy, armed conflict on a certain scale was to take place nevertheless. In the early part of the year 1770, scenes of riot and violence were inaugurated; houses were pulled down, cattle were shot, goods were destroyed, and even blood was shed.

\* Col. Rec., Vol. viii., p. 567.

† Col. Rec., Vol. ix., p. 60.

One of the principal actors on the side of the Connecticut people was Captain Lazarus Stewart. He is described in the chronicles of the time as "a dangerous, turbulent Man." This, however, was the "Pennimite" estimate of him. He was a bold and enterprising spirit. His arrest was desired, and frequent attempts were made to that end. In October, 1770, Governor Penn by proclamation offered a reward of fifty pounds for his apprehension. In January following, the sheriff of Northampton county with his posse went to Wyoming to serve the "King's Writ" upon Stewart and some others; but they shut themselves up in a fort that they had built, and fired upon the sheriff's men, killing one Nathan Ogden, and wounding others. They continued a desultory fire upon the posse all day, and in the evening Stewart with about forty of his men secretly abandoned the fort and withdrew into the woods, leaving twelve men in the fort, who refused to go with them, and who surrendered themselves to the sheriff. Upon this the governor offered a reward of three hundred pounds for the apprehension of Stewart, and fifty pounds for that of certain of his associates.

This affair seems to have been followed by the temporary withdrawal of the intruders, but on the 16th of the following July, the council was informed by Captain Amos Ogden that very recently about seventy armed men from Connecticut, joined by Captain Stewart and others, had arrived at Wyoming with the design of repossessing the land and prosecuting their settlements; whereupon it was determined to raise a force and proceed to Wyoming without delay, and bring to justice all who should oppose the due execution of the laws.\* On the 30th of the same month, as a party under Captain Joseph Morris were on the way to Wyoming with provisions to relieve the people in the block-house there, when within a very short distance of the place they were fired on "by the Yankeys" from behind breastworks and from the woods. Two of the men were wounded, a part ran away, and the rest, twenty-two in number, got into the block-house, though they lost a quantity of flour. An attempt was made to raise a force of one hundred men to relieve the block-house, but with little success. The Connecticut party was one hundred and fifty strong; the others had but sixty men, and were "much disheartened." The result was that on the 15th of August following, the block-house surrendered for want of provisions.† From this time forward for many months the Connecticut men seem to have held almost undisputed possession of the place. In June, 1773, their performances again come to the surface. In that

\* Col. Rec., Vol. ix., p. 749.

† Col. Rec., Vol. ix., p. 769.



month it was learned that a large party was about to make a settlement on the West Branch. Colonel Plunket, of Northumberland county, on the 7th of June writes some particulars to Governor Penn, and says: "This morning we are hurrying up to the place where the enclosed mentions they intend to fortify, if possible to check them a little." This attempt seems to have been successful, though it was accomplished "not without much fatigue, expense, and great danger of bloodshed."

An effort was now made, by the authorities of the two colonies, to fix upon some kind of settlement of the vexed question, and commissioners were appointed to confer on the subject; but they could effect nothing. Governor Penn proposed to refer the decision of the question to his Majesty in Council. To this the Connecticut commissioners demurred, on the plea of expense and delay. At the same time they gave it to be distinctly understood that while the settlers from Connecticut had hitherto acted simply under the Susquehanna Company, "the colony has now taken up the matter, and expressly asserted their claim." They also proposed a temporary line of jurisdiction, confining the Connecticut settlers to the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, and the Pennsylvanians to the western branch of the same;\* but to this Governor Penn, sagaciously remembering that possession is nine points in law, refused to assent. The next step on the part of Connecticut was a bold one. In January, 1774, the General Assembly of that colony passed an act erecting the disputed territory into a distinct town; "which Town is hereby annexed to the county of Litchfield, and shall be called by the name of Westmoreland." In the same connection the governor of Connecticut issued a proclamation, "forbidding any person or persons whatsoever, taking up, entering on, or settling any of the lands contained or inclosed in the charter of this colony lying westward of the province of New York, without liberty first had and obtained from the General Assembly of this colony."† To this proclamation of the governor of Connecticut, Governor Penn issued a counter-proclamation, in the course of which he does "in his Majesty's name charge and command all persons whatsoever, within the said counties, as well as all other inhabitants within the limits of this province, to yield due submission and obedience to the laws of this government, as they will answer the contrary at their peril." In September, 1775, Colonel Plunket proceeded against the Connecticut settlements at Judea and Charlestown. This expedition was successful, with but slight loss on either side. In the latter part of November, Governor Penn wrote to the justices of the peace

\* Col. Rec., Vol. x., p. 128.

† Col. Rec., Vol. x., p. 151.

of Northumberland county, ordering them to use their utmost diligence in enforcing the laws throughout the county, and promising them the concurrence and support of the government in their endeavors.\* In pursuance of this order, Colonel Plunket set out against the settlement at Wyoming with a force of seven hundred men. On the morning of the 24th of December, 1775, he was met by a force of three hundred men and boys under Colonel Zebulon Butler, at the mouth of Harvey's creek. Butler retired behind a very strong breastwork. He greeted Plunket's approach with such a sharp fire, that the latter was obliged to fall back. The contest was renewed the next morning, but with the same result. Plunket then withdrew from the field. A number of persons were killed and wounded on both sides.†

At this time the Continental Congress took cognizance of the dispute, and recommended the contending parties to cease immediately all hostilities, to restore all property to the original owners, to dismiss all persons seized or detained on account of the dispute, etc., etc., and commanded the people to "behave themselves peaceably on their respective possessions" until a legal decision could be had on the dispute, "or this Congress shall take further order thereon."‡ This notice and the pressure of the more important controversy with the mother country, put a temporary quietus to the dispute. On the 12th of March, 1781, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania called the attention of Congress again to the matter in debate. In November of the same year, Congress appointed the 4th of June, 1782, for a conference between Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The conference was held at Trenton. On the 6th of January, 1783, the decision was pronounced in favor of Pennsylvania, in these words: "We are unanimously of opinion that the State of Connecticut has no right to the lands in controversy. We are also unanimously of opinion that the jurisdiction and pre-emption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the State of Connecticut, do of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania."§

Thus terminated this controversy, after a period of about thirty years. Peace, however, did not at once descend upon the troubled settlements. As was anticipated, some "animosities and resentments" lingered among those who had so long been at variance, and violence and even bloodshed marked the fierceness of their discontent and hatred. But by degrees

\* Col. Rec., Vol. x., p. 275.

† Miner's History of Wyoming, p. 174.

‡ Penna. Archives, Vol. iv., p. 692.

§ Col. Rec., Vol. xviii., p. 475.



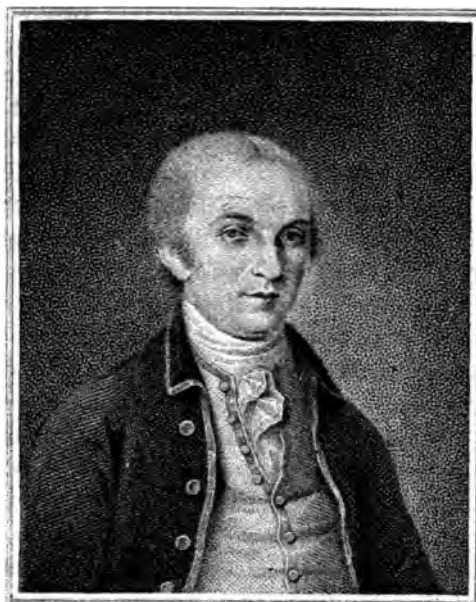
these passions died away, until now the story can only with difficulty be traced in the musty records of the past.

"It will not be out of place here to observe," says Morse, "that although Connecticut was forced to yield her claim to the lands within the limits of her charter, which were comprised within that of Pennsylvania she did not relinquish the right her charter gave her to lands lying west of Pennsylvania, and between that State and the Mississippi. At the close of the Revolution, she ceded all her charter claims west of Pennsylvania to Congress, reserving only a tract the width of the State of Connecticut, and 120 miles in length, bounded east on the western line of Pennsylvania, and north by Lake Erie, containing nearly four millions of acres." The name of "Western Reserve" still suggests a trace of the early history of this tract.

*J. J. Chapman.*

## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

A century has elapsed since the American Revolution, and in the interim much has been written and published concerning it. But there is still something to be supplied. Comparatively little has ever been accessible to the public concerning the medical department of the army of



*John Leechman*

*Director General of Military Hospitals.*

patriots. The historian seems only to have considered this feature of the war in a general way, while dealing with other subjects in detail. Reasons for this possibly exist; the records may have been destroyed by the British in 1814. Whatever the cause, certain it is that there is a lamentable absence of information about an arm of the public service of no secondary

importance. Fortunately, the letter-book of its official head, Dr. John Cochran, has been preserved,\* and in the belief that a few extracts from its centennial pages will be of interest to the reader, and serve to throw fresh light upon obscure passages in our history, this paper has been prepared.

In the year 1570 John Cochran, of kin to the Earl of Dundonald, emigrated from Paisley, in Scotland, to the north of Ireland. James, his descendant in the sixth generation, crossed the sea to America, and in the early part of the eighteenth century settled in Pennsylvania. His third son, born at Sadsbury, Pennsylvania, September 1, 1730, was Doctor John Cochran of the Revolution, who was educated for a surgeon by Dr. Thompson, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Having received his diploma, he on the outbreak of the French and Indian war entered the English service as surgeon's mate in the Hospital Department, and remained with the Northern Army to the close of hostilities. When General Bradstreet marched against Fort Frontenac in the summer of 1758, he joined him, together with Major (afterward General) Philip Schuyler. In the campaigns of this war he acquired the medical proficiency and the surgical expertness for which he was afterward celebrated. On the 4th of December, 1760, he was united in marriage at Albany, New York, to Gertrude Schuyler, the widow of Peter Schuyler, and the only sister of General Philip Schuyler. He afterward removed to Brunswick, New Jersey, where he practiced his profession, and was one of the founders of the New Jersey Medical Society in 1766, succeeding Dr. Burnet as its President in 1769. His residence at Brunswick terminated when the British burned his house in the first years of the war. At the close of the winter of 1776 he volunteered his services in the Hospital Department of the Army of the Revolution, and Washington, in a letter written in the beginning of 1777, in which he spoke of his experience and services in the French war, recommended his name to the favor of the national legislators. Congress having, April 7, 1777, resumed the consideration of a report on the hospitals, plans modeled after those of the British army were submitted by Dr. Cochran and Dr. William Shippen, which, being duly approved by General Washington, were on that day adopted, and prevailed till re-

\* The letter-book in the possession of Gen. John Cochrane, the grandson of Dr. John Cochran, from which these extracts are made, covers the period from January, 1781, to June in 1782, and furnishes an authentic official statement of the condition of the Medical Department of the Army of the Revolution during that time and to the end of the war. The letter to Jonathan Potts, given under date of March 18, 1780, was written while Dr. Cochran was Surgeon-General of the army, and is undoubtedly a not overdrawn account of the condition of the department during the Revolutionary war.

modeled by Congress September 30, 1780. On the 11th of April, 1777, in pursuance of His Excellency's recommendation, Dr. Cochran received the appointment of Chief Physician and Surgeon-General of the Army. After nearly four years of service in this position, he was, on the resignation of Dr. Shippen, promoted by the appointment of Congress (17th of January, 1781) to that of Director of the Military Hospitals of the United States, in which capacity he continued to the end of the war. The documents handed down to us—his entries, memorandums and letters—partake of the authority of an official record. They also disclose the many and distressing difficulties of the situation. During this exciting period the country passed through the severest of trials. There have been other wars of greater magnitude and of longer duration, but none, I think, so heroic as this. The war of 1861 was to preserve the government—the government established by the Army of the Revolution in the birth-throes of pain and tribulation. The Army of the Union was organized with formidable numbers, an abundant commissariat, speedy transportation, adequate supplies, a thoroughly appointed medical department, and every equipment requisite to the conduct of modern war. In these essentials, certainly it was superior to its enemy; and though justly deserving the meed of praise, its proudest laurels are by no means concurrent with the heroism of the Army of the Revolution, as the effort of a people in their incipience to establish a government is more heroic than the effort of a people at their maturity to prevent its overthrow.

The Medical Department, as re-arranged October 6, 1780, consisted of a Director of the Military Hospitals of the Army, stationed at headquarters, a Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army, stationed with the army, three chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals, stationed variously at the principal hospitals, a purveyor and assistant, with their clerks, an apothecary and five assistants, fifteen hospital physicians and surgeons and twenty-six mates, detailed to different hospitals as required, nine stewards, three storekeepers, one clerk of the magazine, seven ward masters, seven matrons, thirty nurses and orderlies detailed from the ranks, or otherwise employed, as occasion demanded. As already stated, Dr. Cochran was appointed Surgeon-General of the Army April 11, 1777, and commissioned October 6, 1780, Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army, with Dr. William Shippen his superior as Director of the Military Hospitals. He continued in that capacity until the resignation of Dr. Shippen, when, January 19, 1781, he was advanced to the head of the medical department. Dr. James Craik, previously the first in order of the three chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals, was given the place of Chief Physician and



Surgeon of the Army, vacated by Dr. Cochran, and Dr. William Burnet, one of the fifteen hospital physicians and surgeons, was promoted to his place. The remaining two chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals were Drs. Malichi Treat and Charles McKnight. Dr. Thomas Bond was the purveyor and Andrew Cragie the apothecary. Military necessity decided the location of the hospitals. The most prominent were at the artillery huts near New Windsor, the Robinson House, West Point barracks, Morristown, Albany, Philadelphia, New Hampshire huts, New Boston, Fishkill, Yellow Springs, Williamsburgh and Trenton. An additional flying hospital accompanied the army, and small-pox hospitals were established as needed. The hospitals at the artillery huts, the barracks at West Point and the Robinson House, appear to have been designated by Congress. Returns from all of these, so frequent as to enable a statement to be tabulated and transmitted every month either to the chairman of the Medical Committee of Congress, the Board of War, or the Secretary of War, represented with periodical accuracy the physical condition of the army. The columns, which show for each month the treatment in hospital of an average of fifty of the wives and children of soldiers, happily disclose to the observation of the curious an exceptional benevolence in the usage of war.

The scale of compensation was at the extreme of moderation. In no degree, however, in the absence of value to the currency in which it was rated, could pay have been invested with the attraction of reward. Yet, it is submitted as not devoid of interest. To the office of director of the military hospitals was attached the pay of \$150 per month, 2 rations, 1 for servant and 2 of forage; to that of the chief physician and surgeon of the army, \$140 per month, two horses and wagon, and 2 rations of forage; to each of the three chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals, \$140 per month and 2 rations; to the purveyor, \$130, and his assistant, \$75 per month; to the apothecary, \$130 per month, and his two assistants, \$50 per month each; to the fifteen hospital physicians and surgeons, \$120 per month each, and to each of the 26 mates, \$50 per month. The stewards received each \$35 per month, the clerks and storekeepers \$2 per day, the seven matrons a half dollar each, and a ration per day, the thirty nurses each two shillings and a ration a day, and the orderlies, if soldiers, one shilling and a ration, and if citizens, two shillings and a ration a day.

The department at the South was organized by resolution of Congress of the 15th of May, 1781, with David Oliphant, of South Carolina, deputy director; Peter Fayssonx, chief physician of the hospitals—pay, \$140 per

month, 2 rations, and 2 of forage; James Browne, chief physician of the army—pay, \$140, 2 rations, and 2 of forage; Robert Johnson and Wm. Reed, hospital physicians, with pay of \$120 each per month, 1 ration, and 1 of forage; and Nathan Brownson, deputy-purveyor, all of whom were stationed in South Carolina. Subsequently, on the 20th of September, 1780, were appointed by resolution of Congress, Drs. Thomas, Tudor, Tucker and Vickars, physicians and surgeons, for the Southern Department, David Smith, deputy-purveyor, and John Carne, assistant deputy-apothecary.

Such was the medical department, to the administration of which Dr. Cochran was chosen because of his comprehensive experience and intimate knowledge of its details. The language of his letter from New Windsor, March 25, 1781, to Dr. Peter Turner, hospital physician and surgeon, "My appointment was unsolicited, and a rank to which I never aspired, being perfectly happy where I was," attests the modesty of his nature in the acceptance of an unsought and unexpected distinction. The fortunes of the country were then at their darkest—a helpless Congress, an empty treasury, and an exhausted people. Yet, he unhesitatingly undertook the responsibilities of the station, and cheerfully devoted his energies to the service of his country. Writing from New Windsor, March 26, 1781, to Dr. George Campbell, he said: "Whether my present station will contribute to my future happiness time only must discover. But if I have no better success than my predecessors, my lot must be unfortunate indeed. A determined resolution to conform to the rules of right, and that support which I have some reason to expect from every gentleman of the department will, I hope, protect me against the malevolence of my enemies, if I have any. I say, if I have any, for sure I am that I never put a thorn in any honest man's breast."

The temerity often generated by self-sufficiency was alien to his nature. When assuming his official responsibilities, he in appropriate words refers his conduct to the support he may deserve and receive from his official subalterns. "I thank you," he wrote to Dr. Binney, March 25, 1781, "for your very polite congratulations on my appointment, and the favorable sentiments you are pleased to entertain of my disposition, and the willingness you express of serving under my superintendence. In return, I only wish to act such a part as will entitle me to a continuation of your approbation, and that of every gentleman in the department." In a letter to Dr. Thomas Waring Morris, dated February 28, 1781, he said: "The gentlemen of the corps which I have the honor to superintend may be assured that every endeavour of mine shall be exerted to render them as happy as



possible." But his native benevolence was not consumed with the beneficent phrase of amiable intentions. His charities were conversant with the affairs of the humblest, and wherever misfortune interfered with the duties of dependents, or oppressed the deserving, his offices were interposed to alleviate or remove. Strong, however, as were these humane dispositions, they were duly subjected to the superior obligations of official responsibility, and their exercise duly restricted within the sphere of official trust.

From New Windsor, February 28, 1781, he wrote to Dr. George Stevenson, of Morristown: "Dear Sir, I was favoured with yours of the 19th inst. yesterday, and thank you for your congratulations on my appointment to the Directorship of the Hospitals. Whether I shall answer the expectations of the public in general, or of my friends in particular, will greatly depend on the gentlemen of the department, by a faithful discharge of their duty, and a strict observance of the rules laid down by Congress in the plan for conducting the Hospital Department. I believe that you are persuaded that you have my patronage and every good intention to your welfare. Therefore I should be very sorry that your situation should ever be such as to put it out of your power to comply with any orders you may receive from your superior. It is very evident that you cannot live on the air, and unless money is furnished, you cannot proceed to Virginia, where I do not believe that you will be ordered. But should you be so unfortunate, as it so badly accords with your circumstances, on application to Dr. Treat, I am persuaded he will order another in your place, you first making known to him your particular situation."

But in a letter to Dr. James Craik, the life-long friend and personal physician of Washington, Dr. Cochran expressed in the candor of mutual friendship sentiments which, under the circumstances, reflect honor on them both. "New Windsor, March 26, 1781. Dear Craik: The enclosed act of Congress appointing you Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army in my room, came to hand a few days since, under cover from the President of Congress. Give me leave to offer my congratulations on this appointment, as I know it is more agreeable to yourself than your former station, and more acceptable to the Commander-in-Chief and the whole army. You will not think me guilty of adulation, when I assure you that I would rather have complimented you on the occasion of your being appointed Director, than where you are, for many reasons; and I believe that every member of Congress will do me the justice to acknowledge that I gave you the preference upon every interview I had with them when conversing upon the subject. I know of none dissatisfied with my appointment. \* \* \* I hope to act such a part as to be out of the power of

friend or foe. \* \* \* I shall be happy to see you once more with us. I purpose to be the greater part of my time in the field. Perhaps, you will say, no thanks to you, for that a resolve passed a few days after you left Philadelphia ordering the Director to repair to Head Quarters, and to make that the chief place of his residence." The presence of the medical staff in the field indeed was demanded. In all the war, the doctor had been with the army, alleviating its sufferings, in the rigors of Valley Forge, and stimulating its convalescence in the camp at Morristown. The termination of the war found him at his post near the headquarters of the army.

The following letter, written while he was surgeon-general, to Jonathan Potts, then purveyor to the hospitals, represents concisely the condition of the hospitals, and the routine of their neglect during the period of the war, anterior to his accession to their care and direction.

" Morristown March 18, 1780.

Dear Sir:

I received your favour by Dr. Bond, and am extremely sorry for the present situation of the Hospital finances. Our stores have all been expended for two weeks past, and not less than six hundred regimental sick and lame, most of whom require some assistance, which being withheld, are languishing and must suffer. I flatter myself you have no blame in this matter; but curse on him or them by whom this evil is produced. The vengeance of an offended Deity must overtake the miscreants sooner or later. It grieves my soul to see the poor worthy brave fellows pine away for want of a few comforts, which they have dearly earned. I shall wait on his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and represent our situation, but I am persuaded it can have little effect, for what can he do? He may refer the matter to Congress, they to the Medical Committee, who will probably pow-wow over it awhile, and no more be heard of it. The few stores sent on by Dr. Bond in your absence have not yet arrived. I suppose owing to the badness of the roads. If they come, they will give us some relief for a few weeks

Compliments to all friends and believe me


Dear Sir yours very Sincerely  
John Cochran "

At no time did the army abound in medical stores. In the year 1781, however, they were nearly extinct. Untended wounds or languishing disease filled hospitals destitute of medicines, and swelled the daily returns

of death. Scarcely was convalescence a boon, when the lack of subsistence faced the soldier in the hospital, and compelled him to beg in the streets for the necessities of life. A crisis more strenuous and an hour more appalling can hardly be conceived than when want and nakedness vainly craved mercy from frigid skies, and the delirium of fever reproached the physician with the futility of his art. In a letter to Dr. Treat from New Windsor, March 25, 1781, Dr. Cochran said: "The state of our finances is such that it will be impossible to lay in a magazine for the campaign. Therefore we must, in a great measure, depend on purchasing as we go." February 28, 1781, he wrote from headquarters near New Windsor, to Dr. Thomas Waring Morris: "The want of necessary stores for our Hospitals affords a gloomy prospect;" and again on the same day wrote to Abram Clark, Chairman of the Medical Committee in Congress: "We have few deaths yet. The poor fellows suffer for want of necessary supplies, which I hope soon will be afforded them. Otherwise there will be little encouragement for physicians and surgeons." To Samuel Huntington, the President of Congress, he wrote from Philadelphia, May 24, 1781: "The Hospitals are in the utmost distress for want of necessities for the sick. In some of them we have not stores, and in others the supplies are so trifling and insignificant as to be of little or no service. I am sensible of the difficulties and embarrassments of Congress, but am also sensible that unless some speedy and effectual measures are taken to relieve the sick, a number of the valuable soldiers in the American Army will perish through want of necessities, who would soon be serving their country in the field could they be supplied. The surgeon who has the care of the Hospital at Boston writes me that his sick are in great want, and that he is not in a situation to procure any relief. At Albany the only article of stores is about sixty gallons of vinegar, and the sick suffer extremely at times for want of provisions. The other Hospitals are in a similar condition." He repeated to Abram Clark, April 30, 1781, from New Windsor, his previous admonition of the 28th of February of that year: "I have from all quarters the most melancholy complaints of the sufferings of the sick in the hospitals for want of stores and necessities that you can conceive, and unless some speedy remedy is applied, the consequence must be very fatal. Dr. Warren, who has charge of the Boston hospital, represents his situation in a very distressed condition, and prays most earnestly for relief"—a picture gloomy enough, but scarcely as dark as that drawn in the following words to the purveyor, Dr. Thomas Bond, from New Windsor, March 25, 1781: "I was favored with yours of the 20th February, about fifteen days ago, on my way to Albany,

which accounts for my not answering you until now—as I only returned last night. I am sorry to inform you that I found that Hospital entirely destitute of all kinds of stores, except a little vinegar, which was good for nothing—and frequently without bread or beef for many days—so that the doctor, under those circumstances, was obliged to permit such of the patients as could walk into town to beg provisions among the inhabitants. \* \* \* I pity our distressed condition on the score of money, and unless a sufficiency can be procured at the opening of the campaign we are undone.” If to these instances of official decrepitude is added the significant request made to Dr. Thomas Bond, purveyor at Norwich, no evidence will be wanting of the penury of the medical department, in all that appertains to an effective or even tolerable arm of the public service—Camp near Dobb’s Ferry, July 26, 1781: “Could you not, by advertisement, be able to procure a quantity of old linen from the good ladies of your city—I was obliged, after the last skirmish, when fifty men were wounded, to give every sheet I had in the world, but two, to make lint.”

It has been seen that he alluded in his letter to Samuel Huntington, the President of Congress, to the failure of Congress to exert the effort required to relieve the deplorable condition of the medical service. Several valuable physicians and surgeons had resigned since the new arrangement of the department went into effect. He suggested to Congress, in his letter to Samuel Huntington, May 24, 1781, that there were “several vacancies for Hospital Physicians and Surgeons, occasioned by resignation, and that in case we should have an active campaign, the department may suffer for want of a proper number of assistants. The eldest mates are qualified to fill their places, and if they could be appointed by Congress with propriety, it would have a tendency to promote the good of the service.” In a letter to the Board of War, from New Windsor, July 4, 1781, he represents that these vacancies “leave us only eight Hospital physicians and surgeons out of the fifteen established by Congress,” three of whom being employed respectively at Boston, Philadelphia and Yellow Springs, “there will remain only five to do the whole duty of the Hospitals of the army, a number very inadequate to the service. The four eldest mates whom I recommended to Congress are very uneasy, and unless promoted, I have too much reason to believe will leave the service very soon; and this, together with other mates who have resigned since my arrival in camp, will deprive us of a great part of our medical aid.” A disregard of this recommendation seems to have been productive of much inconvenience and disorder. Evidently the political necessities of his position did not dispose the




average congressman to supply a vacancy with the candidate best qualified for the place, to the exclusion of an incompetent candidate of his own. The glimpse thus had of the influences which dominated the public service of the Revolution reflects a very exact resemblance upon those which impress the public service now, and unpleasantly imply the painful truth that even in conjunctures of greatest hazard, private interests are apt to obstruct the public weal. The course urged upon the Board of War in this communication, if continuously pursued, might perhaps have obviated the necessity of reform in the civil service of the Government to-day; for in the same letter occur these words: "I am altogether averse to any regular succession of promotion of physicians and surgeons in the Hospital Department; for the situation of the medical gentlemen in our service is very different from other services. The medical officers in the former have been pushed up as occasion required, many of whom were not the least qualified (to say no worse of them), while those of the latter undergo a strict examination, and in general are every way qualified; and I would further observe, particularly in the British service, there is no regular succession, but such are generally promoted in the Hospital Departments as are more capable and attentive, whether from the Regimental Surgeons or Hospital Mates." The effect of these persistent official derelictions is thus announced to the Board of War, August 29, 1781, from Headquarters, east side of Hudson River: "Dr. Marshall, one of our most valuable mates, has resigned within a few days, which will be followed by several others who have been long in service, and acted some years in a superior capacity under the old arrangement, and accepted of mates' stations with an expectation of promotion. A favorable opportunity offered to retain these gentlemen in service by promoting them to the present vacancies, but it appears as if Congress had forgotten that either Hospitals, sick or wounded, had any existence."

Deficient, however, as was the medical department in the means of administering to the health or comfort of the army, there comes to us, among the causes, a remarkable instance of personal obliquity, in strong contrast with the ardor of self-sacrifice which characterized the patriotism of the time. In a letter to Abram Clark, Chairman of the Medical Committee, Dr. Cochran said: "I have a letter from Dr. Cragie, our chief apothecary, now at Boston, informing me that Dr. Foster, the former Deputy Director to the Eastward, has absolutely refused giving up the medicines, instruments, &c., purchased by him for public use, which deranges us much. There is a quantity of Hospital stores at Windsor and Danbury, in Connecticut, in the same circumstances, which he has refused

also. I have taken a short cut, and by stealing a march on him, may probably obtain part, if not the whole. It appears very extraordinary that a public officer, purchasing stores, &c., on public credit, shall, when out of office, retain large quantities of those articles in his hands, in pretence that his accounts are not settled, when perhaps the public owe him nothing, and the sick are perishing for want of these very stores." The "short cut" appears to have been the device of despatching Dr. Ledyard, the assistant purveyor at Fishkill, upon a stolen march to Danbury for the medicines and stores, the failure of which scheme is subsequently thus recorded in the letter to Mr. Clark, which announces the abstraction: "Since sitting down to write, I received a letter from Dr. Ledyard, our Assistant Purveyor at Fishkill, telling me that he could not possibly proceed to Windsor, in Connecticut, in quest of the stores already mentioned, for want of money, not being able to raise as much as would put a hoop on a cask, or a board on a box, if it was wanting."

But the doctor was not thus to be baffled, as we learn by his letter subsequently to Dr. Ledyard, from New Windsor, March 24, 1781: "I know not what to advise you. I hope you have sent some one with the officer to Danbury, to take charge of the stores. Those at Windsor must take their chance until some method can be fallen on to raise the wind, to carry our scheme into execution. In the mean time, either from public or private credit, you can proceed to the business. I will be accountable for the expense attending the procuring the stores." On the 25th of the same month, a letter to Dr. Thomas Bond, the purveyor, announces: "The stores from Danbury have arrived at Fishkill." Thus the extreme of selfishness was confronted and defeated by a prompt beneficence, worthy of the cause to which it was devoted.

Such was the destitution which paralyzed, and very nearly extirpated, the hospitals during the greater part of the war. Under the recuperating effects of its foreign alliances, the country emerged slowly from its indigence, and the medical department gradually expanded to its full functions in the dispensation of the supplies procured from France. A letter from New Windsor, February 2, 1782, directs Dr. Isaac Ledyard, assistant purveyor, to "order Dr. Johonet, the assistant apothecary, to take such quantity of the medicine lately received from France as will be necessary for supplying the Hospitals;" while an earlier letter of September 1, 1781, from Headquarters, east side of Hudson River, to Dr. Bond, the purveyor, thus joyously announced the vigor imparted by France to the energy of the war, and her generous ministration to the exhausted resources of the country: "Colonel Lawrence, who passed through camp last night, on his





way to Philadelphia, has put us in good spirits from the supply of money and everything else requisite, arrived in Boston from our good and generous ally, in consequence of which I hope we shall soon be in high *Blast*."

But desperate as was the condition of the medical department, that of its officers was not less afflictive. It could not be otherwise, that when the sources of general prosperity vanished, individuals should be oppressed with the utmost penury. We have seen the soldier begging for bread; we shall see the officer in quest of clothing. The ordinary uses of life were circumscribed by the blight of indigence. It extended to all stations, and affected all classes. Calamity impended over families, and want intensified the rigor of war with menaced starvation. The outline of the picture startles, but its lineaments revolt. In the letter previously quoted, to Abram Clark, President of Congress, February 28, 1781, Dr. Cochran said: "I hope some pay is ordered to be advanced to the officers of the department, without which it cannot much longer exist. Many of us have not received a shilling in near two years, nor can we procure public clothing."

From New Windsor he wrote, March 26, 1781, to Dr. Craik: "We are so squeezed for paper, that I can only afford you a half sheet for cover and all." From New Windsor, March 25, 1781, he wrote to Dr. Peter Turner, Hospital physician and surgeon, Norwich, Connecticut: "Several of the Hospital physicians and surgeons have resigned since the new arrangement took place, owing, I believe, principally to their not being able to subsist themselves in the service, for it is upwards of two years since many of us have received a shilling from the continent, and there is as little prospect now of pay as there was two years ago." Again, under date of April 2, 1781, he wrote: "Neither myself nor any of the gentlemen who have served with me have received a shilling from the public in twenty-three months, which has, as you reasonably may suppose, reduced us to some difficulties. \* \* \* Paper is so scarce that I am obliged to take a leaf out of an Orderly Book."

To Abram Clark, President of Congress, he wrote from New Windsor, April 30, 1781: "I have sent the originals (Hospital returns), not having paper enough to transcribe them into form. Several of the Hospital physicians and surgeons complain that they have not paper sufficient to make out the necessary Hospital returns; therefore, are obliged to omit them." To Robert Morris, from the camp near Dobb's Ferry, July 26, 1781, he wrote: "For God's sake, help us as soon as you can. Most of our officers have not received one shilling of pay for upwards of two years." To Mr. Nitchie, formerly hospital commissary, Headquarters Peekskill, he wrote

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August 25, 1781: "I am sorry you have not been able to keep your family from starving, but on credit. Your situation is like many others in our service, for I have not received one shilling as pay in twenty-eight months, and there are few among us who have been in better circumstances." In the following passage from a letter to Dr. Treat, from New Windsor, March 25, 1781, we are admitted to a pathetic scene relieved by a gleam of illusive fortune, as quickly quenched in disappointment: "Dr. Young showed me your letter enclosing a resolve of Congress, respecting the depreciation, &c., which made him happy; and, poor fellow, he wanted comfort as much as any man I ever saw. His situation is truly pitiable, and I hope something will turn up which will give him relief."

It is true that Congress at length issued warrants for the pay of the army. But the warrants were as worthless as the credit of Congress, and utterly incapable of relief. He wrote to Dr. Thos. Bond, camp near Dobb's Ferry: "Am very sorry that there is no probability of our receiving money on the warrants obtained for the use of our department, the want of which you may reasonably suppose has a bad effect, both with respect to the officers and the poor suffering soldiers, who deserve a better fate."

As may be supposed, the destitution of the army, both of officers and men, occupied attention largely with efforts to mitigate it. The evil obviously was incident to the occasion, and inherently the chief obstacle to the successful conduct of the war. As we have seen, the distress fell heavily upon the medical department. Its necessities were, in truth, but the total of those of the army, concentrated in effect upon its health, and expressed in representations of the deplorable want of every appliance essential to the preservation of life. The complaints of the sufferers were importunate and ceaseless. As the head of the department, Dr. Cochran, while the recipient of numberless petitions, rarely caused disappointment to the expectations of the petitioners. In his letter (without date) to Dr. Thomas Bond, after stating that "Dr. Wilson urges his coming to Philadelphia to assist in adjusting some matters relative to the department," he said, "I only wait for the arrival of Dr. Craik to set out, but I wish my presence could be dispensed with, for I am most heartily tired of *shuling* my way so often to that place without one shilling in my pocket;" and in the following paragraph of his communication, while in Philadelphia, May 24, 1781, to "Samuel Huntington, Esq., President of Congress," he alludes to the personal expense and the official inconvenience he incurred, in redressing complaints, by importuning Congress for their relief: "Should Congress wish any further or more particular informa-



tion on the subject, I shall be ready to furnish it, and would be obliged to your Excellency to have the matter taken up as soon as possible, that the distresses of the Hospital may be relieved, and that I may be enabled to return to the army, as neither my finances nor my duty will permit me to remain longer in this city."

But "the pay" of the officers and men was a theme of more serious anxiety. The magnitude and extent of its arrears were grave causes of apprehension. While it buoyed the hopes of the enemy, it occupied unremittingly the deliberations of Congress. Its amount was not in dispute. The default was in the depreciation of the currency in which it was paid. At length Congress determined to draw its warrant, for the depreciation, on the credit of the State where the officer served. It seems, however, that a frivolous and impertinent distinction was made by the Legislature of New York against the officers of the medical line. The ire of the department was aflame, and not in the most courtly phrase discharged in the following terms, used at New Windsor, July 5, 1781, to Dr. Bond, one of the sufferers: "The State of New York has refused the warrant in your favour drawn by Congress, and have refused to comply with the requisition of Congress for making up the depreciation to the officers of the Medical line. They are most certainly an execrable set of —. A new Assembly is called, which may probably think better of the matter, and do justice."

In a letter to Dr. Treat, from Camp near Dobb's Ferry, July 18, 1781, occurs this passage: "I have been uneasy about the Marquis's situation." Doubtless this was the occasion referred to by the Marquis in his letter to him from St. Jean d'Angely, June 10, 1799, in which he says: "My health, dear doctor—that very health you have almost brought back from the other world, has been since as strong and hearty as possible \* \* \* As during my fit of illness the watch I then had was of great service to you for feeling the pulse, I thought such a one might be convenient, which I have intrusted to the Chevalier de la (name illegible), and I beg leave to present you with. I did fancy that adorning it with my heroic friend's picture would make it acceptable."

An incident cursorily stated in his letter to Dr. Craik, of March 26, 1781, from New Windsor, while affording an inkling of the difficulties of land carriage, admits us to a view of the affluent hospitality of the landed gentry of New York a century ago, and yet more agreeably surprises us with an intimation that in all "the time that tried men's souls," the ruggedness of war was smoothed and its asperities refined by the amenities attendant upon the presence of wives and daughters in camp. "I am just returned," he says, "from an eighteen day's tour up the North River to

attend Mrs. Washington. We had an agreeable jaunt, excepting the badness of the roads. But we met with so much hospitality wherever we went, that compensation was made for the difficulty of travelling."

Probably, the "agreeable jaunt" was to the manor of Livingston, and terminated at the hospitable manor-house of its proprietor, Walter Livingston, the husband of Mrs. Cochran's daughter Cornelia, by her first husband. After the destruction of their domicile at Brunswick by the British, Mrs. Cochran spent much of her time, during the presence of her husband at the headquarters of the army, with her daughter; and it may have been that the hospitable entertainment of Mrs. Washington on this occasion was not disconnected with the invitation of the General, over a year before, to Mrs. Cochran and Mrs. Livingston to partake of the dinner which, in his letter to the Doctor, he thus humorously imagines and describes:

"West Point, August 16, 1799: Dear Doctor: I have asked Mrs. Cochran and Mrs. Livingston to dine with me to-morrow; but ought I not to apprise you of their fare? As I hate deception, even when imagination is concerned, I will.

"It is needless to promise that my table is large enough to hold the ladies—of this they had ocular demonstration yesterday. To say how it is usually covered, is rather more essential, and this shall be the purport of my letter.

"Since my arrival at this happy spot, we have had a ham, sometimes a shoulder of bacon, to grace the head of the table. A piece of roast beef adorns the foot, and a small dish of green beans—almost imperceptible—decorates the centre. When the cook has a mind to cut a figure, and this I presume he will attempt to-morrow, we have two beefsteak pies, or dishes of crabs in addition, one on each side of the centre dish, dividing the space, and reducing the distance between dish and dish to about six feet, which, without them, would be nearly twelve apart. Of late he has had the surprising luck to discover that apples will make pies; and it is a question, if amidst the violence of his efforts, we do not get one of apples, instead of having both of beef.

"If the ladies can put up with such entertainment, and submit to partake of it on plates once tin, but now iron, not become so by the labours of hard scouring, I shall be happy to see them.

"Dear Sir, Yours  
George Washington."

Quaintly is revealed the peculiar prejudice of the revolutionary period against the parasites of royalty and its scions. The conflict of our ances-



tors with British oppression extended to the persons of those who represented it. It is not singular, therefore, that the appearance in America of William Henry (subsequently William IV.) one of the sons of George III. and then a midshipman under Admiral Digby, should have provoked a flood of popular derision. It is curious to observe the spirit in which the apparition was discussed by those whose lives had been dedicated to the service of their country. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the opinions of the camp were reflected by the sense of the people. From camp, near Peekskill, October 10, 1781, Dr. Cochran writes to Dr. Craik:

"Digby is arrived at New York with 3 ships of the line and some frigates. With him came one of the Royal Whelps from Great Britain. The address from the Governor and Council with his answer you will see in the public papers. A young lad who came out of New York some days ago, being examined before General Heath, was asked if he saw the young Prince. He answered yes—he saw many get a look at him and he thought he might as well see him as the rest. He was asked what he was like, and what he thought of him. He said he expected to have seen something more in him than other people, but was disappointed, excepting his being the ugliest person he ever saw, with a very large nose. His eyes resembled those of a wall-eyed horse, and his legs, being all of a thickness, from his knees to his ankles; but that he had a fine gold coat. A pretty representative the fellow will make to cause a rebellion to sink at his approach. I think from the description given of him, he is much better calculated to cause an abortion in the fair sex than to quell a rebellion:"

But when domestic treason incurred the popular displeasure, the indignation of the army was intense. The crime of Arnold not only was the theme of denunciation; his very name was proscribed. "Ledyard," wrote Dr. Cochran, October 1, 1781, to Thomas Bond Purv'r, "has gone to New London, where he has sustained the loss of an uncle and brother killed, and another brother taken by that infamous scoundrel Arnold."

In an application to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, while in Philadelphia, May 24, 1781, Dr. Cochran thus expressed himself;

"I have also to request that the Hospital Officers should be entitled to receive their letters free from the expense of postage, as well as the officers of the line. The propriety of this will be evident when I mention that returns are to be sent from every part of the continent to me as Director, and the expense of Postage would nearly swallow the whole of my pay."

The result of the application is thus recorded: New Windsor, June 30, 1781, Doctor Townshend, Albany. "All letters to and from me are post-free. This I accomplished when in Philadelphia, though I had not interest

to obtain the like for the department in general, which was my desire. I labored hard for that purpose."

A serious oversight had forbidden to the disabled and deprived inmates of the hospitals the solace of religious instruction during the term of the war. Dr. Cochran, from the camp at Fishkill, October 9, 1781, thus directed the attention of Thomas McKean, President of Congress, to the subject: "Before I conclude permit me, Sir, to suggest that while we are endeavoring to provide for the care of the body, should we not pay some attention to the comfort of the souls of our sick soldiers in the Hospitals, by appointing a Chaplain to perform that duty. The Brigade Chaplains, either find it inconvenient, or have not an inclination to officiate in that capacity. It is customary to have a Chaplain to the Hospitals of other nations, to whom we would not wish to yield in point of Christianity." There is no record that the suggestion was acted upon. But it is certain that chaplains devoted to the welfare of the sick, wounded, and dying, in hospitals or field, have never since been wanting in our wars.

On the 30th of April, 1781, he announced to Abram Clark, chairman of the Medical Committee, from New Windsor: "As soon as my strength will enable me, I propose setting out for Philadelphia. On the 5th inst. I was taken with a pleurisy, which has confined me till yesterday, and has left me very weak." On the 23d of March, 1781, from New Windsor he writes Dr. Craik that "his poor little boy lies ill of a fever." New Windsor, 30th June, 1781, he requested Dr. Townshend of Albany, to give his love to his son, "and give him some of your pious advice. You will oblige me much in enquiring of his tutor how he comes on, and acquaint me in your next. He has been hitherto too much neglected, which causes me more anxiety than perhaps I otherwise might feel." From Albany, 17th March, 1782, he informs Dr. Bond that he came there three weeks before "to settle my boys at school, and to endeavour to dispose of some of my property for their and my subsistence." From Head Quarters east side of Hudson River, Aug. 29, 1781, he communicates to the Board of War: "Our Army, till within a few months, has been remarkably healthy. But Dysentery, Intermittent and remittent fevers, with a few putrid diseases begin to prevail," and again, Sept. 26th of the same year, from the Camp at Peckskill, that "the chief part of the sick in the Army and hospitals, is composed of the new levies and the three months men."


From these letters we catch glimpses of the man—a type of that heroism that consists in the consecration of self to duty, and in its beneficial and conscientious performance. The heroism of the soldier is eclipsed by the heroism of the surgeon; and however public sentiment may adopt the

captain of war as the hero of the day, the emancipator from the thralldom of prejudice and ignorance, the vindicator of humanity in the persons of its oppressed and suffering children, the steadfast disciple of the divinity of manhood, and the martyr to its assertion in adversity and persecution—these shall survive as the heroes of the world, when the fame of the warrior shall have slaked and his laurels have withered in the light of a higher civilization. And so he who treads the endangered plain to alleviate and not to inflict, to retrieve and not to dissipate the crushed energies of life, who sedulously devotes his whole of man to the attainment of honor by a just comprehension of life's obligations, and by their thorough discharge becomes the heir of a glory truer and more consummate in the realms of time than the illusory gleam of the conquering sword. Dr. Cochran was of stately presence, of fair and florid complexion, features which testified his Scots-Irish descent, and an expression indicative of genial and benevolent qualities. His reliance was on the merit of which he was conscious, his credentials the evidence furnished by his deeds. The volunteer surgeon's mate of the French war, and the volunteer physician and surgeon of the war of the Revolution, became the head of the medical department of the army by superior expertness in the functions confided to him, and superior alacrity in their performance. An unusual degree of personal modesty precluded the expectation and quelled the desire of official preferment. Not only was his promotion unsolicited, but it was a surprise to the sincerity with which he had urged the undeniable qualifications of his friend and advocated his claims to the position. The separate trials to which he was exposed were but the enumerated perils that lay in the path of the Revolution. The necessities which paralyzed the officer were lamented only as impediments which prejudiced the service. The malignity which committed his dwelling to the flames, and the disease which afflicted his little son and prostrated himself, he suffered only in the contraction of his usefulness to his country. He pawned his personal credit to restore to the public service the property withheld from its use. The last sheets from his bed were bestowed on the exigencies of the wounded. A glowing humanity intensified his attention to the sick, and with an executive capacity as thorough as rare, he was author, adviser and director of multifarious reforms in the army. He was the support and buttress of the languishing and suffering medical department. He ineffectually appealed to Congress that exemption of the officers from liability to postage should remove from their correspondence an odious duty on their domestic affections. His effort was strenuous to compensate to both officers and men the depreciation of their pay, and having accomplished

the full circuit of their temporal wants, he contributed to their spiritual welfare a tender and fervid appeal to the President of Congress, that the consolations of religion should be extended to the inmates of the hospitals by chaplains appointed for the purpose. With enviable patience, under troubled dispensations, and with faith in the rectitude of the cause of the people, he witnessed the return of health to the army, of prosperity to the country, and the establishment of a free and permanent government in a new world.

Such and like considerations are necessary to the comprehension of the true proportions of the war of the Revolution. Interesting and by no means uninformative research might educe from the social condition and domestic relations of the people an important factor in the problem of rebellion. A country of unrestricted extent was sparsely occupied with a primitive and hardy race. In the far removed centers of population and wealth, social intercourse partook naturally of the habits engrafted by the early and intimate association of the colonies with the mother country. Fortunate opulence asserted against indigence the privileges of class, and forthwith intrenched itself in the pretensions, and assumed the cognizance of an aristocracy. Courtly English customs were reflected in the intercourse which regulated their life, and the interval between the people and the great families, when established, increased with their growth in significance and strength. Confessedly, the germ of American Independence found no root in the houses of the great. It sprang from the rugged bosom of the people. It was indigenous there. Not that it was unfaithfully protected or negligently cultivated by the magnates of the land. It was theirs by adoption; not indeed in the primal vigor and purity of its uncomplying inception, which demanded separation, but in the subsidiary of compromise, which contemplated adjustment. Hence it is true, that the march of Revolution was vigorous and united; but the consummate flower of Independence sprang rather from the humble homes of the tillers of the soil, than from the stately mansions of its opulent aristocracy.

In the light of a century it is difficult to exaggerate the grandeur of the victory. Popular institutions, responsible for the good government of millions engaged in the innumerable pursuits which construct the material prosperity and constitute the social and moral character of a people, an expansion of enterprise boundless except by the limits of the possible, an intensity of purpose concentrated upon the attempt, and devoted to the accomplishment of gigantic undertakings in every industrial department, and a position achieved in science, literature, and the arts, competing with European schools, reflect an extraordinary lustre upon the armies and





their leaders, that raised us to an equality with the governments of the Old World, and made us first among the governments of the New.

But it is not this consummation that Americans should consult when measuring the proportions of the Revolutionary War. The magnitude of the conflict is more truly expressed in the condition of the opposing forces that waged it. A century had not sufficed to render practicable communication between the thirteen colonies, which, though of coincident boundaries, were separated by tracts of dense wilderness and ranges of impassable mountains. Population, grouped principally in isolated spots, near the sea-board, was small, but its area large and sparsely settled. In most part exposed to a rigorous climate, it suffered both the ravage of an inhospitable winter and the onset of a more inhospitable foe. The tillage of the soil made niggard return to the labor of the farmer. Individual subsistence depended on daily labor, and the want of public revenue implied an empty Treasury. Ignorant of arms, save as required by the exposure of frontier life, without military training, and destitute of the equipment, the stores, and the ammunition of war—a people thus unprovided, unprepared, and defenceless, were precipitated into war with a nation of vast and available resources, of incalculable power in the cabinet and field, with veteran armies and navies at command, and distinguished with the renown of enemies vanquished and victories won. Eight years the struggle continued. Its ruthless proportions were not remitted to the alleviation of a noble and generous nurture, nor were the resources of a high civilization counted in reserve among the energies of the Revolutionary army. The flame they followed by day, that warmed them by night, that lighted their darkness and guided all their way, was the flame of liberty, inextinguishable in their bosoms. This was their reserve, and to it must be ascribed the issue of the war—to the unquenchable patriotism of the commonalty of America.


*John Cochrane*

## ONE PHASE IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF VIRGINIA

It is an evidence of the great value of the "Americana" in the "John Carter Brown Library" in Providence, R. I., that a clergyman in what, especially in New England, we used to regard as a far-off city, in the northwest of our country, the city of Minneapolis, not long since sent to the librarian, to ascertain if a certain rare old sermon which he wished to consult was in the library. It might be taken for granted, with almost absolute certainty, that the coveted treasure was there, for Mr. Brown spared neither pains nor expense in procuring everything that would throw light on American history. In looking over this discourse, which was readily found in the Library, the writer of this article discovered some very interesting passages which had a special bearing upon one phase in the early colonial history of Virginia, to wit, the founding of Jamestown in 1606. It may not be without interest to direct the attention of the readers of the Magazine of American History to the matter referred to.

The story of the dreadful hardships and sufferings of all sorts which the Jamestown colony endured is familiar to all students of American history. Only the great genius and the remarkable qualities of character of the celebrated John Smith saved it from utter ruin. He had the good sense to see that those who had embarked at home with so much zeal in the enterprise, and had assumed such heavy pecuniary responsibilities in its promotion, had made the gravest mistakes in encouraging the emigration of *such* men as had come to Virginia. Of course, only failure befell the enterprise, to the disgust and indignation of the home corporation. "When you send again," wrote Smith, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers of trees' sorts, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have."

The remonstrances of Smith availed but little to bring back men's minds to the sober conviction of the exact state of things in the colony, and the complete folly of the sanguine hopes which were indulged, that the most wonderful success would follow a continued prosecution of the work in which the Virginia Corporation was engaged. We are told that "the enthusiasm of the English seemed exalted by the train of misfortunes and more vast and honorable plans were conceived, which were to be



effected by more numerous and opulent associates. Not only were the limits of the colony extended, the company was enlarged by the subscriptions of many of the nobility and gentry of England, and of the tradesmen of London."

In the midst of all this high-wrought enthusiasm, similar, no doubt, to what was seen in our own country in the time of the great California fever, there were still not a few grave sceptics—men who questioned whether the splendid results predicted would ever really be reached. It was just at this time that the sermon was preached, a copy of which, as has been intimated, is now in the "John Carter Brown Library." The preacher was the Reverend Daniel Price, "Chapleine in Ordinaire to the *Prince*, and Master of Artes of Exeter Colledge in Oxford." The place in which the sermon was delivered was "Paule's Crosse," and the time "Rogation Sunday," May 28, 1609, a day or two before the confirmation of the new charter which conferred upon the Virginia Corporation such vast powers, making it virtually independent of the monarch.

Like other preachers who, watching the drift of public opinion, have framed their discourses so as to make them reflect the views of their hearers, our "Chapleine in Ordinaire" took severely to task those who had pursued a course calculated to discourage those who had embarked in a scheme on the accomplishment of which so many sanguine hopes were built. The text of the sermon was Acts ix. 4: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Without giving any general abstract of the discourse as a whole, we refer now only to the special matter to which we have called attention. And in doing this, we take the liberty to preserve the exact phraseology and style of spelling as we find them in the sermon itself.


"If there bee any that haue opposed any action intended to the glory of God and sauing of soules, and haue stayed the happy proceeding in any such notion, let him know that he is a persecutor and an aduersary of Christ. In which *Quacre* give me leave to examine the lying speeches that haue incuriously vilified and traduced a great part of the glory of God, the honour of our Land, ioy of our nation, and expectation of many wife and noble Senators of this kingdom—I mean in the *Plantation* of Virginia." He then alludes to the loss sustained by Henry the Seventh, in a certain colonial enterprise which accrued to the advantage of the Spaniards, through the mistaken and narrow policy of the English, and expresses the opinion that "the Soules of those Dreamers doe seeme by a *Pithagoricall* transanimation to bee come into some of those scandelous and slanderous Detractors of that most noble *Ioyage*. Surely if the prayers of all good Christians preuayle, the expectation of the wisest and noblest, the knowl-

edge of the most experimented and learnedst, the relation of the best traue'd, and obseruanest be true, it is like to be the most worthy voyage that was euer effected by any Christian in descrying any country of the world, both for the peace of the Entry, for the plenty of the Country, and for the Clymate."

And now the worthy "Chapleine" rises to a state bordering well-nigh on ecstasy as he proceeds to depict the marvelous charms of that Paradise beyond the seas.

"Seeing," says he, "that the Country is not vnlike to equalize (though not *India* for gold)"—and as if he would paint the picture so as to make it correspond with what was in the imagination of his hearers, he adds, "which is not impossible yet." Ah! the "*sacra fames auri*," what an inappeasable hunger is that to stir up! The preacher goes on to compare Virginia with "*Tyrus* for Colours, *Basan* for Woods, *Persia* for Oyles, *Arabia* for Spices, *Spaine* for silks, *Tharsis* for shipping, *Netherlands* for Fish, *Bononia* for fruite and by tillage, *Babylon* for Corne, besides the abundance of Mulberries, Minerals, Mettals, Pearles, Gummes, Grapes, Deere, Fowle, Drugges for Physiche, hearbes for food, rootes for Colours, Ashes for Sope, Timber for building, pasture for feeding, riuers for fishing, and whatsoever Commodity England wanteth. The Philosopher commendeth the Temperature, the Marchant the Commodity, the Politician the opportunity, the Diuine the Pietie in conuerting many soules."

He then goes on to tell who are the promoters of the enterprise of such glorious possibilities—"our gracious King," "our wisest and greatest nobles," "a worthy, honorable and religious Lord"—alluding, we presume, to Cecil—"many parties of this land, both clergy and laity." He declares that "euery Christian ought to lend his helping hand, seeing the Angell of Virginia cryeth out to this land, as the Angell of Macedonia did to *Paul*, '*O come and help us.*'" He would convince his hearers, after quoting the dreadful curse against Meroz, of the awful jeopardy in which they place themselves, if they persist in opposing this pious scheme. "Whosoever they be that purposely withstand or confront this most Christian, most Honourable Voyage, let him read that place and feare." Rising to still sublimer heights in his eloquent portrayal of the immense good that is sure to follow this Virginia enterprise, he asks, "Shall scepticall Humorists bee a meanes to keep such an honour from vs, such a blessing from them? No, my Beloved, you will make a Sauadge Country to become a Sanctified Country. You will obtaine their best commodities, they will obtaine the sauing of their soules, you will enlarge the boundes of this kingdome, nay, the boundes of heaven, and all the Angells that behold this, if they reioyce



so much at the Conuersion of one sinner, O what will the ioy be at the conuersion of fo many." In an outburst of glowing exhortation he thus brings to a close what he has to say on the subject of which he is treating: "Goe on as ye haue begunne, and the Lord shall bee with you—goe and possesse the land—it is a good land, a land flowing with milk and honey; God shall bless you, and the ends of the world shall honour you."

It requires but little knowledge of human nature to understand what a furor of excitement such a harangue must have stirred in the minds of not a few poor dupes, who went away from "Paules Cross" on that "Rogation Sunday" in 1609, determined, if need be, "to rake and scrape" all the funds they could, and embark in an enterprise of what must have been made to appear to them to be of such magnificent certainties. How soon the bubble burst! The wise suggestions of John Smith were not heeded. The new emigrants—possibly some of them may have been among the hearers of the Rev. Daniel Price's sermon—were, we are told, dissolute gallants, packed off to escape worse destinies at home, broken-down tradesmen, gentlemen impoverished in spirit and fortune: rakes and libertines, men more fitted to corrupt, than to found a commonwealth. Not long after the arrival of these ungracious adventurers, Smith, really the life and soul of the colony, was disabled by a gunpowder explosion, and was compelled to return to England for surgical treatment. After his departure, things went rapidly to ruin. Provisions became scarce, the Indians refused to furnish any supplies. If persons wandered out into the open country in search of food, they were quite sure to be cut off. Plans, it is said, were laid by the natives to starve and put to a horrible death the whole community. Some thirty desperate men, among the colonists, seized a ship, and sailed forth to the broad seas as pirates. In six months after the return of Smith to England, the colony was reduced from four hundred and ninety persons, through idleness, dissolute lives, and famine, to sixty, and as the historian tells us, "these were so feeble and dejected, that if relief had been delayed but ten days longer, they also must have utterly perished."

The story of the terrible crisis to which these early settlers of Jamestown had come, has all the interest and pathos of a tragical romance. Sir Thomas Gates, who had embarked from England with a number of emigrants for Virginia, had been shipwrecked on the Bermudas. Although his ship was a total loss, the passengers all escaped and reached the shore in safety. For nine months they lived on their island home, the natural products of a tropical soil furnishing them an abundance of food. Availing themselves of the timber from the wreck of their old ship, and of the co-

dars which they found upon the island, they built two vessels, and set sail for what they expected to find a prosperous and successful colony in Jamestown. "How great, then, was their horror," says the historian, "as they came among the scenes of death and misery, of which the gloom was increased by the prospect of continued scarcity." The despairing, famine-stricken colonists clung to the new-comers with the wild desperation of drowning men. The only feasible course which Sir Thomas Gates could take under the circumstances was to set sail for Newfoundland, and turn over the half-starved colonists to the tender mercies of the English fishermen. Nothing but the persistent will of Gates prevented the men from setting fire to a place associated in their minds with so much misery. He was the last man, to leave the wretched, forlorn place. The sad record is, that as the little remnant of a company, which had comparatively so recently left their homes in England, inflated with such proud hopes, now reduced from nearly five hundred to sixty persons, turned their backs on the deserted place, "none dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness." The end of this part of the Jamestown tragedy is told in few words. "They fell down the stream with the tide, but the next morning, as they drew near the mouth of the river, they encountered the long-boat of Lord Delaware, who had arrived on the coast with emigrants and supplies." Yielding to his urgent entreaties, all were persuaded to return to Jamestown, and a new lease of life was given to the colony.

Could "the Chapleine in Ordinaire to the Prince, and Master of Artes of Exeter Colledge in Oxford," the Reverend Daniel Price, have cast the horoscope of that bitter future which came to the men who went to Jamestown "for the glory of God, and to obtain the best commodities" to be found in Virginia, he might have placed a better estimate on the opinions of his countrymen whom he denounces as "our own *lasie, drousie, yet barking* countrymen." Many many dreary years of hard poorly requited toil and untold suffering were to pass away, before his glowing prophecy would be fulfilled, that the country "which took its name from the Virginie Queen, of eternal memory, the first godmother to that land and nation, would prove to be to England the Barne of Britaine, as *Sicily* was to *Rome*, or the *Garden* of the world as was *Thessaly*, or the *Argosie* of the world as is *Germany*."

J. C. Nicholas

## SOMETHING ABOUT MONHEGAN \*

The coast of Maine presents a topography which is unique. While it is a little less than two hundred and twenty miles in a direct line from Kittery Point to its eastern limit, it is about twenty-five hundred miles if you follow its remarkable indentations. Scattered along its shores are hundreds of islands; among which, apparently standing sentinel over them all, the first seen as you approach the coast, is Monhegan. It has been called the "Keystone of New England." Since the beginning of New England history, this island has held an important position as fishermen's home, trading post and landmark. Most of our early chroniclers make mention of it; many of them often. Early navigators, before sailing from their homes, made it a rendezvous.

Previous to the voyages of the Cabots there may have been "foot-prints hastily pressed on the shining sand" of Maine, but there is no authentic record yet known.† The Cabots were first to discover the American continent in 1497, but there are few details of the points of coast they visited. Verrazzano, in 1524, in his letter to "His Most Serene Majesty," the King of France, indicates clearly that he visited the whole extent of New England coast and islands: "Departing from thence, we kept along the coast [keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight] steering north-east, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods, and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the main, small and of pleasant appearance, but high and so disposed as to afford excellent harbours and channels, as we see in the Ariatic gulph, near Illyria and Dalmatia." Dr. Kohl says of John Rut's voyage in 1527, "The Mary of Guilford not only came in sight of the coast of Maine, but she also 'oftentimes put her men on land to search the state of these unknown regions.'" Dr. De Costa questions this state-

\* "Probably a corruption of the Algonkin general name for 'island'—*Men-ahan* in the Abnaki language, but hardened to *Mun-egoo* in the Micmac, through which, probably, the name came first to French and English fishermen." MS. letter from Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull.

† Dr. B. F. De Costa, in *Northmen in Maine*, p. 78. The Northmen, in their explorations, may have visited it. Dr. Kohl says Thorfinn Karlsefne sailed along the entire coast of Maine. Dr. De Costa says that he sailed direct from Nova Scotia (Markland) to Cape Cod (Kialarness).

ment concerning Rut, and thinks it more probable that Allfonsce—the discoverer of Massachusetts Bay—in 1542, and Thevet, 1556, may have visited the Maine shores and islands. But however that may be, there is no doubt but that Gosnold, Pring, Waymouth, De Monts, Champlain, Popham, Smith, and others, not only saw Monhegan, but many of them landed upon it. Soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century, fishermen plied their vocation on the North Atlantic coast, and doubtless some came into the neighborhood of Monhegan; before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth it "had become a noted fishing station," and it was "the seat of the first fishery in Maine." \* According to Sewell, "Monhegan earliest appears in the panorama of the historic scene of English life and enterprise on New England shores when Pedro Menendez, Governor of Florida, in despatches forwarded by him to the Court of Spain, tells Philip II., 'that in July of the year (1588), the English were inhabiting an island in latitude 43°, eight leagues from land where the Indians were very numerous.' It was the story of Carlos Morca, a Spaniard, who had learned the facts in London, and communicated them to Menendez. There can hardly be a doubt that Monhegan island was the spot occupied by these English dwellers in the New World." Whether this surmise as to the occupation of this island be true or not, † certain it is that from Monhegan came the Indian chief Samoset, to Plymouth, March 16, 1621; "he very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the Randevous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to goe in, as vndoubtedly he would, out of his boldnesse, hee saluted vs in English, and bad vs well-come, for he had learned some broken English amongst the English men that came to fish at Monchiggon [Monhegan], and knew by name the most of the Captaines, Commanders and Masters, that vsually come, he was a man free in speech, so farre as he could express his minde, and of a seemely carriage, we questioned him of many things, he was the first Savage we could meete withall; he sayd he was not of these parts, but of Moratiggon, ‡ [Monhegan], and one of the Saga-

\* Sabine's Report of the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas, pp. 42, 106.

† Pemaquid and Monhegan were very early favorite resorts of the fishermen, but the period of their first occupation lies far back of any record, and is as indefinite as the early geographical nomenclature of our coast, which, as Captain John Smith wrote in 1624, had "formerly been called Norumbega, Virginia, Muskoncus, Penaquida, Cannada, and such other names, as those that ranged the coast pleased." J. Wingate Thornton, in *Ancient Pemaquid*, p. 24. And Bradford, writing in 1623, says there were some "scattering beginnings made in other places," mentioning "Paskataway" and "Monhigen."

‡ Monhegan has many spellings in these early chronicles; among them, besides those in the text, are: Monhigen, Monhagen, Monhiggan, Monhiggen, Monhiggon, Monahiggan, Monnahigan, Menhiggen, Menhiggin, Menhiggon, Munhiggon, Manheigan, and others.





mores or Lords thereof, and had beene Eight moneths in these parts, it lying hence a dayes sayle with a great wind, and five dayes by land."\*

And from Monhegan, also, came succor to this same starving band of exiles, a year later, when, hearing of this resort of fishermen, Edward Winslow immediately started for that island for supplies. The fishermen refused to sell, having no surplus of provisions, but freely gave sufficient to relieve the pressing needs existing at Plymouth. And from these early days until the present time the quaint and picturesque old landmark off the "hundred harbored" coast of Maine has been well known to all "they that go down to the sea in ships," and "that do business in great waters."

The first authentic narration of a landing on Monhegan occurs in Rosier's Journal of the voyage of Capt. George Waymouth, in 1605; wherein he says that the island, which he named St. George, was sighted on the 17th of May, but "because it blew a great gale of wind, the sea very high, and near night, not fit to come upon an unknown coast, we stood off till two o'clock in the morning, being Saturday: \* \* \* It appeared a mean high land, as we after found it, being an island of some six miles in compass, but I hope the most fortunate ever yet discovered. About twelve o'clock that day, we came to an anchor on the north side of this island, about a league from the shore. About two o'clock our captain with twelve men rowed in his ship boat to the shore, where we made no long stay, but laded our boat with dry wood of old trees upon the shore side, and returned to our ship, where we rode that night. This island is woody grown with fir, birch, oak and beech, as far as we saw along the shore; and so likely to be within. On the verge grow gooseberries, strawberries, wild pease and wild rose bushes. \* \* \* While we were at shore, our men aboard, with a few hooks got above thirty great cods and haddocks, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish which we found afterward wheresoever we went upon the coast."

\* Mourt's Relation, Dr. Henry M. Dexter's edition, pp. 83, 4.—It was the same Samoset, who, together with a brother sachem, Unongoit, gave the first deed of land in America made by an Indian to a white man. This was for a large part of the country around Pemaquid, which they sold to John Brown, July 25, 1625; and the deed was duly acknowledged before Abraham Shurt, a Justice of the Peace, whom Bowditch so pleasantly remembers in the dedication to his curious volume of "Surfolk Surnames":

To the Memory of  
A. Shurt,  
"The Father of American Conveyancing;"  
Whose name is associated alike with  
My Daily Toilet and my Daily Occupation.

The fisheries of the North Atlantic coast were early developed, and became an incentive to much of the voyaging that took place after the time of the Cabots.\* A French fishing voyage took place as early as 1504, and as in 1517 some fifty vessels of different nations were employed on the coast, coming from England, France, Spain and Portugal, it is safe to say that the fishing business had been pursued for several years previous to that date.† England, commencing soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century, had increased her business to such an extent by the year 1600, that she employed annually two hundred vessels and ten thousand men and boys, going and returning to England the same season ; ‡ but not until about this time did many of the fishermen venture so far west as the coast of Maine. Johnston, speaking of this period,§ says : " A very considerable business was now transacted on this coast, connected entirely with the fisheries and the fur trade, which centered chiefly at Monhegan and Pemaquid. At both places a very considerable and busy population was found in the summer season, and very possibly, also some in the winter, though we have no positive evidence of the fact." On the return voyage Waymouth evidently discovered the George's Bank, where " the fish was so plentiful and so great," says Rosier, that " one of the mates with two hooks at a lead, at five draughts together hauled up ten fishes ; all were generally very great, some they measured to be five feet long, and three feet about."

A very few days after Waymouth left the coast of Maine, the last of June, 1605, De Monts and Champlain arrived. They visited Monhegan, and Champlain named it *La Nef*, " for at a distance it had the appearance of a ship." In 1607, the short-lived Popham colony landed and began a settlement near the mouth of the Kennebec River. Before leaving England it was arranged that the two vessels in which they sailed, the " *Mary and John*" and the " *Gift of God*," in case of separation, should meet at Monhegan, which they did ; and here on old Monhegan was held the first Thanksgiving service—popularly supposed to have been established at

\* Recent collations of the early historical narratives demonstrate that the progress of geographical discovery in America is to be credited to the fisheries more than to all other causes. Thornton, *Ancient Pemaquid*, p. 12.

† According to Sabine, France had twelve vessels employed in fishing in St. John's harbor alone in 1527 ; and in 1577 there were no less than one hundred and fifty vessels thus employed on the coast ; and in 1744 nearly 600 vessels, with 27,000 men. Spain had her fishermen on the coast among the earliest, employing a hundred vessels in 1577 ; and Portugal, it is estimated, had at least 50 vessels at that period.

‡ Sabine's *American Fisheries*, p. 40.

§ History of Bristol and Bremen, p. 47.

Plymouth—ever observed in America, by these Church of England men, the Popham colonists, who landed on the island August 9, 1607 (O.S.), “and under the shadow of a high cross, listened to a sermon by Chaplain Seymour, also ‘gyving god thanks for our happy metinge and saffe aryvall into the contry.’” \*

In the summer of 1611, Captain Edward Harlow, while cruising in this neighborhood, called at Monhegan, and either from here or in the vicinity seized three natives who had come on board for the purpose of trading, two of whom he carried away, the other escaping. At Cape Cod he kidnapped three more, taking the five to England. Captain John Smith, in his “Description of New England,” thus begins his narrative: “In the moneth of Aprill, 1614, with two ships from London, of a few marchants, I chanced to ariue in New England, a parte of Ameryca, at the Ile of Monahiggan, in 43½ of Northerly latitude; our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furies was then our refuge.” Further on, when describing “the remarkablest Iles and mountains for Landmarkes,” he says: “Monnahigan is a rounde high Ile; and close by it Monanis, betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride.” Of the commodities he says: “The maine staple, from hence to bee extracted for the present to produce the rest, is fish; which howeuer it may seeme a mean and base commoditie; yet who will but truely take the pains and consider the sequell, I think will allow it well worth the labour. \* \* \* He is a very bad fisher, cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line, one, two, or three hundred Cods.” Monhegan was the Captain’s rendezvous while he ranged the coast, and “got for trifles neer 1100 Beuer skins, 100 Martins, and neer as many Otters,” and the information which enabled him to publish his map of New England, which he presented to Prince Charles, who gave names to several geographical points on the New England coast, some of which remain to this day. Monhegan he called “Barties Iles:” a name which did not long obtain. On Monhegan Smith “made a Garden,” as he says, “upon the top of a Rockie Ile in 43½, 4 leagues from the Main, in May, that grew so well, as it served us for sallets [salads] in June and July.”

In 1618, Edward Rocroft, while on an expedition from Plymouth, had a quarrel with his men, and put three of them ashore at Saco. Late in the season they found their way to Monhegan, where they spent a most miserable winter, being rescued the next spring by Capt. Thomas Dermer, who had been sent out by the Plymouth Company on a voyage of conciliation among the natives, who, under continued ill-treatment, were becom-

\* MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, November, 1882, p. 759.

ing hostile. Dermer stayed a few weeks at Monhegan, taking in a cargo of fish and furs, which he dispatched to England. This indicates that a considerable trade was transacted at Monhegan as early as the spring and summer of 1619, and probably it was permanently occupied from that time as a fishing-post and trading station, with now and then a temporary abandonment,\* the one notable one being that during King Philip's war, in 1676, since which time it has maintained a thriving condition. The first owner of Monhegan was Mr. Abraham Jennens, a merchant of Plymouth, England, who bought it of the Plymouth Council in 1622.† He was largely engaged in the cod fisheries and trade on the coast, and, for these purposes, he established a plantation at Monhegan. In 1626, Messrs. Aldworth and Elbridge, of Bristol, learning that Mr. Jennens intended to break up his venture at Monhegan, authorized Mr. Abraham Shurt, of Pemaquid, to purchase it, which he did for £50 sterling, giving a draft on Messrs. Aldworth & Elbridge in payment. This is probably the earliest bill of exchange mentioned in our commercial history. The Plymouth colony hearing that Mr. Jennens was to abandon Monhegan, and understanding that "diverse usefull goods was ther to be sould," "the Gove<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>r</sup> Winslow tooke a boat and some hands and went thither." They were joined in the expedition by Mr. David Thomson, of "Pascataway," and the purchases of both parties amounted to £400 sterling. In 1650 the island had come into the possession of Mr. Thomas Elbridge, who mortgaged it to Thomas Russell, of Charlestown.‡

Winthrop's Journal gives an incident that took place in the fall of 1641, "about the beginning of the frost," when a shallop with eight men started from Piscataqua for Pemaquid; "they would needs set forth upon the Lord's day, though forewarned." A northwest storm arose, which drove them out to sea, and after fourteen days of suffering and trial they reached Monhegan. Four of them died from exposure to the cold, and the remaining four were rescued by a fisherman, who discovered them in their famished condition.

In 1672, the inhabitants of "Kenebeck, Cape Bonowagon [Cape Newaggen, now Southport], Damares Cove, Shipscoate, Pemaquid and Monhegan," sent a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts, asking to be taken under its government and protection, as they had previously had "some kind of Government settled amongst us; but for these Several years have not had any at all." This petition was signed by twenty-one

\* Rev. Richard Mather, who arrived in this country in August, 1635, makes a note in his Diary to the effect that "Munhiggin was an Iland without inhabitants."

† Thornton, *Ancient Pemaquid*, p. 38.

‡ Johnston, in *Bristol and Bremen*, p. 78.

persons from "Kenebeck," fifteen from "Shipscoate," sixteen from "Cape Bonawagon," fifteen from "Damaris Cove," eleven from "Pemaquid," and eighteen from "Monhegan." It was granted, and in 1674 four commissioners, "Lef<sup>t</sup> Th<sup>o</sup> Gardiner, of Pemaquid, Cap<sup>t</sup> Edmund Patteshall, of Kennebeck, John Palmer, Se<sup>a</sup>, of Monhegan, and Robert Gamon, of Cape Nawaggen," were appointed to take charge of all matters pertaining to the places east of the Kennebec that came within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and which were organized into the county of Devon or Devonshire, and a court was authorized to be held at Pemaquid, of which Richard Oliver, of Monhegan, was appointed recorder and clerk. This was but a short time before the breaking out of King Philip's war, during which the whole region was desolated. The inhabitants from around the Kennebec and Sheepscot rivers, and from Pemaquid and neighboring places, fled for safety, first to Damariscove Island, and then to Monhegan. Probably at least three hundred souls were here gathered. Measures for safety were taken, for an attack was expected even here.\* On the coast the work of devastation went on, the burning of many of their homes and villages being plainly visible. After some two or three weeks, during which time they were unmolested, receiving no aid from Boston, or elsewhere, "they took the first opportunity to set sayle, some for Piscataqua, some for Boston, and some for Salem, at one of which Places they all safely arrived."†

When the General Court of Massachusetts levied its taxes upon these eastern settlements for the expenses incurred during this war, Monhegan's share was the largest. Although Monhegan was again re-peopled, after Philip's war, yet the population must have dwindled to a very small number previous to the Revolution, for about the year 1774, a Mr. Trefethen went from Portsmouth, N. H., and bought the island of one Rogers, for \$1,000.00. After the Revolution, Trefethen returned to Portsmouth, giving the island to one of his sons, Henry, and two sons-in-law, Josiah Starling and Thomas Orne, who afterwards had to pay a claimant, one Jennings, of Boston, \$1,000.00; and, about the year 1807, still another \$1,000.00 to Government, because of a defect in the title. Descendants of the Trefethens and Starlings are still among its inhabitants. The ruins of some of the ancient houses are still to be seen, and occasionally some relic is dug from the earth where it has lain nearly 200 years.‡

\* There they settled three Guards, and appointed five and twenty to watch every night, not knowing but that the Indians might come every Hour. Hubbard's Indian Wars, Drake's Edition, vol. 2, p. 164.

† Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 43, 44.

‡ MS. letter from Mrs. Wilson L. Albee, a resident of Monhegan.

Monhegan, together with its neighbor Manana (Monanis), is in Lincoln County, and was organized as "Monhegan Plantation" about forty-five years ago. It is situated eleven miles southeast of Pemaquid Point, nearly equidistant from the mouths of the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers. It is about a mile and a half long, from a half to three-quarters of a mile wide, and contains about a thousand acres. It has now a population of 150. Its officers are three selectmen and assessors, a plantation clerk, treasurer, collector of taxes, constable and a school supervisor. It is taxed for State, county and school purposes. Its valuation in 1880, was \$10,-305.00. Rate of taxation,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. There are about thirty houses, besides a school-house, and a chapel built in 1880, the gift to the island of a Philadelphia gentleman. These dwellings cluster around the little harbor,—with its solitary, dilapidated wharf,—between Monhegan and Manana, in which the fleet of fishing boats lie at anchor, when their owners are not absent following their vocation; for its principal occupation is to-day what it ever has been, fishing; although there is enumerated among its employments, one boat builder, a carpenter, a smith, a dealer in oil-clothes, and one in fish-oil. Casual visitants can easily detect the presence of the latter commodity, but it is not so easy to see where the other occupations are domiciled.

On the highest point of the island, standing sentinel over the quaint little village—with its one rough, narrow, crooked roadway running through it—is a granite light-house, with a first-class flashing, white light, a welcome beacon to many a storm-tossed mariner.\* Near the top of the hill, just under the light-house, is the inevitable "God's Acre," where sleep the tired Monheganites of many generations. On neighboring Manana, which has the mysterious hieroglyphical characters on its rocks, which have puzzled so many savants, government maintains a steam fog-horn; and lying a little way off from the head of the harbor floats a doleful whistling buoy. Until recently Monhegan had no post-office; but the mail which accumulated at Herring Gut, now Port Clyde, on George's Islands, was brought over by any casual fishing boat chancing to be bound toward the island, when it was distributed to the expectant group which gathered about the self-appointed mail-carrier.†

\* The light-house keeper for twenty years was Mrs. Betsey Humphrey,—wife of a former keeper,—who died in 1880. "At night the island went early to its slumbers, and only the light-house on the hill kept watch. It dazzled the eyes if one looked up, and rendered the darkness more profound."

† A recent visit to this island, by the editor of the *Boothbay Register*, was thus chronicled:


"The Monheganers are a hardy race of men, who depend upon the sea for their sustenance. They are fitted for all kinds of fishing and do not depend upon any one class of fish. In the win-

Away from the village, beyond the light-house, pasturage ; and then a wilderness of trees and shrubbery. On its southern shore is the bold, perpendicular cliff called "White-head," a hundred and fifty feet in height. Standing on its summit, the eye sweeps over the immensity in front and around you, with here and there a sail dotting the blue waters, the trailing smoke of a passing steamer, and with the surging white-caps away down below you. Grand, indeed, is the view ; impressive and awe-inspiring ! but grander still to stand there at sunrise, or as the furious blasts of a north-east storm rage around this wild, bleak peak, isolated as it is from all other sights and sounds of civilization ; thus circumstanced, a feeling of weirdness and desolation would creep over one, as if deserted by all human kind ; and you would hardly sing with Cowper :

"How sweet, how passing sweet is solitude !"

Between Monhegan and Pemaquid Light occurred the famous naval battle between the *Enterprise* and *Boxer*, Sept. 5, 1814. The British flag\* was humbled, but both commanders, Lieut. William Barrows and Capt. Samuel Blyth, were killed. They were buried side by side in the Portland cemetery. In "My Lost Youth," Longfellow thus commemorates this event :

"I remember the sea-fight far away,  
How it thundered o'er the tide !  
And the dead captains, as they lay  
In their graves o'erlooking the tranquil bay,  
Where they in battle died."



ter and early spring it is lobsters, next cod, cusk and haddock, then comes hake, followed by mackerel and pollock. Sometimes for days no mackerel are to be seen, then they catch pollock or hake. The vessels have dwindled to two or three, owned wholly on the island, though several parts of vessels that hail from Portland are owned here. About 40 or 50 sail boats have moorings in the harbor, but small boats, dories and other craft, foot up to over 100.

"In search for shelter from a coming storm, some of the ladies came upon an artist's studio in an old fish-house. An antiquated boat upon the shore was temporarily fitted with sails and used as a model for a wreck. Monhegan is a rich spot for the marine painter. Its little harbor filled with boats of all sizes and kind—sits bold, rocky shores—mackerel seiners casting their nets in the immediate vicinity—all combine to teach what a true fishing port is"

\* The old flag, now tattered and torn—17 ft. 9 in. in length, by 11 ft. 3 in. in width, with 15 stripes and 15 stars—which floated from the mast-head of the *Enterprise* during this engagement, is now in possession of Horatio G. Quincy, Esq., of Portland, Me.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### TWO EXCEPTIONALLY INTERESTING UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM JOHN ADAMS TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

*Contributed from the collection of Mr. I. J. Austin, Newport, Rhode Island.*

[FIRST LETTER.]

To Elbridge Gerry Esq.

AUTEUIL *near Paris* Nov 4, 1784.

My dear Friend.

We are going on with as much dispatch as the nature of our Business will admit of, and we proceed with wonderful Harmony, good Humour and Unanimity.

The Dr [Dr Franklin] is confined to his house and garden \* \* \* \* \*. He has not been further from home than my house at Auteuil which is within a mile of his, for this twelve months. He cannot ride in a carriage because the motion of that machine \* \* \* \* \*. He cannot walk out, nor in the house, without suffering as I am told. All these things considered, we are obliged to conduct all our negotiations at Passy. There is some reason to think that Spain will urge us to go to Madrid. The Dr cannot go, and the Journey would be horrible to Mr Jefferson and me. We cannot go before the other business is finished here, which will take up the two years probably.

Besides Congress has pinched us in our Salaries to such a degree that it is impossible for us to bear double expenses, indeed it is impossible for us to see any company or to live in character.

My Loan of last spring has not yet been ratified, and my Bankers at Amsterdam, are uneasy on that score. I beg it may be dispatched. Do you consider that Holland has furnished us as much money as France? I have obtained there half a million sterling, and another half a million was there furnished us at the Requisition of France, and France herself has furnished us but one Million exclusive of that which she obtained for us in Holland. if to these considerations we add that the Dutch money has all been remitted in hard Dollars, or paid to redeem Bills at an advantageous exchange instead of being eaten up by the Rats, as a great part of the French money was, we shall find ourselves much more obliged in the article of money in Holland than France. Besides Holland is in future our only Resource.

I wish Congress would separate the foreign from the domestic debt—I foresee such delays in consequence of Keeping them united as will ruin our credit abroad.



If the states all agree in giving to Congress the power they ask, it will be so long before they agree upon an act, and that act will be attended with such difficulties in the execution that we shall fail of our promises and break, at least it appears so to me at this distance, perhaps I am mistaken

I have small hopes of doing anything with England, I see no symptoms of a Disposition there, and I am afraid we shall not agree with Spain. God grant we may not get involved in a war with both these powers at a time. In such a case I know not where we should find aids or Friends and I am sure we should want both.

The project of doing without Ministers in Europe is as wild and impracticable as any in the flying Island of Legado. You will find yourselves obliged to have Ministers and Ambassadors too, and to support them like other Ministers and Ambassadors, and the Fact will be when you have ruined and discouraged us who are now here and driven us home in despair, it will not be three years afterwards before you will send a number of Ambassadors to Europe with six or eight thousand Pounds a year. There is no man more averse to unnecessary foreign Connections or less addicted to expensive showy life than I have been all my days, but I see and feel every day that you must have Ambassadors to maintain or Generals and Admirals who will cost you ten thousand times as much money besides shedding your blood like water. Thank God we shall no longer fight with halters about our necks, or axes brandishing over our heads, and therefore if our countrymen delight in war they may have it without giving you and me so much chagrin and vexation as we have seen.

I am my dear Friend with the most affectionate Esteem and Respect.

Your humble servant,

John Adams.

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[SECOND LETTER.]

AUTEUIL near Paris April 13. 1785.

To Elbridge Gerry Esq

Dear Sir.

I am this moment informed that the Packet is arrived but neither Dr F nor I have any letters as yet. This is unlucky because we shall not be able to answer by this Packet.

I suppose it is a question with you whether you shall send a Minister to Spain. I really hope you will, it is a question too, no doubt, who to send. There will be some, perhaps many, perhaps all for Mr Charmichael. I know not this gentleman personally. He is active and intelligent, by all I have learnt. He has made himself Friends among the Spaniards and among the foreign Ministers, and at the

French Court, and at Passy. I see that the Count de Vergennes, the Duc de la Vauguyon who is gone to Spain, and Dr Franklin, have an affection for him, and are labouring to support him.

These circumstances are much in favour of his happiness, and if he has that pure and inflexible Virtue, that thorough Penetration into the hearts of men and the system of affairs, and that unchangeable attachment to our Country, that you require in a public man, you will honour him with your support. You know from his correspondence with Congress whether he is this man. I know nothing to the contrary. But I confess to you that the ardent friendship of Courtiers and Diplomatic flatterers to any American Minister is to me a cause of suspicion. I know it to be impossible for any man to do his Duty to his Country and possess it. All he can hope for is to be esteemed and respected, it is well if he is not hated and despised.

But Mr Jay is master of the character in question. I have heard with pleasure that Mr Charmichael in their last interview settled things to the satisfaction of Mr Jay and cleared up some things which Mr Jay had not been satisfied in. You may know the truth from him.

I am disposed to favour Charmichael, from all I have heard of him and know of him at least so far as to wish for his continuance in service provided. \* \* \* You don't see symptoms of his endeavours to support his character upon foreign interests at the expense of those of our country.

But there is too marked a Love for him for my taste in characters in whose Friendship for America I have no confidence.

The greatest danger to our foreign offices has ever arisen from this, and ever will, from an endeavour to obtain a reputation in America by gaining the friendship of countries and obtaining their Recommendation in their private letters for themselves and their connections. These favours are never obtained but by sacrifices. It is remarkable that native Americans are rather avoided and there is a constant endeavour to throw American Employment in Europe into the hands of persons born or educated in Europe, at least such as have lived long enough in Europe to become assimilated.

There is nothing more dreadful to America, than to have the Honour, the Reputation and the Bread of their Ministers abroad depend upon their adopting sentiments in American affairs conformable to those which may be entertained and endeavoured to be propagated by the Ministers with whom they treat. You had infinitely better choose the Count de Florida Blanca and the Count de Vergennes at once for your foreign Ambassadors. I have seen and felt so much of it, that I dread it like Death, and Mr Jay does not dread it less.

And you have not a less important thing to attempt in the choice of a minister for St James. Whoever he is he will be in more danger there than any where, of too much complaisance to Ministers, Courtiers, Princes & King. Indeed it is probable to me that whoever goes there, first, if he is honest will have his Reputa-

tion ruined in America by the Insinuations which will go against him, both in public Papers and private Letters. Lyars and slanderers are more impudent there than any where, and they have more old connections in America among whom to circulate them

With much affection your old Friend & very  
humble Servant. John Adams

My regards to your Colleagues. If Temple comes to N York and is received as Consull I hope you will contrive some way to make peace or truce between him and Sullivan. I hope Temple will be prudent and cautious if not he may do Mis-chief, but you have weight with him I know.

Unpublished Letter from Chief-Justice Marshall to George Washington of Georgetown, on the occasion of the death of Judge Bushrod Washington. Contributed by Mr. Wm. Alexander Smith, New York City.

Richmond, V<sup>a</sup>

To Hon. George Washington.

Georgetown.

Nov 29<sup>th</sup> 1829

My dear Sir,

I am much obliged by the kind attention manifested by your letter of 26<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup>. The intelligence it communicates is indeed most afflicting. I had few friends whom I valued so highly as your Uncle, or whose loss I should regret more sincerely.

I had flattered myself when we parted last spring, that I should leave him on the bench when retiring from it myself; but Heaven has willed otherwise. We have been most intimate friends for more than forty years, and never has our friendship sustained the slightest interruption. I sympathise most truly with M<sup>r</sup> Washington.

With great respectful esteem,

I am, dear sir,

your obed<sup>t</sup>

J. Marshall.

## NOTES

ORASMUS H. MARSHALL—In the death of this distinguished and public-spirited man, the bar of Buffalo has lost one of its most trusted members, and the Historical Society of that city one of its strongest pillars. The greater part of his seventy well-rounded years have been closely identified with the progress and development of Western New York. He possessed a clear, logical mind, was inspired by the strictest integrity—a stately, erect personage, courteous and dignified, whom once to meet was to remember. His wide culture and scholarly tastes led him into many researches of a literary and historical character, and he long since came to be considered an authority upon all subjects bearing upon the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of the West. He wrote with great care, and in a pleasing style. Among the valuable productions of his pen were his papers on Champlain's Expeditions in 1613-15, on De Celeron's to the Ohio in 1749, his narrative of the expedition of the Marquis de Nouville against the Senecas in 1687, and on the building and voyage of the *Griffon* in 1679, covering the early exploring expeditions of La Salle, Hennepin, and La Motte, with the history of their perilous voyage of the rivers and the lakes, and the tragic end of the *Griffon*, whose errand was more romantic and adventurous than that of the Argonauts for the golden fleece; his elaborate paper on the visit of La Salle among the Senecas, is part of a series of historic studies, which have given him high rank among the annalists of the country. Perhaps nothing better illustrates Mr. Marshall's love of historical re-

search than his paper published in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, in 1882, on the original charter by Charles I. to his brother, the Duke of York, of the territory now comprised within the State of New York.

He lived a large as well as a noble life, never seeking honors, but always commanding the respect and love of his contemporaries. He was in every respect the typical American Christian gentleman.

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WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD—As we go to press the news comes of the death of another eminent scholar and historian, Hon. William A. Whitehead, of New Jersey. He was three years the senior of Mr. Marshall, his birth-year being 1810. His public life was one of great usefulness, but he was best known in connection with the historical records of New Jersey and with meteorological observations. As Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society he made researches into the colonial history of the State, and it was under his direction and by his efforts that the State began the publication of the colonial documents. Two of the works which he published are "East Jersey and the Proprietors" and "Contributions to East Jersey History." He was an industrious contributor to current literature, and wrote numerous pamphlets on historical subjects. He also wrote frequently on theological topics. In New Jersey he was regarded as an infallible authority on all subjects connected with the history of the State and with reference to geological matters. His favorite pastime was making



daily meteorological observations. Every month for forty years he issued a weather report over the signature of "W." in the *Newark Daily Advertiser*. These reports were made use of by meteorologists of other cities. He was a member of Trinity Episcopal Church, and took a deep interest in religious as well as educational affairs. He leaves a wife and two children. One of his sons is Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead, of Pittsburg, Pa.

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A RARE AUTOGRAPH—An original manuscript letter or note in my possession reads as follows: "Th: Jefferson to the President of the U. S. Finding subsequently what had not before been attended to, that the law had appointed the 1st day of our Spring and Autumn District Court for the stated meeting of the Visitors of the Central College, it is concluded that our meeting should be on the 5th instead of the 6th of May (noted in my letter of the 13th); that being the 1st day of both our County and District Courts, the collection of the people will be great, & so far give a wide spread to our object. We shall hope therefore to see you on that day—Mr. Madison will join us the day before—Ever and affectionately yours.

"Monticello, Apr. 15—'17—."

Thus we have here an autograph note, written in 1817, at the age of seventy-four, by Thomas Jefferson, then an ex-President of the United States, addressed to James Monroe, President of the United States; into which note the distinguished writer introduces the honored name of James Madison, another ex-President of the United States. The interesting subject of this unique note is

the assemblage of the three notable characters named for the discharge of their high duties as Visitors of the new Central College in Virginia. How rare is the occurrence of so many eminent characters being brought together in such interesting juxtaposition. We are here reminded also, that the writer of this note made the request, near the close of his life, that "Father of the University of Virginia" should be inscribed on his tombstone.

H. C. V. S.

MANLIUS, N. Y., *August*, 1884

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CUSTER—A few weeks ago I had the great pleasure of being permitted a sight of an historic painting, now being executed by the artist, Mr. John Elder, of Richmond, Virginia, entitled "Custer's Last Charge." It pictures that brave officer at the head of his already wearied and thinned command, endeavoring to cut his way out of the dense circle of Indians who surrounded him at the time of that pitiless massacre eight years ago. The canvas is about 4 feet by 7 feet. The central figure of course is Custer, who with uplifted sabre is forcing his almost exhausted steed upon the painted savage before him. On either side is the slender line of his troops dashing on the foe—the grim determination on the face of each savage, and the abandon of the troopers, who fight as if in despair, but with desperate courage, is very inspiring. Mr. Elder was a soldier in the Confederate army, and, like the writer, not only has participated in almost similar scenes, but has that admiration for Custer, which his distinguished gallantry and cruel but hopeless death, excited even in those who once fought him as bravely as

did the Indians. The painting is to grace the mansion of a Southern gentleman, who has purchased it, when finished.

H. E. N.

**THE STUDY OF HISTORY**—There are many beautiful and suggestive passages in Miss Elizabeth Cleveland's excellent essay on history, recently prepared for the benefit of young lady graduates in some of our prominent schools. It might reach all classes of students, or even a much larger audience, with advantage. She says: "The study of History does not hold its due place in the hearts of people because they have not an adequate idea of what History is. Nor, having this, do they see why it should be studied more than anything else. So they do not study it at all; or, if studied, it is studied inadequately, which is nearly as objectionable as leaving it out of the curriculum altogether. Our business, therefore, will be to find answers to three questions: What is History? How should History be studied? Why should it be studied? A wrong notion of History we must first dislodge, in order to make room for the right one. History is not merely a record of past events; and History is not an exact science. It cannot be reduced to formulas and equations and chronological tables. When we have learned lists

of events and names, and are glib in chronology, we too often feel that we have studied History. Yet we have not one whit more than has the child studied music who has mastered the multiplication table. Mathematics has to do with music, but mathematics is not music. Chronicle and chronology have to do with History, but they are not History. We must learn of the event; it is indispensable. But it is not the whole. We must take the event as a starting-point, and travel from it to the man and the men behind it. We must obtain all the accessories of time, place, and circumstances. It is the truth which we must possess, or rather of which we must be possessed. It is sympathy with the Past which can unlock the inner halls of History and reveal to us its grandeur. Date, name, and event are but the furniture of the feast. We wish to see the company, and make acquaintance with the guests. The Past is simply Humanity. We must be saturated with a sense of kinship. Adam stands, as we approach the realm of History, at one end of the row, you and I at the other; and as in the children's game, we must all take hold of hands. The spirit of a common humanity stands in the center, and gently reunites whenever the ring is broken. Woe to us if we break ranks. We are no longer in the game."

## QUERIES

**MURILLO—HIS INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN ART**—Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, the great Spanish painter (1618-1682), seems to have possessed the power of adapting the higher subjects of art to the commonest understanding. Have

we any noticeable evidence of his influence on American art? Can any of the readers of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* tell me—even with approximate accuracy—how many of his paintings are owned in the United States at the



present time, and which of the three styles of his work have chiefly been selected for importation to this country?

ART STUDENT

BALTIMORE, Md., Aug. 5, 1884

WILL some of your correspondents tell me if any of Sir Joshua Reynolds's family came to this country in its early settlement, and if so, where did they settle?

A. H.

ANNISQUAM, Mass., Aug. 10, 1884

In the March number of "The Griswold Family of Connecticut," by Prof. Salisbury, the dates are given of the visits of Gen. Washington and Gen. La Fayette to Lyme, Connecticut. "The night of the 9th of April, 1776, Gen. Washington slept at the house of Mr. John McCurdy as he traveled from Boston to New York after taking command

of the American army." Can any one tell what officers and other gentlemen were with him?

It is added that "on the 27th of July, 1778, the young Gen. La Fayette marched through Lyme *with his troops*, and staid at the house of Mr. McCurdy on the green, while they rested in a field nearly opposite." A note adds an extract "from the Diary kept at New Haven by President Stiles," in which he says: "1778 July 26. Lord's Day . . . the Marquis de la Fayette aet. 22, and Col. Varnum with Col. Sherburn and Col. Fleury visited me . . . At 4 P. M. the whole corps began their march. . . . They proceed by 2 roads. Gen. Varnum and Col. Philips via Middletown, Hartford, &c.; Gen. Glover's (in which the Marquis) via seaside."

Can any one tell what other officers and how many troops accompanied Gen. La Fayette on this march? D. G.

## REPLIES

NINE PARTNERS [xii. 89, 182]—The patent for the Great Nine Partners' tract of land *in* Dutchess County was given May 28, 1697, to Caleb Heathcote, Augustine Graham, James Emott, Henry Filkin, David Jamison, Henry Ten Eyck, John Aretson, William Creed, and Jarvis Marshall. This tract was bounded west by Hudson river, south and west by lands of Myndert Harmense & Co., southerly and easterly by the Connecticut line. See Vol. 7 of Pat. p. 80, in office of Sec. of State, Albany.

April 10, 1706, the tract of the Little Nine Partners was given by patent to Sampson Broughton, Rip Van Dam, Thomas Wenham, Roger Mompesson,

Peter Fauconnier, Augustine Graham, Richard Sackett and Robert Lurting. It was also on the Connecticut line in the north-east part of Dutchess County. Dutchess County was formed in 1683, and the above two tracts were simply portions of the county.

GEO. R. HOWELL

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY, }  
ALBANY, July 28, 1884 }

AMERICAN KNIGHTHOOD (xii. 89)—Penobscot is referred to Ushu Parsons' Life of Sir Wm. Pepperell, and to the *Historical Magazine*, Vols. I. and II., Series I., for answers to his query.

H. E. H.

ROUSSEAU IN PHILADELPHIA—*To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*: I beg leave to thank you for the excellent article in your publication [xii. 46] on the comparatively slight influence of French politicians on American revolutionary politics. Concerning the position taken, I will add the following illustrations: 1. Burke's speeches on America and his tract on the Popery Laws (in which he maintained that no laws which are not declaratory of national sense can be operative) were circulated largely through the colonies. In these documents he advanced distinctively Whig doctrines, and vindicated the right of revolution, basing it, however, not on doctrinaire philosophy, but on the political traditions and instincts of the English people. There was not a colonial assembly in which Burke was not thanked. There was not a colony in which a county or a town was not named after him. The ante-revolutionary documents on both sides appealed to him, and on the popular side, quoted his words. "Throughout America," says Mr. Garland, the biographer of John Randolph, "his name was venerated and beloved;" and by thinkers so distinct as Jefferson and John Randolph he was adopted as a leader in political philosophy. Of the French doctrinaire philosophers nothing like this can be said. Jefferson over and over again deprecates their speculativeness and their want of authority in practical politics. Of translations from these writers there are no republications. So far from their names being perpetuated in our gazetteers of places, these names were unknown except to a very few, and regarded as authoritative by none. 2. In no English political document is the

right of revolution more boldly and uncompromisingly vindicated than in Lord Somers' "Judgment of Whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the rights, powers and prerogatives of kings." I have before me a reprint of this document issued by John Dunlap, in Philadelphia, in 1773; and there are traces of its circulation and adoption throughout the colonies. Over and over again was it appealed to in controversy with English Tories; over and over again was it declared to be the authority on which the revolutionary statesmen placed their claims. The impression produced by this wide dissemination of Lord Somers' tract is illustrated by the towns and villages which were at that time named after him. Of Rousseau, whose influence it is now declared was so decisive in revolutionary politics, we find no trace either in revolutionary literature or revolutionary memorials.

FRANCIS WHARTON  
NARRAGANSETT PIER, R. I., }  
August 1, 1884 }

HOW DID GENERAL HERKIMER SPELL HIS NAME?—In a scrap cut from a newspaper several years ago—most probably in 1877, the Centennial year of the Battle of Oriskany—and credited to the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, I read the following: "But four autographs of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of the Oriskany battle, in 1777, are known to be in existence. One of these is owned by M. M. Jones, of Utica; one by the Hon. Samuel Earl, of Herkimer; a third by a gentleman in Buffalo; and a fourth by the Oneida Historical Society at Utica." To those four should be added another (in my collection) making five at least of



the General's autographs known to be in existence. It is a document only, bearing his signature, dated in 1765, which I received from the late Rev. Dr. Sprague as far back as 1840 or 1841, and which has been in my possession ever since. And as those years ante-date, no doubt, the formation of all the collections above mentioned, and most probably the birth of the collectors themselves (the Historical Society included) it will be evident that mine is not one of the four thus referred to, but another and entirely different specimen.

In the very interesting paper by S. W. D. North, "The Story of a Monument," [xii. 97] he gives a copy with translation (a very necessary adjunct) of the autograph of Gen. Herkimer, belonging to the Oneida Historical Society—undoubtedly the most important and valuable paper bearing his name which is known to exist; both as being, very probably, one of the latest, and also, as I judge from its character, *entirely written by him*, and if so, as a "Holograph" in all probability *unique*. This order to Col. Bellinger bears the signature "NICOLAS HERCHHEIMER," and Mr. North says: "*It is certain that in all his autographs preserved he spelled it uniformly.*" With this statement I will also ask permission to join issue, since in the document now before me he uses an entirely different spelling—"NICOLAS HERCHMER." In verification of this statement, I subjoin a copy of so much of the document as appears to me worth publishing, (accompanied by a tracing of the signature from the original). Its heading reads: "*An Account of Forrage Purchased by NICHOLAS HARCKARMAR For His Majesty's Service for the year 1765.*" Then follows a list of "Persons'

Names," with a detailed statement of the quantity, description, and price of such article purchased, with the aggregate amount carried out on a line with each individual's name. Omitting the figures which show the "number of Schipples of corn, oats and peas," "Number of Loads of Hay," and the prices of each, "per Schipple," or "pr Load," I subjoin only the list of "Persons' names" as being of interest not only to their living descendants, but also to all antiquarian and philological tastes, who are curious in noting the transformation of names, by new modes of spelling, or by translation from one language to another, of which changes Mr. North has given some curious examples in his article. The names, as here given and spelled, are:

Lodowick Cran.	Tenis Hess.
Hendrick Hopper.	Nicholas Wever.
Jacob Wever.	Dirck Steal.
Thomas Shoemaker.	Nicholas Wol Eher.
Mchal Edigh.	Andrice Clepsadle.
Peter Billinger.	Joseph Myers.
Frederick Orendorph.	Christophel Fox.
Warner Span.	George Wence.

"Rudolph Schoemaker and Sixteen other Slays, 4 days each, @ 10/ per day. Employed to carry For- rage & hay to Oneida Lake and Fort Schuyler	£34.
To Storage of the Forrage	2.
To 122 Ells of Ozenbriggs	9. 311
To Making 35 Baggs for the Forrage	.17.6

Then follows the receipt:

"I do acknowledge to have received from Colonel John Bradstreet D. Q. M. General, The Sum of One hundred and Eleven pounds, Eleven Shillings and Six pence. N. York Currency, in full for the above Acct. for Forrage Delivered for his Majesty's Service.  
Albany, March 10<sup>th</sup> day 1765."  
£111.11.6.

Nicholas herchmer

It will be observed that in the heading of this paper—"An Accompt of Forrage purchased," etc.—the name of General Herkimer is written "HARCK-ARMAR," a mode of spelling it entirely different from either of his two signatures quoted as above. This, however, does not affect the point at issue:—*How Herkimer himself spelled his own name?*

The "Accompt" appears to have been made out for Herkimer by the Quartermaster's Clerk or Deputy. The entire document, receipt and all (with the exception of Herkimer's signature), is in the same handwriting—an excellent specimen of the round, plain, mercantile hand in universal use in the London counting-houses of a century or more ago. The writer no doubt gave the name "HARCKARMER," as he had heard it usually pronounced and was in the habit of spelling it; and for the Orthography of the "Persons' names" (presumably dictated to him by Herkimer himself) he, in like manner, "*went by his ear.*"

In this connection, the following characteristic letter of the brave Col. MARINUS WILLETT—copied from the Original in my collection and believed to be unpublished—written only nine days before the Oriskany fight, to notify the inhabitants of the German Flats of the expected attack on Fort Schuyler, will be found of interest.

"Fort Schuyler, July 28th, 1777.

Sir.

We have received accounts which may be relied on that Sir John Johnson has sent orders to Colonel Butler to send a

Number of Indians to cut off the communication between this place and the German Flats, who are to set off from Oswego in five days from this, perhaps sooner, and that Sir John is to follow them as fast as possible with 1000 troops, consisting of Regulars, Tories & Vagabond Canadians, with all the Indians they can muster. I hope this will not discourage you, but that your people will rise up unanimously to Chastise (sic!) these Miscreants, and depend upon it we will not fail to do our part.

I am Sir,

With Sincere Esteem,

Your Humble Servt,

Marinus Willett."

(Addressed)

"Mr. Frederick Elmore,

Member of the Committee

at the German Flats."

It is a pity so spirited and patriotic a letter should not have reached its destination. Such, however, appears the fact, from the following indorsement: "These two letters were retaken from the Enemy in a Sortie out of Fort Schuyler, August 6th, 1777." (Aug. 6th was the date of the Battle of Oriskany, at which Gen. Herkimer fell, mortally wounded.) This indorsement bears no signature, but sufficiently resembles the handwriting in the body of the letter to warrant the inference that it was made by Col. Willett himself, when (as is probable) he filed it and its companion away, to be carefully preserved as interesting relics of the "Siege of Fort Schuyler."

L. J. CIST

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Aug. 5, 1884

## BOOK NOTICES

LAL. A NOVEL. By WILLIAM A. HAMMOND. 12mo, pp. 466. New York City, 1884: D. Appleton & Co.

In whatever light Dr. Hammond's novel may be considered it is sure to be read. The story possesses a certain charm, not easily defined. We may say the plot is not intricate or startling, the characters quite beyond our personal acquaintance, and the incidents and situations, however effective, so unexpected and swiftly moving as to bewilder rather than soothe the senses. But we read on, page after page, chapter after chapter, nevertheless. We recognize a certain fire beneath the surface, a certain subtle force which carries us forward from the beginning to the end. We are dropped down in an early stage of our journey among horse-thieves and murderers in a frontier mining settlement. A Polish scholar is the redeeming feature of the scene, who buys a neglected ranch, and goes to housekeeping under a leaky roof in the most primitive manner. He is nearly hanged by a Vigilance Committee the first night after his arrival; is intruded upon in his chosen solitude without relief or intermission; has a fight with a ruffian, and thinking he has killed him, runs toward the nearest town for aid and justice, and meeting a doctor on the way, falls headlong into polite society instead. Here we encounter a beautiful and interesting young lady, the companion of her father in every scientific scheme, and on a par with him in all mental acquisitions. Dr. Hammond has thus provided himself with the opportunity of presenting to a large audience his views on the fitness of woman for profound studies. "Brains should govern the world, not muscle," he says through his philanthropic Hellbender doctor; and "knowledge not only does not debase the mind of woman, but it dignifies, and exalts and refines it with each truth that enters its portals." This may be heresy, but the reader can decide that question better than the reviewer. Lal, the heroine of the novel, serves as an illustrative example of the indestructibility of inherited excellence of character, even under the most untoward circumstances. Without education, bred in the home of a degraded outlaw, and in a community of outlaws, so to speak, we find her in every trying situation true to the noble instincts of her higher but uncultivated nature. We are thus by no means surprised when we discover that she is not the daughter of her reputed parents at all, but was stolen by them in infancy from a refined family. The conduct of all these strangely assorted people is handled with consummate and artistic skill, and harmonizes so perfectly with their characters, and with the author's evidently well-studied and thoroughly organized plan, that we have in this work of fiction a picture of frontier life not easily

effaced from the reader's mind. The whole story is unique and original, and it is told gracefully, forcibly, and dramatically.

YEAR-BOOK — 1883. City of Charleston, South Carolina. MAYOR COURTENAY'S ANNUAL REVIEW. 8vo, pp. 580. News and Courier Book Presses. Charleston, S. C.

The frontispiece of this handsome year-book is an elaborate map, 27 x 27, showing the Old Town and early farms on the west bank of the Ashley; the present site of the city of Charleston up to near the Clement's Ferry Road, with all lines of fortifications and historic points. The work is something more and better than a mere yearly report of the general affairs and public institutions of a flourishing city; it touches many points of great historic importance. Mayor Courtenay seems to have happily interposed to protect the records of the past from destruction, for which the people of Charleston—one of the most interesting cities on the Atlantic coast—owe him a debt of gratitude. His cultured example is worthy of imitation by the executive officers of many another American city. This Year-Book contains a carefully edited account of the Centennial of Incorporation, of August, 1883, together with the able and eloquent centennial address of the Mayor on that occasion, amplified and revised for publication in permanent form. It is notably a mine of authentic information concerning the foundation, rise, and progress of the City of Charleston. Much may be found in it that has never before been accessible to the general student of American History. Its illustrations are pertinent, of which is a copy of the autographs of the forty-eight signers of the Association of 1774; the Great Seal of the Second Lords Proprietors of Carolina, to which are attached their autographs in fac-simile; a copy of an old map giving the British account of the battle of Fort Sullivan; a copy of the autographs of the seventy early members of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce; fac-similes of relics, bills of lading of the last century; and views of the Old Forts. It is a work of exceptional value for all public and private libraries.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY: Its Political History and Influence. By J. HARRIS PATTON, M.A. 16mo, pp. 345. New York City, 1884: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

The character of this work is indicated by its title. The author is well known to the reading public through his "History of the American People;" and for the preparation of a sketch showing the nature and tendencies of a political

party—the drift of events, the force of ideas, and the underlying causes of men's actions—no one is better qualified. He says in his preface that he never held a political office, nor, except by his vote, aided any other man in obtaining one; that these pages have not been written in the interest or spirit of partisanship, but that the only motive in their production has been a desire to direct the attention of the intelligent and thoughtful to the different historical phases of our political life and national policy—foreign and domestic. The facts given may be verified by the studious voter, and the interpretations may be compared with similar interpretations from the outlook on the other side. The book is the scholarly study of a political party which has a great rival, and if examined in connection with a similar survey of the Republican party, the American citizen will add materially to his stock of political information and be able to form a tolerably just estimate of the services rendered to the country by both parties during the past century. At the close of the volume is a Summary of great national measures opposed by the Democracy but adopted by the people. These include not only industrial interests, but those of foreign commerce, internal communication, State and Federal relations, in fact all the leading lines of public policy—a strange and startling array!

**THE LIFE OF JOHN KALB**, Major-General in the Revolutionary Army. By FRIEDRICH KAPP. 12mo, pp. 337. New York, 1884: Henry Holt & Company.

In this biographical work of Mr. Kapp we have a contribution of permanent value to the historical literature of the American Revolution. It is some thirty years since the author began collecting materials for it, and favored with opportunities of an exceptional character, through original documents in possession of the family of his distinguished subject and unpublished documents in many libraries, he has produced the volume which now appears as the necessary sequel to the life of Baron Steuben, from the same scholarly hand, published in 1859. Both of these officers were noble specimens of the race from which they sprang. The uncertainty about General Kalb's birth first led Mr. Kapp into a series of extensive researches concerning his personal history. The appearance of this foreign general in the War of the Revolution was meteoric; he was hardly mentioned up to the moment of his heroic death on the field of Camden. "Thus his image hovered," we are told in the preface, "in a romantic haze of the most opposite probabilities, all the more attractive by its contrast to the biography of Steuben, for which the materials were found ready cut and dried with true Prussian exactitude." The biographer clears entirely away the mist and mystery hanging

about the early life of General Kalb, and describes his entry into the practical service of the colonists of America with its whys and wherefores. He was a high-minded, straightforward soldier, and in every respect a man of honor in the military sense and spirit of his time. His ambition was to earn distinction in the French army. The struggling Americans only furnished him the opportunity of displaying his devotion to the French king, from whom he expected reward and recognition. He had no predilection for the American service; but he loved his profession, and he performed his whole duty as a man of honor and conscience. Mr. Kapp pronounces him a military realist, and, as such, perfect. He died for the honor of American arms, fanning with his latest breath the valor of his men. Numerous valuable documents are printed in the Appendix, and the book has an admirable Index.

#### MEMORIAL TRIBUTES TO ORLANDO

MEADS, LL.D., late President of the Albany Institute, and Vice-Chancellor of the Cathedral of All Saints. Pamphlet. 8vo, pp. 51. 1884: Argus Company, Printers; Albany, N. Y.

This little *brochure* consists of a Memorial Minute prepared by Mr. Leonard Kip; and memorial remarks and sketches of the life and character of Mr. Meads, by Rt.-Rev. Bishop Doane, Professor James Hall, Henry A. Homes, LL.D., and David Murray, LL.D. It also contains several Letters and Resolutions of respect from the institutions with which he had been connected. Mr. Meads was born in 1806; he was a member of the Albany Institute from its origin in 1824 until 1884, a period of sixty years, and was its president at the time of his death. "There are two things which rule the world," says Dr. Murray in his beautiful tribute, "thought and character. Often in the history of the world have we seen the power of a dominating idea. But greater than thought is character. More powerful than the mastery of ideas is the majesty of the man. In all the vocations of life, private and public, Mr. Meads was the ideal man and citizen. The influence of such a character on a community like that in which he lived cannot be measured nor estimated. It is a possession which makes us all the richer."

**BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.** The Growing Power of the Republic of Chile. By ALBERT G. BROWNE, JUN'R. An Address read to the American Geographical Society on the evening of February 18, 1884. Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 88. New York: Printed for the Society.

"There are sound reasons," says Mr. Browne, "why the United States should be foremost of the American powers whose territory borders on the Pacific Ocean, and the fact that we are suffering ourselves to be surpassed there in political influence, in commerce and in naval strength by a country whose population is less than a twentieth of ours, merits more notice than is accorded by Congress or the public." He then goes on to show how Chile held, for hundreds of years, the relation of a poor and humble, almost a despised dependency to the Vice-royalty of Peru, and of the gradual change in the whole aspect of her affairs. In summing up the several points in his discourse, Mr. Browne asserts: "Chile has not only advanced into the position of the controlling political power on the west coast of South America, but by her naval strength she can, if she pleases, at this moment command the Pacific coast and the United States. Any one of her three iron-clads can sink every wooden vessel in our wretched navy, and the contrast between her ability and our impotence is a daily source of shame to every citizen of our country who resides or travels between Panama and Cape Horn."

**A TRIP TO ALASKA.** A Narrative of what was seen and heard during a Summer Cruise in Alaskan Waters. By GEORGE WARDMAN, United States Treasury Agent at the Seal Islands. 12mo, pp. 237. Boston, 1884: Lee & Shepard.

It is as yet too early in the history of the Western portion of this continent for general information concerning its inhabitants, climate, resources, and extent to exist in any large measure among the people of the United States. We are consequently glad at all times to welcome a new book on the subject, particularly when written by a discriminating observer, as in the present instance. Mr. Wardman has recorded what he has seen and heard, and has presented what he has to say in a pleasing and readable fashion. But the study of this volume does not have any remarkable tendency to encourage emigration to Alaska, however much it enlarges our geographical knowledge. The coast lines of the country are characterized by snow, rain and fog to such a degree that vegetables hardly ever ripen, and the interior, so far as known, is largely composed of ice-water bogs in summer and frozen lakes for eight of the twelve months in the year. One of the most interesting chapters of the work relates to "seal-skin sacques." The author says: "When we purchased Alaska we obtained, along with an immense amount of worthless territory, two islands in Behring's Sea, which are a mine inexhaustible and incalculable in value so long as properly managed. The largest, St. Paul's, is almost

twelve miles long by eight wide, between extreme points. St. George's Island is forty miles below St. Paul's. From these two islands one hundred thousand fur-seal skins—and according to law, no more—may be taken annually. They form the most extensive and valuable fur-seal fisheries in the known world. The Prybilov Islands are named in honor of a Russian trader, who discovered them a hundred years ago, when sealskin sacques were not so much in vogue as now. There were many Russian traders among the Aleutian Islands in those days, and it was while hunting for new sea-otter grounds for his employers that Prybilov discovered St. George's, one hundred and ninety miles north of the nearest point of the Aleutian Archipelago. St. Paul's was discovered during the following year." Every page of the book is instructive, and should be read by all classes of readers.

**ARCHIBALD MALMAISON.** By JULIAN HAWTHORNE. 12mo, pp. 126. New York, 1884: Funk & Wagnalls.

The scene of this novel is laid in England, and the characters are drawn from the best walks of English life. The ingenuity of the plot commands the reader's attention on the start; and the curious story is told with such genuine enthusiasm, that it carries the force of a chapter of scientific realities. The mysterious loss of human memory and the finding of it again, is brought into prominent and picturesque relief. Archibald Malmaison, at the age of seven years, suddenly falls backward, so to speak, into infancy; he finally awakes and grows with marvelous rapidity until the age of fourteen. Then comes another seven-year period, when our hero's mind and memory are absolutely inoperative. He was a handsome vacancy; a fine physical creature, full of strength, moving about awkwardly with aimless steps. The reader is fascinated through his own intense sympathies without knowing why. Once more Archibald Malmaison comes into possession of his intelligent soul, and as soon as the first crash of the restoration is over, accommodates himself with wonderful ease to the changes time has wrought during his mental repose. We will not give even a hint as to the nature of the final acts in the drama; the charmed reader will learn the whole only too soon. The book is one of the best Mr. Hawthorne has written.

**ANNOUNCEMENT**—The second article of Mr. Moore, entitled, "Did the Romans Colonize America?" arrived too late for insertion in the current Number, but will be given our readers in the October Magazine.





O. H. Marshall

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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## CURIOSITIES OF INVENTION

### A CHAPTER OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY

THE history of an invention has two sides, each full of human interest, one side having to do with the effect of the invention upon the world, and the other concerning the personal trials, struggles and triumphs of the inventor himself. The life histories of all great inventors are invariably tinged with a certain half sad, half romantic interest. Moreover, the history of inventions in general is the history of our own times, ending sharply at only yesterday. Perhaps the evening paper will give an appendix of to-day's progress also.

Having since 1875 made, in Scribner's *Monthly* and the *Century*, an almost continuous record of inventions, the writer is perhaps in a position to observe the spirit of our times in regard to invention and inventors. The history of industry has been an almost continuous warfare against the inventor. Not always against his ideas, though these are first attacked. The new ideas mean wealth; and selfishness as soon as it has mastered fear and anger at the industrial revolution that follows a new invention strikes always at the man in its eagerness to get his property. But all things are now changed. Hostility has given place to welcome, criticism is changed to appreciative inquiry. Every new invention is sought for eagerly and known half round the world on the day of its birth.

I remember seeing in the office of a celebrated patent lawyer a picture representing a man old and worn before his time, with hard hands and eager questioning eyes, standing in the library of some successful business man. The capitalist sat coldly listening to the poorer and yet wiser man, as if it was a familiar story, full of vague visions of uncreated wealth never to be realized. The picture is already behind the times. The poor inventor no longer begs for financial aid to carry out his ideas. The capitalist, if doing anything, is casting about for ways and means to force open the inventor's workshop to let in the reviving light of business enterprise and abundant capital. The inventors have also changed. They have lost much of that vague unrest and crude guessing after the truth from which



sprang so much of their grief and disappointment. The blind feeling after the right thing that made such a patient hero of a Goodyear has been exchanged for that scientific reasoning from the known to the unknown that marks the work of an Edison.

Young students of history sometimes imagine that the progress of the world has been chiefly shaped by kings and generals. These men have been viewed with a false perspective. The history of our times, at least, is made by our inventors. Even in the past inventors have often wrought greater changes in the lives of the people than many kings. The student, it seems to me, should hear less of kings and battles, and more of work and workmen. The history of industry and invention is becoming the history of men and women and little children, their hopes and aims, their labors and triumphs.

In our national life history a few men stand forth, leaders of a great and mighty company. These men link our times with the forgotten past, and enable our workmen to join hands with the toilers of every age, even to those poor laborers who lived in the midst of prehistoric times. Our workmen use the tools of the Cave man and the Lake Dweller. Our inventors have improved upon the very tools the ancients attributed to the gods. These foremost minds have done much to modify the industry of the whole world, and each has been a creator of wealth that has been poured out in exhaustless abundance upon our people.

The history of American inventions is not, as perhaps some young people imagine, a dreary catalogue of technical details. All great inventions are wonderfully simple. They are almost self-luminous, so that the surprise is not at their complexity and startling novelty, but at the thought that no man ever imagined so plain a thing before. If you take a quantity of raw cotton lint just pulled from the bolls, you will find the tangled, fluffy mass filled with hard seeds resembling beans, and closely fastened to the lint. Pick out one of these seeds, and, holding it between the fingers of one hand, attempt to pull away the lint with the fingers of the other hand. If you are industrious, you can pick the seeds from a pound of lint in one day. Now imagine the lint laid on a grid of iron bars precisely like the spread-out fingers of your left hand. Now crook the fingers of the right hand and make a clawing motion between the fingers of the other hand. If your fingers were sharp enough they might catch and pull out some of the lint and leave the seeds behind on the grid formed by your fingers. It will not work that way, and yet that is the underlying idea of the saw gin as invented by Eli Whitney. He arranged a grid or net-work of wires, and placed behind it a series of circular saws in such a position that the

teeth of the saws should project through the net-work as they revolved. Lint placed on the netting was caught by the sharp teeth of the saws, torn off and dragged through the spaces in the netting, while the seeds, unable to pass, were left behind and quickly slid down the grid out of the way. It only remained to contrive something to pull the lint from the saws before they revolved and carried it back again. This was a trifling affair, suggested no doubt by the already known cotton carder, and in Whitney's gin was a simple revolving brush that swept the lint from the saws.

The cotton gin has been somewhat modified since Whitney's time, notably in the case of the roller gin employing two rollers that clasp the lint between them and tear it away from the seeds, yet his invention is still used, and his original ideas still survive in the admirable machines now turned out from our shops. He would hardly recognize his gin under the cover of the attachments applied to it, yet could not fail to admire its workmanship and capacity. If there is an immortality for him, it is clear enough in the persistent life of his ideas; his imagination and mechanical skill survive in thousands of cotton gins at this instant turning the last new wealth wrung from the ground into available capital.

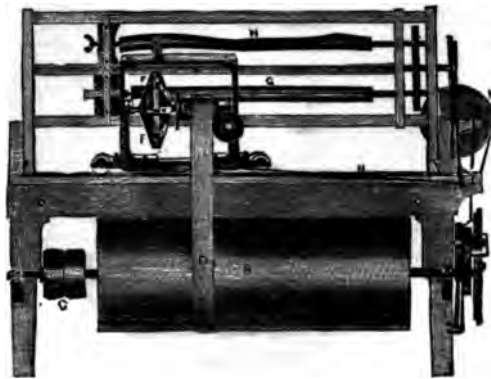
In the great company of inventors Eli Whitney stands on a plane with Jacquard. Like him he created a wholly novel invention that changed the industrial history of a nation. The gin, like the perforated card, was born perfect, so that, while countless modifications and alterations have been made in both inventions, they survive to this day practically unchanged, as if complete beyond the reach of any essential improvement. Like the Frenchman, he knew something of the sorrow that springs beside the birth of so many inventions, though for a wholly different reason. Jacquard was, as he said himself, "delivered over to universal ignominy," through the unreasoning fear of the workpeople he afterwards made rich. Whitney held in his hand potential wealth beyond calculation, and



ELI WHITNEY.  
1765-1825.

the temptation to wrest it from him by force was too much for the human nature of those days.

Whitney graduated from Yale in 1792, having come from Westborough, Mass., where he was born, December 8, 1765. He was studying law in Savannah and living at the home of Mrs. Green, when at her instigation he turned his attention to the cotton cleaning industry. She seems to have had faith in his inventive powers and urged him to make a gin. He made the machine with his own hands, with only an idea for a model, keeping the matter as secret as possible; yet before it was finished the workshop was broken open and the machine stolen. The story of his life is a part of our history told to every child. He seems to have possessed his soul with



BLANCHARD'S LATHE.

a certain quiet heroism. Convinced at last that no reasonable compensation would ever be made to him for his priceless gift to the nation, he abandoned his invention and turned his attention to honest work in other fields. The State of South Carolina granted him \$50,000, and North Carolina collected a fee on every machine in the State and paid it over to him as a partial compensation for placing millions in her lap. It may be

thought we would do better by such a man to-day, but it must be kept in mind that the temptation to infringe his patent and to refuse to renew it was perhaps the most tremendous temptation ever placed before the conscience of a people. Perhaps, if our Congress had had the wisdom of France in buying Daguerre's invention and then making it free, the life of one citizen to whom the nation owed so much would have been happier, and the story of Eli Whitney's life would be less sad. He died at New Haven, January 8, 1825, and his name still survives in the town where his factory stood at Whitneyville, Connecticut.

✓ The American is, perhaps, the most cunning of hand in working wood of any man who ever lived. The Swiss wood carver may be more patient with small tools, and elder workmen in Europe more artistic, yet in novelty, variety and profusion of wood-working tools and machines, this inartistic woodman has outdone and outgrown them all. In saw-mills, moulding, planing, paneling and turning machines, American invention

has found a worthy field. It cannot be claimed that all the immense variety of wood-working machines now in use here are of American origin. Some of the machines are older than our history, and among these is the lathe—like the loom, an old, old tool, dating back to the beginnings of work. Many of our machines originated in Europe, and the great multitude of American inventors have only given their attention to improvements and additions.

The wood-turning lathe is older than our era, and has been made for hundreds of years in substantially the same form as now. It consists of three essential parts—two points of support for the piece of wood to be turned, one of these causing the wood to turn rapidly, and some means of supporting a cutting tool in such a position as to cut the wood as it revolves. In

the hands of a good workman it will turn any desired form; and the art of turning may be regarded as one of the minor art industries. This tool in the hands of one inventor became a new machine, automatic in action, and performing work that until it appeared seemed wholly impossible. Take the handle of an American axe. A curious piece of wood of most irregular shape. The shape itself is a native inspiration, and when we consider that it is made in a machine the wonder only increases. How could these curving lines be automatically produced in wood? The wooden stock of a gun is even more irregular in form, and yet it comes from the same machine that produces the axe-handle, the wheel-spoke, piano-leg, shoe-last, and hundreds of other wooden tools or appliances.

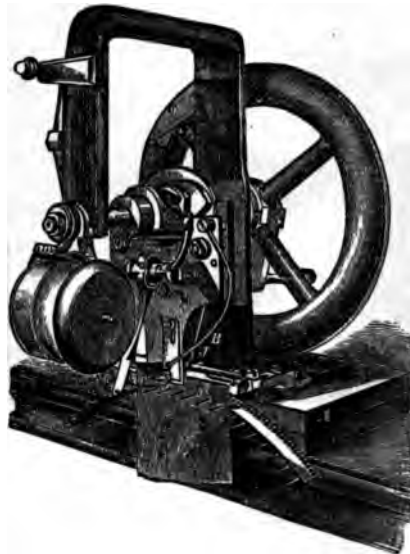
The accompanying figure represents a side view of Blanchard's lathe for turning irregular forms. It consists of a few essential parts—two supporting points that hold the piece of wood to be turned, as in any lathe, a



THOMAS BLANCHARD.

1788-1864.

revolving cutting-tool, supported on a traveling carriage, and having also a lateral movement on the carriage, an iron pattern, and the mechanism that controls the lateral play of the cutting-tool by contact with the pattern. The large drum below is also essential, because the cutting-tool is continually advancing along the lathe and its belt must follow it. On placing a piece of wood in the lathe and fitting to the machine the iron pattern of an axe-handle, last, or other irregular form, the cutting-tool begins to turn down the wood, advancing along the lathe from end to end. At the same time the follower, resting on the pattern, follows its shape exactly, and advances or draws back the cutting-tool in just those proportions that will cause it to exactly reproduce the pattern in wood.



HOWE'S ORIGINAL SEWING-MACHINE.

Here is an invention that sprang complete and finished from the imagination of one man. He simply thought it out in his own mind, made it, and it worked as he had seen in his mind that it would work. Thomas Blanchard was born on a farm, in Sutton, Massachusetts, June 24, 1788. The farm suggested nothing to him, and when at eighteen years of age he took the tools of a mechanic, all he could find to do was the dreary work of putting the heads on tacks by hand. This was in his brother's shop in West Millbury. A dull and small beginning, yet it was the one thing needful—the right work. The shop awoke his sleeping genius, and within

a few months from the time he learned to make tacks by hand he designed, made and put in operation a tack machine, and at once escaped from drudgery and discovered which way his talents and fortune lay. His most important invention was the stocking machine, or lathe for turning gun stocks, and now commonly known as the lathe for turning irregular forms. It has been greatly modified in form, yet its principal ideas still survive just as he designed it, just as he saw it in his mind before the first model was made.

It may be said that the history of this invention offers small hope to the young reader, because Thomas Blanchard was an inventor born with a gift for his work. No doubt; yet the study of his life has other

lessons. When he sold his tack machine he bought tools and shut himself in his shop, and for two years never came out, except for rest. Two years' persistent work, with his own hands, on one idea, and spending upon

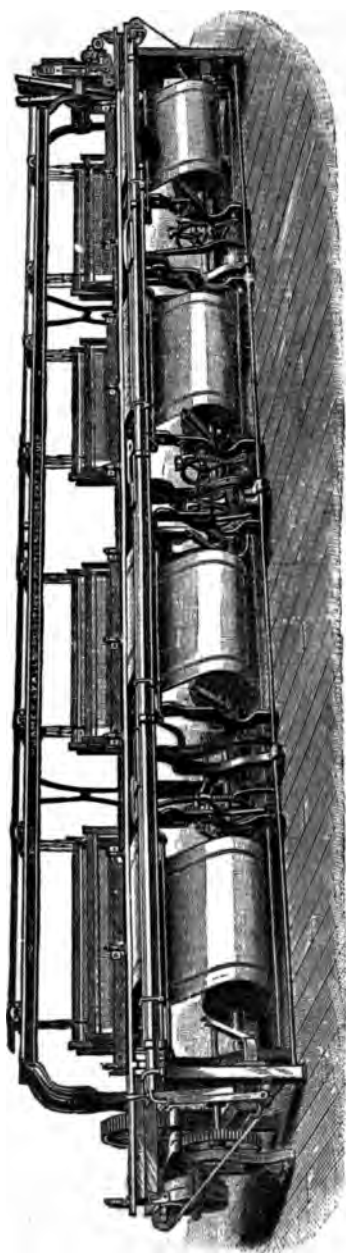


*Elias Howe*

it all the money he had in the world. He escaped the severe poverty of Elias Howe, and yet knew something of the warfare that seems to follow the birth of new inventions. He fought a good fight for his ideas, and was sustained by the courts in his patents. His chief invention was regarded







FOUR WEB LOOM OF LYALL.

as so great a benefit to the country, that his patent was renewed a third time by Congress, and only became public property about twenty years ago. He amassed considerable property from his inventions, and died in Boston, April 16, 1864.

American women have a notion that, in some way, one American man gave his inventive genius to the honorable cause of lightening the work of feminine fingers throughout the country. This half the nation looks to Elias Howe as the inventor of the machine for sewing fabrics, and perhaps scarcely observes another who has made some of these fabrics possible. Moreover, the feminine instinct has accepted with avidity new fabrics presented at all the stores that possess one quality never seen before in silks, cottons or linens. The enticing card, "Double width," lures the shopper as she buys the wide goods, without a thought that never before in the history of the world did any woman see such fabrics. Only the daughters of the generation just passing away ever made so wide the borders of their garments.


To understand this singular matter we must glance for a moment at the loom, a machine older than history, and a machine whose history links our own day and city, through France and England, with pre-historic times and peoples. The loom consists of the following essential parts: A frame, supporting at one end the yarn-beam or roller on which the warp threads are wound, and at the other the cloth-beam, on which the finished fabric is wound as fast as formed. Between these is the harness system, a device by which the threads can be raised or lowered to

form the shed. In plain weaving, every alternate thread is raised, which leaves an opening across the sheet of threads called the shed, and through this shed is passed the shuttle carrying the weft yarn. After the shuttle passes, there is one other part used, the lay, that presses the weft thread into place next to the one preceding it. Weaving, undoubtedly, grew up from basket-making, and all these features of the loom have been known for many centuries. Some form of loom was used in China, India and Egypt long before the time of Joseph. The Egyptians credited its invention to Isis, for want of knowledge of its real inventor.

Observe the history of this grand and simple machine. It took its present shape before any records of such things were made. The muse of history was too busy recording the selfishness of kings to heed a machine that clothed the people. No essential change appeared till John Kay, of Bury, England invented the flying shuttle, in 1735. Up to that time all looms were hand-looms, that is, looms employing a shuttle that must be passed through the shed by hand. The flying shuttle was thrown through the loom by the mechanism invented by Kay, and called the picker staff. For thus reducing the labor of weaving one-half, Kay was driven from town to town by the blind fury of the English weavers, stupidly thinking their work injured by his invention, till he died at last in poverty and obscurity in France. At the same time these same weavers did not hesitate to use Kay's invention, even when he was half-starved in the streets of Paris.

The next step was the invention of the Jacquard attachment. Applied to the loom, it furnishes a means of controlling every warp thread, raising any number or group at a throw of the shuttle, and thus making it possible to weave any pattern, however complicated. Joseph Maria Jacquard was born in Lyons, France, in 1752, and made his great improvement in the loom in 1801. He died at Orleans, in 1834, and lived long enough to come nearer to the more peaceful days in the history of invention. He obtained many rewards and honors, yet when his first machine was made, the Lyonese workmen destroyed it in the streets of the city, and made every effort to suppress the invention and to injure the inventor.

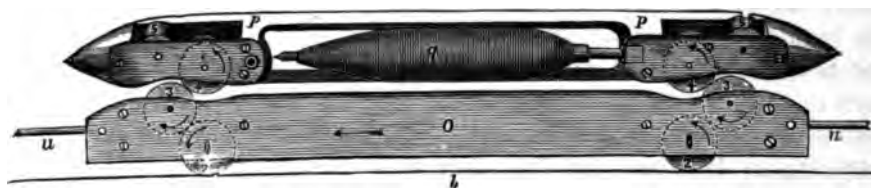
These three, the unknown originator of the loom, John Kay and Joseph Maria Jacquard stand beside a citizen of New York as the four men who have made the modern loom. Jacquard's invention appears likely to last indefinitely. Certainly it has not yet been improved upon. Kay's invention may disappear, perhaps forever, before the new positive-motion shuttle of James Lyall. To understand this invention it must be observed that when by the movement of the machine the warp threads are drawn apart



to form the shed, the flying shuttle is thrown forcibly through the loom. This is both uncertain and dangerous, yet it has answered very well up to a certain width. There is a limit to the throw of the shuttle, and this fixes absolutely the width of the woven fabric. If, now, the shuttle instead of skimming over half the threads and under the other half, could ride between them on a carriage, the width of the loom and the fabric could be very greatly increased.

At first glance it would seem impossible that any, save a flying shuttle, could be used in a loom. The two groups of warp threads that form the shed are continually changing. If the shuttle were arranged to roll through it must pass over the lower group of yarns and would at once throw them all into confusion and render weaving impossible. Mr. Lyall's invention overcomes this difficulty in a most ingenious manner.

The accompanying cut represents a side elevation of Mr. Lyall's shuttle and carriage. The carriage *O*, moves on the track *l*. On this carriage



SHUTTLE AND CARRIAGE.

rests the shuttle supported on the wheels 4, that rest on the upper carriage wheels 3, that in turn rest on wheels 2. At either end of the carriage are the cords *u*, by which it is drawn to and fro through the loom. It will be seen there is a space between the shuttle and its carriage. It is through this space that the yarns forming the lower part of the shed pass. They are at right angles with the shuttle and are not shown in the figure. It will be seen that the carriage travels under the threads and the shuttle over them, and that the only point of contact between them is at the wheels 3 and 4. Only one thread can be affected at a time by each pair of wheels, and as this is a rolling motion and lasting only for an instant the thread is undisturbed by the flight of the apparatus, however rapid it may be. It has been suggested the shuttle is like the circus rider leaping over the ribbons, the momentum of the horse carrying him forward even while quite free from his back.

The wonder of this thing is its simplicity. Other parts of the loom have been improved by Lyall and by other American inventors, yet this rolling shuttle clearly marks the most striking improvement ever made to

this ancient machine. The motion of the shuttle is positive, that is, uniform, direct and unvarying. Its flight is indefinitely prolonged, and it is now possible to weave fabrics of any width. It is this simple improvement



*James Lyall*

that has filled our stores with "extra wide" goods and given us a style of fabrics never known before.

Mr. James Lyall was born in 1836, and still lives and works in this city, enjoying the secure rewards of his invention. The fashionable shopper on



West Twenty-third Street little heeds the fact that at the foot of the street is the loom factory that through the chain of history is linked with France, England and Egypt. There were no bonfires in Madison Square to destroy the first positive-motion loom, no riotous weavers about the ferry landing to drive the inventor from the town, for a happier and perhaps a more just and honorable spirit, has come over the history of inventions.

The accompanying picture of a loom illustrates the new positive-motion system not so much in weaving wide fabrics as in showing another phase of the invention. If the shuttle can be drawn forward and backward through the loom, there is no reason why the cord may not be extended and a series of shuttles attached to it in a train and a number of looms be united in one machine. This is shown by the illustration, a group of looms being united in one frame and all their shuttles moving in unison, weaving several fabrics at once.

The literature of the sewing machine is much like the machine itself. If you bravely start to examine it critically you will find the same delightful confusion, the same voluble insistence on insignificant details that beset the purchaser of a machine. It is said by those familiar with the subject that the American feminine mind has acquired a new character since the days of Elias Howe, and that having heard the oration of one dealer concerning a particular machine it ever after refuses to believe that any other machine has any merits whatever. The legal, technical and historical papers written on the sewing machine make a literature as voluminous as the printed allurements of the dealers and as racy and readable as a patent office report. Its history alone concerns us, and the long and winding stream, turbid with the sediment of technics, can be clarified by the name of Elias Howe. Many minds had been at work on the search for some mechanism that would sew fabrics before the young Howe approached the subject. Sewing by machinery had even been performed in a certain way; one of these machines, in which a double-pointed needle with an eye in the middle passed completely through the fabric, still surviving in the present Bonnaz embroidery machine. This machine was a suggestion that sprang naturally from hand sewing, and Howe, while he perhaps never heard of such a machine till after he had made a better, followed at first this false scent after a machine sewer.


In brief, Elias Howe made machine sewing practical. Many attempts had been made. His alone was successful. He made the machine that would sew, and, after all, this is the thing. He is justly the inventor, and it is now so recognized.

The accompanying cut of Howe's original machine hardly suggests the

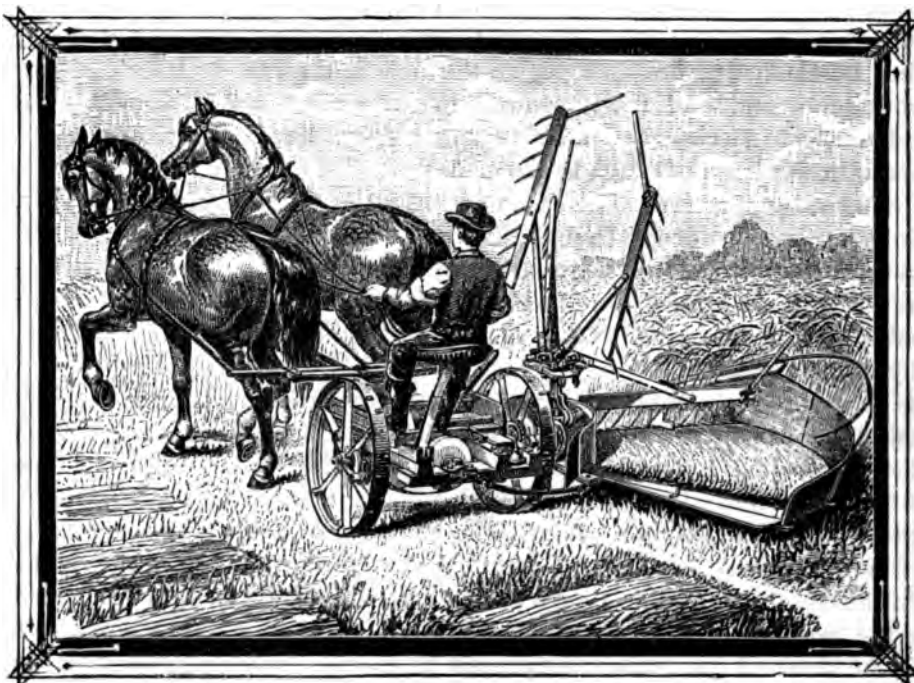
modern machine of any style, and yet it contains the germinal idea from which they all sprang. The eye-pointed needle, vibrated by a lever, carried the thread through the fabric suspended vertically on the series of pins on a plate that moved before the needle. The loop was formed in the thread for the lock-stitch by a shuttle, and these, with the curved arm, form the essential features of Howe's invention. The development of the modern machines, with their attachments and improvements, sprang from many minds. Once the road was opened, hundreds of workers flocked in to occupy and improve the marvelous country. Others saw it afar off and toiled blindly on to reach it. Howe opened the gate and an army of workers followed his steps, paying tribute to the leader, and yet doing what he could not do—bringing to the new field a vast multitude of improvements and additions. Howe's machine was, and is, a mechanical and financial success, and all men and women have shared in the immense wealth his ideas gave to the country.

The story of Howe's life needs no rehearsing. He only left us in 1867. No American boy or girl should fail to read his life, if for no other reason than for the lessons of patience, of earnest struggle with poverty and failure through the long warfare for his rights to the grand triumph at the end. The life-history of such a man is worth more than the biography of any king or general.

The first Christian century saw in Gaul the earliest hint of a mechanical idea that now controls the markets of the world. The farmer in Gaul used the original harvesting machine. It consisted of a large box or frame of wood mounted on two wheels, and driven "cart before the horse" fashion through the fields of ripe grain. The shafts were behind, and an ox was harnessed with his head to the cart and the traces fastened to the shafts. On the front of the vehicle were placed finger-like knives, side by side, and as the machine advanced through the grain, these knives, like teeth, tore off the heads of the grain and dropped them into the cart. The machine disappeared for centuries, to reappear in Illinois in the grain header and in the clover-harvester. Neither of these machines was a copy of the old harvester in Gaul, except in the retention of the idea of a finger-like series of knives for twitching off the heads of the grain or clover. The historical point of interest is in the curious survival of the finger-bar in the modern reaper. The knives now move with a shearing motion between fixed fingers. The horse has come round to the front, and the knives and fingers have dropped down to the ground at one side of the machine, and the motion of the machine itself is imparted to the vibrating knives.



Ideas seem to be epidemic. Many minds appear to be illuminated at once, and to bring forth much the same idea in different parts of the world at the same time. The early part of this century saw the birth of a number of mechanical devices for reaping by horse power. One machine out of a multitude had the right germinal idea. One young man on a Virginia farm, after seeing his father try for years to make a practical reaper, grasped the details of the problem, conceived the right mechanical devices for overcoming the difficulties of the problem, and made and used the first reaper that was both a mechanical and a commercial success.



M'CORMICK'S REAPER.

Cyrus Hall McCormick observed that the finger-like knives must move. The knives were in use in Gaul in A.D. 70; they were joined together and made to vibrate sideways by connections with the driving-wheel of the machine in Virginia in A.D. 1831. Spear-shaped fingers gathered the stalks to the shearing knives, a revolving reel pressed the grain over the knives. Bell, in England, had thought of that last in 1826, yet with curious backward glance he kept the old Gaul's idea of placing the cart before the horse. His machine was not a success, and McCormick's ideas alone were

fruitful in the million or more harvesters that have gathered the grain crops of the world.

McCormick escaped the personal trials that beset such men as Jacquard or Kay; yet he, like Howe, fought a good fight for his ideas. As in



CYRUS H. M'CORMICK.

Whitney's case, his ideas were of such transcendent value that the national conscience seemed to be too weak to resist the temptation to use his property by withholding a renewal of his patents. It, after all, mattered little, for the grand lessons of this man's life-history are found in his clear, sharp reasoning on the actual mechanical details of the problem he set before himself, in the simple and direct solution he offered, and the courage and





business sagacity which enabled him to win the highest prizes in many a hard-fought battle all round the world. These battles were peaceful contests between rival makers of machines in every country. The *London Times* covered his earlier machine with ridicule before the first trial began, and honestly sang its highest praise the day after. McCormick was born in Rockbridge, Virginia, February 15, 1809, and died May 13, 1884.

The new phase in the history of inventions upon which we are entering seems to throw backward a strong light, bringing out in vivid contrast one



*Chas Goodyear*

strange and interesting figure. The present workers proceed on simple lines, seeking for the unknown by study and scientific research. Many of the past inventors simply guessed and guessed, asking with sublime yet mistaken patience endless questions of nature. This striking personage in the group of truth seekers is that of Charles Goodyear. He saw new properties in the gum of a tree. He had faith that there must be some substance, some method of treating it whereby its nature could be changed. He did not know. What better than to ask and ask again in tireless reiteration. He would find out, like a Palissy, by incessant trying. There

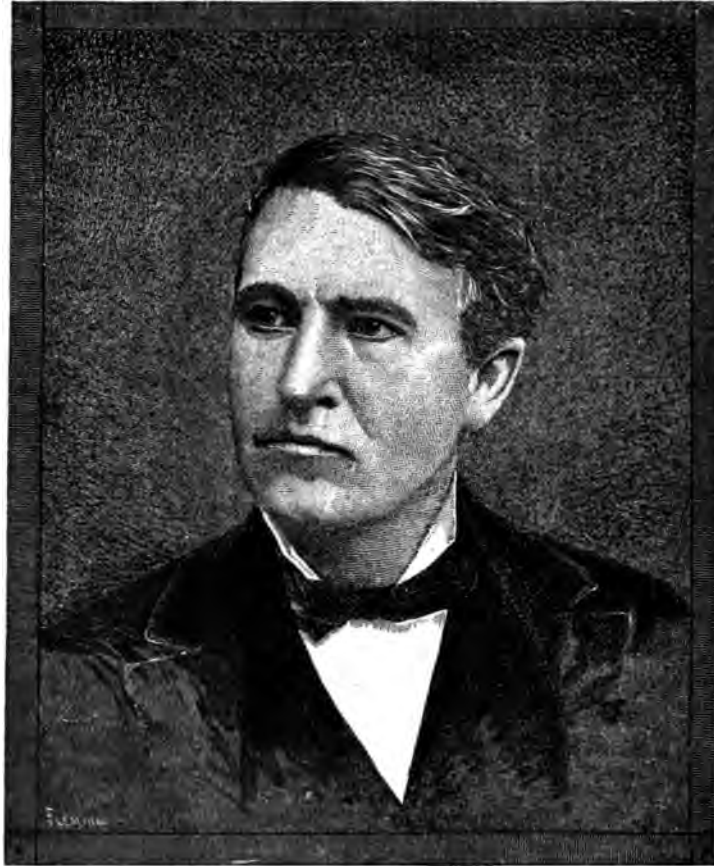
is an end to that road, if the man have years enough and patience enough to find it. He found it, as such men always do, suddenly and in an unexpected way. Apparently an accident. Perhaps so, just as the bursting out of a spring in a dry land is an accident. For all that observe the man—his life is the main thing. Some one would have stumbled upon the vulcanization of rubber in time. Few men would have shown his patience and perseverance. Charles Goodyear was born in New Haven, Conn., Dec. 29, 1800, and died July 1, 1860. His life is tinged with disappointment, by reason of the selfishness of men and the stupidity of European patent laws, yet he lived to win honors at the hands of the very nations who, perhaps unwittingly, robbed him of his rights.

Goodyear is perhaps the last of the discoverers by blind experiment. The new men must follow the steps of the younger Edison, who invents by the law of probability. Thomas Alva Edison was born in an obscure canal village in Erie Co., New York, February 11, 1847. More has been written about this inventor than any who ever lived, and there is no need to repeat the wondrous tale. The point to be observed now lies in the fact that he stands as the leader of the new men, his work an example of the new methods of invention. He asks questions of nature by finding out, first, all the known, then proving it over again by retrial, then he considers the probable, the most natural in the unknown. No blind guessing. A careful, deliberate search in a new direction. If nothing appears, "hark back," and begin again at the next most likely opening. There can be but one end. He finds a way, opens a gate to the new country, and returns with a complete map of all its coasts and headlands. Such a man adds to the sum of human knowledge at every step, and every new discovery is a proved fact, useful forever after. He doubts with a splendid courage all that is said of nature, till he knows it for himself, and then he moves on to the unknown with a courage born of conviction. He arrives at things because he has the compass of personal knowledge. These few words concerning the most remarkable inventor who ever lived are the result of personal observation of the man at his work since the day he began his greater labors. The lesson of his life is found in the fact that he has proved that invention is an art and not a happy guessing, that discovery is a wise search, not a drifting in the fogs of ignorance. His life is the greatest incentive to our young people to be found in modern history. It teaches to work, it points out the new path, at once laborious, scientific, exact, and ending at success.

Beside these men—Whitney, Howe, Goodyear, Blanchard, and Lyall and Edison who still are with us—stand Morse, Bigelow, Fulton, Alexan-



der Graham Bell, George Westinghouse, Jr., all inventors and benefactors of their times. Beyond these greater names is a vast multitude of workers, each striving to solve some question in nature or in some form to lighten human



THOMAS A. EDISON.

labor. To tell of all would fill a library, and I can only briefly catalogue some of their more recent works that have come under my personal observation. Since I began to study the works of our inventors, the following tools, machines, and methods have been introduced into business and manufactures: The type-writer, the telephone, the photographic dry plate, the air-brake, the dynamo and electric lights, the regenerative gas-lamp, the positive-motion loom, the microphone, the sand blast, water-gas, toughened glass, the silo, the ice machine, luminous paint, the paper car-

wheel, the pneumatic riveting machine, electric railway, the whole range of elevators and domestic pumping engines, emery grinding, flexible shafting, synchronous telegraphy, multiple cylinder engines, and photo-engraving. All of these, together with every one of Edison's inventions, are of our own times, and setting aside a few of Edison's, are in actual commercial use. The effect upon the world of this multitude of improvements is past description or calculation. They have overturned and ruined whole industries and created countless new ones. In any other time or country they would have produced social wars and revolutions. That they have not done so, and that they have been of the greatest benefit to our people, indicate, it seems to me, the new spirit of our time, the new phase in the history of this country. When the history of these new inventions is written, when the lives of the new men are told, let us hope that all the warfare, the poverty, and suffering of the past are at an end, and that Edison's life shall really point the way to new hopes, new labors and new triumphs for the benefit of all the people.

*Charles Barnard*




## MONROE AND THE RHEA LETTER

THE Seminole War of 1817-18 was hardly worthy of its imposing title, so far as concerned the belligerent parties themselves and their encounters; but in respect of the political controversies, domestic and international, which General Jackson's conduct of that war provoked, it assumes in our history a memorable importance. Roving Indians from East Florida, a province which Spain at that time held by a feeble and loosening grasp, approached Fort Scott on the Georgia frontier, surprised a boat-load of United States troops with their wives and children, who were ascending the Appalachicola river, and cruelly butchered the whole party. The administration at Washington, on receiving the startling news, ordered General Jackson to the front. The hero of New Orleans displayed his customary energy and promptness. Having raised an additional force of volunteers, he marched rapidly from Nashville to the Southern frontiers, and drove the bloodthirsty Seminoles into Florida. Pursued to St. Mark's after a slight encounter, the enemy escaped southward into their inaccessible swamps, and in less than six months from the date of the massacre this Indian war was over.

But Jackson was not content that hostilities should end thus easily. Two British subjects had come into his hands, Arbuthnot and Ambrister; and these, having been tried by drum-head court-martial on the charge of giving aid and comfort to the enemy, he caused to be summarily executed, the one hanged and the other shot. Next, turning aside from the homeward march, he captured Pensacola, as he had already captured St. Mark's, against the protest of the Spanish commander, and hoisted the stars and stripes in place of the Spanish colors; here once more alleging that the king's officers thus displaced had instigated the Seminoles to make war over the American borders. The British people were greatly incensed at what they called the murder of two fellow-countrymen; and as Castlereagh told Minister Rush, there would have been a war over this "if the ministry had but held up a finger;" but the British ministry, having at this time the strongest motives for maintaining cordial relations with the United States, waived apologies. As for Spain, King Ferdinand betrayed an impotent rage; but President Monroe promptly disavowed General Jackson's acts and restored the Spanish posts, at the same time sustaining in the main our General's charges of Spanish complicity; in which posture of affairs the

leading European powers refused to espouse Spain's quarrel, and the king after much hesitation signed a treaty which finally ceded the Floridas to the United States for \$5,000,000 upon stated considerations. This cession, negotiations for which had been pending some fifteen years, was not in the end procured without a skillful management of these Seminole difficulties; and to the happy result Jackson's rude exposure of the imbecility of Spanish domination doubtless contributed.

Not less memorable is the Seminole War for the influence which it came to exert upon the internal politics of our country. Jackson's summary seizure of the Spanish posts was a popular act, and such he had meant it to be. Our people, and those especially of the Western States, had long borne with impatience the delays of a fruitless diplomacy; confident all the while that in order to obtain a full settlement of spoliation claims, old and new, and gain title to a territory once paid for, as to West Florida at least, when Louisiana was purchased, nothing could be easier than to march a resolute body of troops into Florida, dislodge the Spanish garrisons, and take possession in the name of the United States. This Jackson did on his own responsibility; and, already the most conspicuous man of the age among our military generals, he leaped at once into prominence as a candidate for the next Presidency. All presidential candidates in that day belonged, so to speak, to one party; and civilians like Crawford and Clay, who themselves were ambitious rivals and competitors for the succession, committed the fatal error of setting on foot a Congressional investigation; hoping thereby, as Jackson's friends have claimed, to procure a public censure and crush this new popular favorite. But the President himself stood firmly by the General at this crisis, as also did Adams and Calhoun of the cabinet, and the result of the investigation was the utter discomfiture of those who started it, Jackson becoming a stronger and more formidable candidate than ever. From Jackson's gratitude the Secretary of War presently reaped a tangible reward in his own successful advancement to the Vice-Presidency; but in the moment of his highest elation, and while he reached out his hand for the chief magistracy, Calhoun received a fatal stab in the back. Crawford, his quondam associate and bitter enemy, betrayed to the old General the cabinet secrets of 1818; showing that Calhoun had declared, when the seizure of Pensacola was announced, that Jackson ought to be court-martialed. Being asked to explain, Calhoun sought to excuse himself; all the papers and traditions of the Seminole War were ransacked for his justification; but the angry President remained implacable, and under the deadening weight of Jackson's displeasure Calhoun with his national aspirations sank as in a quicksand. No longer influential with the mass of national



voters, he devoted his commanding talents thenceforth to the philosophy of nullification, to State rights and Southern secession. In fine, the Seminole War and its controversies bore, indirectly, no slight influence in producing the tremendous civil conflict of 1861.

In recalling the story of the Seminole War, I come upon a letter of General Jackson's, written January 6th, 1818, which played a very singular part in the discussions which that war elicited. I print it in the foot notes, as it appears in Parton's Life of Jackson, with the essential passage denoted by italics.\* That passage may be considered as the text of the

\* This letter reads as follows. See 2 Parton's Life of Jackson, 433 :

#### GENERAL JACKSON TO PRESIDENT MONROE.

"Nashville, 6<sup>th</sup> January, 1818.

"SIR : A few days since I received a letter from the Secretary of War, of the 17<sup>th</sup> ult., with inclosures. Your order of the 19<sup>th</sup> ult. through him to Brevet Major General Gaines to enter the territory of Spain, and chastise the ruthless savages who have been depredating on the property and lives of our citizens, will meet not only the approbation of your country, but the approbation of Heaven. Will you, however, permit me to suggest the catastrophe that might arise by General Gaines' compliance with the last clause of your order? Suppose the case that the Indians are beaten : they take refuge either in Pensacola or St. Augustine, which open their gates to them ; to profit by his victory, General Gaines pursues the fugitives, and has to halt before the garrison until he can communicate with his government. In the mean time the militia grow restless, and he is left to defend himself by the regulars. The enemy, with the aid of their Spanish friends and Woodbine's British partizans, or, if you please, with Aury's force, attacks him. What may not be the result? Defeat and massacre. Permit me to remark that the arms of the United States must be carried to any point within the limits of East Florida, where an enemy is permitted and protected or disgrace attends.

"The executive government have ordered, and, as I conceive, very properly, Amelia Island to be taken possession of. This order ought to be carried into execution at all hazards, and simultaneously the whole of East Florida seized, and held as an indemnity for the outrages of Spain upon the property of our citizens. This done, it puts all opposition down, secures our citizens a complete indemnity, and saves us from a war with Great Britain, or some of the continental powers combined with Spain. This can be done without implicating the government. *Let it be signified to me through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea) that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished.*

"The order being given for the possession of Amelia Island, it ought to be executed, or our enemies, internal and external, will use it to the disadvantage of the government. If our troops enter the territory of Spain in pursuit of our Indian enemy, all opposition that they meet with must be put down, or we will be involved in danger and disgrace.


"I have the honor, &c.,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

Hon. James Monroe,  
President United States."

present article, my object being to lay before the public, and I may confidently say for the first time, a full and true narrative as to what for convenience I shall style "Jackson's January letter." ' Parton, in his "Life of Andrew Jackson," follows Benton; and Benton, in preparing his "Thirty Years' View," was misled—honestly no doubt—by a lengthy document on the subject of the Seminole War which he found among Andrew Jackson's posthumous papers, but whose publication Jackson himself never positively sanctioned. Parton, if not Benton himself, has been puzzled by the mysteries involved in that January letter. Those mysteries, however, are solved in part by the later published volumes of that most valuable historical work, John Quincy Adams's Diary, though no one, I believe, has called attention to the point, and they are essentially cleared by the testimony of the Monroe manuscripts now in possession of the government, and of the Gouverneur papers which are still held in Washington by the last of Monroe's lineal descendants. These manuscripts, it is probable, will soon be fully purchased, and published by order of Congress; and meantime I believe I violate no confidence in using the substance of their contents for the purpose of this narrative, in connection with the publications I have referred to; well knowing that the American people value truth and justice in history, and that they would not willingly suffer false imputations to tarnish the fame of an honored President, who has reposed more than fifty years in the grave.

Jackson's January letter, it is perceived, indicates on the General's part a personal wish to carry the war into Spain precisely as he afterwards did. Heedless, perhaps, of the duplicity, of the lawlessness to which such a course must have committed the responsible Executive of the United States, Jackson urged Monroe to drop only a sly hint, and in sixty days the Floridas would be ours. The secret channel indicated was through John Rhea, better known to statesmen of the day as "Johnny Rhea," a member of Congress for many years from Tennessee, a native of Ireland, a man never of much reputation, who is remembered in history only as one of Jackson's constant parasites. It is well known that this January letter was written from Nashville before Jackson had received the marching orders which were already on their way to him from Washington, and in ignorance of their contents. Those orders directed him to proceed to the scene of war and take command, observing the restrictions already imposed on his predecessor, General Gaines—restrictions of whose import Jackson's own letter shows that he was already apprised. In other words, Jackson might cross the Florida line, provided the hostile Indians could be reached and punished in no other way; but on no account was he to molest or threaten a Spanish





post; and should the enemy find refuge within a Spanish fortress, he was to relinquish the pursuit and take no further steps without receiving new and explicit orders from the War Department.\*

Jackson was resolute, headstrong, self-reliant, disinclined to obey orders from any one, strongly persistent in his own views, and by no means considerate toward those he fought or argued against. Monroe, on the other hand, was at this epoch, as all accounts agree, patient, tolerant, slow in reaching conclusions, but magnanimous and considerate—an Executive who both sought counsel and encouraged the confidence of his counselors; a chief magistrate who took just and comprehensive views of public policy, who was sensitive that all his official acts should be rightly performed, and as a man the soul of generous honor. What impression would such a private letter from a commanding general have been likely to produce upon the mind of such a President, under circumstances like these? Much the same, we may imagine, as McClellan's famous letter on the slavery question, written as he started on his Peninsular campaign, produced upon President Lincoln's mind. The General had meantime received his military orders and was bound to pursue them; consequently personal advice on delicate questions of a political character, whose tendency was to compromise the Chief Executive, would be weighed but not discussed by the latter at such a juncture. In truth, free advice from Jackson was nothing new to Monroe; he had been receiving it ever since his election to the Presidency; and, appreciating Jackson's friendship as well as the originality and force of all he might say, he had constantly encouraged him to speak his mind freely, but at the same time pursuing the tenor of his administration after his own deliberate convictions.

In point of fact, however, Monroe never read nor reflected upon Jackson's January letter at all until after Pensacola had fallen. This will conclusively appear in the course of the present narrative.


For historical facts one should trust most of all to contemporary testimony. Later narratives, solely derived from personal recollection, are not to be depended upon; for not only do events fade from the memory after a long lapse of years, but they are grouped differently as viewed in the prospect or the retrospect; important links may in time have disappeared, while the bias of the narrator must be to make the sequence of anticipation coincide with that of actual results—a state of things which rarely occurs in real life. Let any one who doubts this tell from memory the story of his own personal experiences, dating ten or fifteen years back, describing the time, the persons, the surroundings, and the impressions he

\* See 2 Parton's Jackson. 433.

received, and then compare this story with the details recorded by him in some letter or note-book when all was fresh in the mind. Nothing, then, which admits us to the inner secrets of the Monroe administration upon the Seminole question can be so trustworthy as the correspondence in 1818 of the parties concerned and John Quincy Adams's scrupulous Diary.

As Adams himself, while thoroughly conscientious, was a keen and unsparing critic of his political associates and chieftain, in what he thus jotted down, and at the present juncture the only one of them all who showed a disposition to sustain Jackson's conduct to the utmost, we may trust his recorded impressions as not too indulgent toward the administration. His minutes of the Seminole discussions show clearly enough that the capture of Pensacola was an entire surprise to the Cabinet, Calhoun included, and to the President who had summoned them for counsel. The question for consultation here was not (as Jackson, long years after, chose to believe) whether to punish the General commanding for disobedience, but whether to approve or disapprove of his proceedings. Not only did Monroe state the capture as a breach of orders; but the news of Pensacola's surrender came at the very moment when, under the favor of the French Minister at Washington, negotiations with Spain for the purchase of Florida had been taken up anew, with fresh hopes of success. Dispatches relating to the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister had miscarried, and hence the full scope of Jackson's conduct did not appear; but, as to the Spanish posts, all the cabinet finally concurred in the conclusion that their capture must be disavowed as having been made without authority. The President generously admitted that there might be justification for taking Pensacola under some circumstances, but that Jackson had not made out his case.

Adams gives further incidental proof of the President's good faith. He says that, while candid and good-humored as to all that the Secretary of State suggested in Jackson's favor, Monroe was firm on the main conclusion. And, once more, in November, 1818, he records in his Diary that when revising the draft of the official dispatch in which, it is well known, Adams made, for European impression, a most brilliant and successful defense of the administration policy as against Spain, Monroe altered the document, saying: "You have gone too far in justifying Jackson's acts in Florida." "I am decidedly of opinion," was the substance of the President's comment, "that these proceedings have been attended with good results and are in the main justifiable; but that certainly they were not contemplated in any of the instructions issued to Jackson. I think the public will not entirely justify the General; and the true course for ourselves is to shield and support him as much as possible, but not commit



the administration on points where the public will be against us." Adams, who felt the force of the criticism, observes in his Diary that this view of the case is wise, just, and generous.\*

Monroe's whole course toward Jackson, indeed, corresponded with this same wise and generous view of his public duty. Had he made Jackson's rule of conduct his own in this instance, there might have been war with the allied powers of Europe, and, what was worse, American diplomacy must have been stigmatized as perfidious. But, making all allowance for Jackson's idiosyncrasies, Monroe candidly acknowledged the positive service Jackson rendered, as events turned out; and positive proofs of a continued confidence were given soon after, as when, for instance, he commissioned Jackson to receive the cession of the Floridas from the Spanish authorities after the treaty with Spain had been ratified.

In his message, on the reassembling of Congress, Monroe states the official facts clearly, but considerately.† Monroe's most confidential correspondence of this date with his own friends is consistent with the same theory. To Madison (whom he constantly consulted on all the great points of his administration), he wrote, February 7, 1819, while the Seminole debates were progressing in the House, that everything not already communicated to him was before the country; and, reciting the policy pursued on the receipt of Jackson's Pensacola dispatches, and the justice done to Spain by restoring the posts, he proceeds to blame the Spanish authorities themselves for conniving at or permitting the Seminole hostilities, and to defend himself in not punishing Jackson "for his mistake."‡ Monroe wrote, March 17, 1819, to Minister Rush in a similar strain after the Florida treaty had been concluded at Washington. §

But how was the delicate affair managed with Jackson himself, so as to soothe an insubordinate commander while reversing his acts? Most skillfully, as the correspondence to be found in Parton's Life will show, and

\* See 4 John Quincy Adams's Diary (1818).

† In this message the President observes that only by returning these posts were amicable relations preserved with Spain, and that *for changing those relations Congress and not the Executive has the power*.—ANNUAL MESSAGE, November 17, 1818.

‡ Madison's Writings (1819); Monroe MSS.

§ "The right to make war," says Monroe, "was not only not assumed by the Executive, but explicitly disclaimed. The General transcended his orders, but that was no breach of the Constitution; he chastised all those as well in secret as open hostility to the United States. But as soon as the orders of the Government reached him and those under him, a prompt obedience followed." And Monroe further observes (once more defending himself for not censuring Jackson) that had he censured our commander and exculpated the Spanish authorities in Florida, the cession just made would not have been procured.—MONROE MSS.

with an obvious endeavor on Monroe's part to assure the General of his personal sympathy and at the same time point out his breach of official orders. This correspondence, which was carried on after Jackson's return from Florida to Nashville, and extended from July to December, 1818, shows that Jackson merely claimed to construe his orders differently from the War Department, arguing that they gave him a broad discretion. And Parton, who relies upon the hypothesis (whose origin will be noticed at length hereafter) that Monroe had actually sent Jackson some secret sanction through Rhea, in response to Jackson's January letter, confesses his own surprise that these epistles should have contained no allusion to that subject.\* There is, however, not only an allusion here, but a full explanation as to the receipt of the January letter, which Parton has either overlooked or intentionally perverts, namely, in the last of the series, Monroe's response of December 21, 1818, to Jackson's of November. Monroe says at the close of that response: "On one circumstance it seems proper that I should now give you an explanation. Your letter of January 6 was received when I was seriously indisposed. Observing that it was from you, I handed it to Mr. Calhoun to read, after reading one or two lines only myself. The order to you to take command in that quarter had before then been issued. He remarked, after perusing the letter, that it was a confidential one, relating to Florida, which I must answer. I asked him if he had forwarded to you the orders of General Gaines on that subject. He replied that he had. Your letter to me, with many others from friends, was put aside in consequence of my indisposition and the great pressure on me at the time, and never recurred to until after my return from Loudoun, on receipt of yours by Mr. Hambly, and then on the suggestion of Mr. Calhoun."†

Here, then, is a complete explanation on Monroe's part; contemporaneous with the events, as to the effect of Jackson's January letter, and, so far as history is aware, it satisfied Jackson, for he made no rejoinder nor ceased to cultivate Monroe's friendship. But why did Monroe volunteer this explanation, considering that Jackson's letter of November, to which

\* Parton's *Life of Jackson*, 518-528.

† For this letter of December 21, 1818, in full, and those preceding, see Monroe MSS.; also "Correspondence relating to the Seminole War," prepared by Calhoun and printed at Washington in 1831, where the date is incorrectly given as "1830," instead of "1818,"—an obvious misprint, as the context alone might show. This letter is strangely garbled and misplaced in Parton's *Life of Jackson*, Vol. II., pp. 434, 527.

"Loudoun" refers to Monroe's Virginia home, and, as John Quincy Adams afterwards pointed out, it was Hambly who brought the Pensacola dispatches upon which the Cabinet consultations were held, so that the allusion of the text is to Hambly's arrival in July, 1818.

it responded, made no direct allusion to the subject? Possibly there was the barest hint in that direction in the November letter; though Parton himself fails to discover it. A chance passage in John Quincy Adams's Diary will, I think, if taken in connection with Crawford's later assertions, supply the reason. "At the President's (notes Adams, of date Dec. 17, 1818) I met Secretary Crawford, who was reading to him a violent attack upon himself in a letter from Nashville, published in the *Aurora* of the day before yesterday." \* Crawford, recalling the same circumstances to Monroe's mind, in 1830, states that they both agreed in this interview that the essay had been written either under Jackson's direction or by some one who had access to Jackson's confidential papers.† And to that conclusion the candid reader will arrive if he examines, as this writer has done, the files of the *Aurora* for December 15, 1818, and reads that Nashville letter. In the course of it, the unknown writer, "B. B.," observes that the government knew the General's views upon the capture of the Spanish forts before he marched his army into Florida; and if this be so, he adds, why, if those did not meet their own views, were not specific orders to the contrary given him?‡ This anonymous inquiry in the public prints touched Monroe; and hence, as we infer, his explanation to Jackson, made but a few days later, and the only one ever given, which the long record of Monroe's administration discloses.

Years rolled on and the Seminole controversy slumbered. Monroe's long administration closed with applause. Among the numerous candidates in 1824 for the succession no choice was made by the electors, and the duty of a selection having devolved upon the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams became the next President. But so formidable a coalition was presently made of Jackson's supporters that they soon gained the full control of Congress, blocked all administration measures and prepared the way for an easy victory in 1828. In these political arrangements, Calhoun, already Vice-President, shifted his forces to Jackson, whose friends in turn agreed to support him for re-election on the Democratic ticket. In this state of affairs an old feud between Calhoun and Crawford broke out afresh in 1827; the friends of the latter now seeking to embroil their adversary with Jackson by charging him with duplicity in the old Seminole business. Appeal was made to Ex-President Monroe for the facts; and among other issues of veracity raised between Calhoun and

\* John Quincy Adams's Diary.

† Crawford's lapse of memory is to be noted; he called it "an essay in a Nashville paper."

‡ *Aurora* (Philadelphia), Dec. 15, 1818. Observe that this epistle argues that to the January letter of Jackson no reply was ever given.

Crawford was that concerning the reception and use made of Jackson's January letter. Monroe transmitted his private correspondence for Calhoun to use strictly in his own justification ; and at the same time perceiving, as he thought, a growing disposition on the part of Jackson's friends to pervert facts and rob the Virginia statesmen of merited honors for their own hero's glory, he recalled, with no little feeling, the generous interest he had always shown in Jackson's welfare. As for Jackson's January letter, Monroe here reiterated the explanation of 1818. "I solemnly declare," he writes Calhoun, "that I never read that letter until after the affair was concluded ; nor did I ever think of it until you recalled it to my recollection by an intimation of its contents and a suggestion that it had also been read by Crawford, who had mentioned it to some person who might be disposed to turn it to some account." \*

A further statement in this same confidential letter becomes of startling importance. "I asked Mr. Rhea in a conversation," proceeds Monroe, "whether he had ever intimated to General Jackson his opinion that the administration had no objection to his making an attack on Pensacola, and he declared that he never had. I did not know, if the General had written him to the same effect as he had to me, as I had not read my letter, but that he might have led me innocently into a conversation in which, wishing to obtain Florida, I might have expressed a sentiment from which he might have drawn that inference. But he assured me that no such conversation ever passed between us. I did not apprize him of the letter which I had received from the General on the subject, being able to ascertain my object without doing so." †

Efforts were made, during the bitter campaign of 1828, to draw Monroe from his retirement ; but he maintained in honor the strictest neutrality as between the candidates just as he had done in 1824. He rejected overtures from Adams's supporters to place him on their ticket as Vice-President ; and both he and Madison refused to serve when selected to head the Virginia list of presidential electors on that ticket.

It is known that Monroe, like Jefferson, while above suspicion in all public pecuniary transactions, retired from the presidential office, weighed down with private debts, and that his last declining years were harassed with the humiliating struggles of pride and poverty. A claim pending before Congress after his retirement promised him, or rather his creditors, a partial relief ; and meanwhile President Adams, with a tender consideration for his late chief, appointed Monroe's son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, postmaster of New York City—a vacancy having occurred in the office

\* Monroe MSS., January 28, 1827.

† *Ib.*

by death—in the expectation that some advantage would accrue from the office to Monroe personally. This, however, was not until the presidential contest of 1828 was settled, and that adversely, of course, to Adams himself. After Jackson came into the White House there was a vigorous proscription among the office-holders; and Monroe saw with sorrow that the proscription extended to men long attached to himself in friendship and confidence. Jackson gave no direct proof that he had construed Monroe's neutrality to his prejudice; yet symptoms of this appeared. Early in 1831 the breach between Crawford and Calhoun became open; the Vice-President had been expelled from the confidence of the administration, and the issues of the Seminole war burned fiercely in the public prints. Both Crawford and Calhoun turned once more to Monroe and to their cabinet associates for testimony to corroborate their respective statements.

With regard to Jackson's January letter a curious issue had now arisen. Crawford charged Calhoun with suppressing knowledge of its contents. Calhoun claimed in return that Crawford had purloined that letter from the War Department. Crawford insisted that the letter had been read in the cabinet consultations of 1818 upon the fall of Pensacola; Calhoun, that it never was before the cabinet at all. On this latter point Calhoun was doubtless right; for Monroe, Wirt and Adams all sustained him; the last-named having his own Diary to refresh his recollections; and, indeed, the January letter now produced was to Wirt and Adams a new revelation. But Crawford, like Calhoun, appears to be fairly absolved from the imputation of falsehood in this matter, for Monroe was of the belief that both Calhoun and Crawford had been shown the letter; and Adams, comparing the several statements of this date with Monroe's explanation of December, 1818, suggested, fairly enough, that while the January letter was certainly not before the cabinet at all when the Seminole questions were discussed, it might have been produced about that time, while only Crawford and Calhoun were with the President.\*

By April, 1831, a partial allowance of Monroe's claim had been voted by Congress. The venerable ex-President was fast failing in health and spirits. His wife, whom he dearly loved, had recently died, also one of his two sons-in-law. He was troubled with a constant cough from which he could procure no relief. The solitude of his farm was insupportable; nor might he call the ancestral acres his own. He announced to Madison the intention of taking his widowed daughter with him to New York, there to remain for the present with the family of his other child, Mrs. Gouver-


\* Monroe MSS. John Quincy Adams's Diary, 1818, 1831.

neur. "My situation," he wrote in a letter of farewell to his life-long friend, "prescribes my course, and I deeply regret that there is no prospect I will ever see you again." It was not long after this departure that ex-President Adams, while passing through New York, found his illustrious predecessor confined to his chamber, extremely feeble and emaciated, and so exhausted by the exertion of speaking that Adams dared not protract the call, though he felt it to be a final one.\*

While Monroe was thus suffering, a strange letter arrived at the house of his son-in-law, now installed as the ex-President's confidential secretary and the chosen custodian of his papers. Even to this day, that letter, deliberately composed and appearing to have been carefully copied out, bristles with hate and defiance, every line resembling a row of rattlesnakes. It is written and signed by John Rhea. It asks Monroe whether he received a confidential letter from Andrew Jackson, dated January 6, 1818. After identifying that letter it thus continues: "I had many confidential conversations with you respecting General Jackson at that period. You communicated to me that confidential letter, or its substance, approved the opinion of Jackson therein expressed, and did authorize me to write to him. I did accordingly write to him. He says he received my letter on his way to Fort Scott, and acted accordingly. After that war a question was raised in your cabinet as to General Jackson's authority, and that question was got over. I know that General Jackson was in Washington in January, 1819, and my confidential letter was probably in his possession. You requested me to request General Jackson to burn that letter, in consequence of which I asked General Jackson, and he promised to do so. He has since informed me that April 12, 1819, he did burn it." Rhea closed with the request for a reply.

This letter, containing statements so utterly at variance with all that had ever been said or written hitherto upon the Seminole war, was opened by Gouverneur. Monroe had for weeks been confined to his bed, and those attending him had found it absolutely necessary to keep his mind free from all excitement or anxiety. In his astonishment and perplexity, the son-in-law consulted Wirt, the trusted legal adviser of former administrations. Wirt, agreeing with him that Rhea's story was not only utterly false, but invented for some hidden political purpose, urged that Monroe's solemn statement be procured. Gouverneur followed this advice; and accordingly on the 19th of June, 1831, the ex-President made his deposition in presence of witnesses, signing his familiar name firmly and legibly at the close. As to this Rhea letter shown him for the first time, and of which

\* John Quincy Adams's Diary, April 27, 1831. Monroe MSS.





he never before had an intimation, Monroe declares on oath: (1) That it is utterly unfounded and untrue that he ever authorized John Rhea to write any letter authorizing Andrew Jackson to deviate from or disobey the orders sent him through the War Department. (2) That it is utterly untrue that he ever desired John Rhea to request Andrew Jackson to destroy any letter written by him to General Jackson.

This document is still extant and I have read it with no little emotion. It is probably the last of State papers, if I may use that expression, which Monroe ever subscribed; and what must have passed through his mind, as to the vanity of fame and friendship, while his pen glided over the paper, the reader may imagine. On the ensuing 4th of July Monroe was dead; and with his death the Seminole controversy suddenly subsided. Whether the affair was dropped because this triangular quarrel between Jackson, Calhoun and Crawford had ended in a permanent rupture of relations, or because the public would hear no more of it, or possibly because the administration had learned from some source that there was a statement made *in extremis* which might be forthcoming, history does not record. But it may now be positively affirmed that Monroe's most intimate friends were informed confidentially of this deposition, and that one of them at least—John Quincy Adams—has left on record an opinion as to the Rhea letter expressed in language sufficiently clear and vehement.\*

No exigency ever arose for the production of Monroe's deposition while either Rhea or Gouverneur lived. Jackson, triumphant over all political foes, furnished no material for reviving the dispute. But, long after Jackson's death, Benton found among some chests containing Jackson's private papers, which were then and are still in the custody of the Blair family at Washington, a lengthy document which purported to contain an exposition of Jackson's conduct in the Seminole war from Jackson's own standpoint. This document, prepared evidently for publication in the heat of the Calhoun controversy in 1831, had for some reason been suppressed, or at least withheld from the public. Being then engaged in preparing his "Thirty Years' View," which was published about 1854, Benton made free use of it. As a faithful chronicler he set the narrative forth at much length, and as a long devoted partisan of General Jackson, and one moreover having slight personal knowledge of the whole affair, he accepted its allegations with no real effort to discriminate. But the careful critic must perceive that the document is not greatly to be trusted. The writing, as Benton observes, is that of some clerk in a fair, round hand,

\* See John Quincy Adams's Diary. August 30, 1831. "There is a depth of depravity in this transaction," observes Adams, "at which the heart sickens." See further comments, etc.

with slight interlineations by the General, and the expression is sometimes in the third person and sometimes in the first. Plainly enough, the story is long and loosely put together, with hasty transitions from narrative to argument, with *ad captandum* thrusts, with assertions equally positive whether facts are alleged as of Jackson's personal knowledge or upon mere hearsay; its main purpose is to put Calhoun in the wrong and convict him of duplicity, and its whole strain is passionate and bitter. Though bearing Jackson's signature at the end, it is not sworn to; page after page might have been interpolated by a scribe; and finally there is no proof that Jackson himself ever finally accepted it as fit for publication, but rather the reverse.\*

In this document appears a statement as to the Jackson January letter which singularly fits into Rhea's mysterious epistle of 1831. It alleges that while Jackson and Rhea were in Washington, during the winter of 1819 (or at the time of the Seminole debates), Rhea called on Jackson, as he said at the request of Monroe, and begged him on his return home to burn the letter authorizing the capture of the Spanish posts which Rhea had written Jackson in 1818. Jackson, it adds, gave Rhea the promise thus solicited; and accordingly, after his return to Nashville, he burnt Rhea's letter, and on his letter-book, opposite the copy of his January letter to Monroe, made this entry: "Mr. Rhea's letter in answer is burnt this 12th April, 1819." †

Monroe's own connection with Jackson's January letter has now, I

\* See Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol. I., p. 168 *et seq.*

† 1. Benton's Thirty Years' View, 168 *et seq.* This is the statement borrowed by Parton, to which allusion has already been made in this article, *supra* p. 012. If it were needful, much might be said to discredit such a story. From the Jackson statement one gathers the impression that Rhea's letter, being already in Nashville, was burnt by Jackson at the first opportunity. But Rhea's letter to Monroe in 1831 supposes rather that Jackson had the letter with him while in Washington, which is the more consistent. The General had come all the way from Nashville to Washington, in order to produce his papers and justify himself before a Congressional committee; and is it to be supposed that a letter so material to his defense, if it existed at all, and he had relied upon it, would have been left behind? And if he had that letter with him, why, in utter disregard of the reasons which the Benton document puts forward so sedulously, should Jackson have so long deferred destroying it, when it was so easy to relieve Rhea of embarrassment by returning the letter or burning it before his eyes on the spot? Again, it is certain that Jackson saw the President and Secretary of War frequently, while on this visit to Washington, and that he was on the most cordial terms with both of them. Why, then, should one of the General's astuteness have acted thus upon Rhea's oral request, unsupported by proof that the request came from the President, and without a suspicion of Rhea's motives in making it? And, once more, as Parton himself has suggested, is it not singular that, while we are told that Rhea's letter to Jackson was burnt, neither Rhea nor Jackson has pretended to state what was its substance, what the dates of Rhea's interview with Monroe, what the terms of the supposed authority, or any other details?

think, been amply explained. And as for that Rhea letter, which it is claimed Andrew Jackson burnt at Rhea's request, only one of two theories appears tenable: (1) That Rhea imposed upon Jackson in the Florida business a pretended authority which the President never gave him; a situation which might well explain his anxiety in 1819 that his letter to Jackson should be destroyed. (2) That the whole story was fabricated, in or about 1831, by Rhea and others in Jackson's confidence, for some political purpose, in connection with the Calhoun disclosures, which they did not see fit to press. The latter hypothesis, I regret, for Jackson's sake, to say, appears altogether the more probable; and that hypothesis Wirt and John Quincy Adams accepted—men most competent to judge, and not more disposed to favor Calhoun than Jackson.

One word as to the private papers of Jackson to which I have alluded. Since the recent death of Hon. Montgomery Blair, these papers have been held by his executors, who intimate an intention to arrange them for publication. Congress, on the other hand, at the instance of Jackson's surviving relatives, is considering the propriety of purchasing them.

In the interest of our history, I trust that the question of title to these important documents will soon be settled, so that they may be opened to the inspection of scholars, if not the general public. I shall be glad to learn whether the Jackson papers throw any light upon the purposes which this falsehood about Rhea's back-stairs mission—for falsehood it certainly was—was meant to subserve.


*James Schouler.*

## A BIT OF SECRET SERVICE HISTORY

A gentleman, high in power in the Secret Service of the United States during the late Civil War, had partially prepared, prior to his death, an interesting sketch, revealing certain facts hitherto so jealously guarded as never to have appeared in print, and this material, carefully verified from papers in possession of his family, and from public Documents and official Reports, is presented to the reader in the following pages. A fictitious name is given to the principal character, otherwise the story appears in its original form. The gentleman writes:

"Early in the summer of 1863, I received, among other matters of intelligence, in a letter from one of our Secretaries of Legation in Europe, the following item: 'I have reliable information that a gentleman immediately associated with Mr. Mason, the rebel emissary now in London, is about to leave for Richmond to make the final arrangements as to issue and negotiation of the *Cotton Bonds* about which so much has been said. If my information is correct, and I have every reason to believe it is, he will leave on the Cunard steamer which sails one week from to-morrow. He is about five feet eight inches in height, 28 years of age, weighs perhaps 135 to 140, bluish-gray eyes, ruddy cheeks, and generally prepossessing in appearance. His real name is W. Hampton Fairfax, but I am unable to state under what name he intends to sail: such are the facts. It would seem to us here very desirable to quietly obtain possession of this personage as soon as he arrives in New York, before he has an opportunity to dispose of papers which he doubtless will have upon his person, which might be of great value to our government; for you may be assured that nearly all the schemes and plans of the Confederate government are concocted abroad, and any means we can take to come into possession of information as to their points, cannot fail, I should judge, to be of service to both the State and War Departments. It is impossible for me to suggest any plan to carry out this scheme, and were it otherwise I should hesitate before doing so, as we over here are tolerably well informed as to your resources and abilities, and feel satisfied you will be equal to the occasion.'

"There were two reasons for believing this information to be correct; first, from our knowledge of the caution and perfect reliability of our correspondent; and second, from corroborative testimony found in an intercepted mail from Richmond—letters referring to the expected visit of Mr. Fairfax at or about that time. These being facts, if the informa-



tion of my correspondent as to his probable time of departure was correct, he must be within two or three days due at New York. A short letter, inclosing the foregoing extract, was penned and forwarded to the Superintendent of Police, New York City, requesting him to take the necessary steps to arrest the suspected party on his arrival and forward him, under guard, to this city (Baltimore). With almost any other person than Mr. Kenneday, a different course would have been taken, but experience had demonstrated that he was abundantly able to deal with such matters alone and unadvised; nothing now remained but to patiently await developments. Meantime a private note was dispatched to the State Department, giving the outlines of the case, and inquiring if the Secretary would care to see the gentleman if we should be fortunate enough to secure him; it was answered by an unofficial telegram in the affirmative. In less than a week from receipt of the letter first mentioned, looking over the morning reports of the officer in charge of prisoners, was discovered the following item:

“‘E. Fairfax Falkner, arrested N. Y.; two guards, charge, spy; received 4 A.M.’ Lieutenant Morris being summoned, he made a personal report, the substance of which was: The prisoner had arrived that morning in charge of two civilians sent by Mr. Kenneday, no papers, except a note to the effect that the party had been arrested on the gang-plank of the steamer, that the strictest search had failed to bring any papers to light that were of importance; prisoner assumed much dignity of manner and threatened proceedings for being summarily arrested.

“‘Very well, Lieutenant, you may bring him up.’

“As soon as he entered the room, it was apparent that the description received tallied with the prisoner, and settled the point as to his being the proper person. A pleasant-faced young gentleman, but somewhat pale and evidently anxious and uneasy as to his position—how much was known of, or about him, and a nervousness as to his future.

“‘Orderly, give Mr. Fairfax a chair.’

“‘You make a mistake, sir, as to my name,’ spoken stiffly, and somewhat excitedly.

“‘Possibly, but we will discuss that question later. Have you any baggage?’


“‘No, my baggage is in New York. I was arrested so abruptly I had no opportunity to attend to it. I trust, sir, as I am unable, that you will take measures to get it for me, or I shall hold you responsible. Such high-handed proceedings are new to me, and it seems incredible, that in this Republican United States it can be tolerated or allowed. I land, or

attempt to land, in New York like any other passenger, and suddenly, without warning or any questions, find myself in custody as a criminal, am hurried off against my will, without even being able to get an answer to my questions as to what the charges are against me. I demand, sir, of you, as I have of others, to be so good as to inform me what crime I have committed and why I am thus kidnaped and spirited about the country?'

"The language seemed to be earnest and impassioned, but there was underlying the assumed rôle of outraged dignity, a tremor and nervousness that indicated he feared more was known than he cared there should be, and as it had been decided some time before that he should be forwarded to Washington, there to be dealt with, there seemed to be no necessity of withholding the desired information; so he was quietly told that he had been expected to arrive in the steamer upon which he came, that his destination, his business, his name, his occupation, and his associates were all fully known and understood, that he was to be sent on to Washington, and that his baggage, after examination, should follow him.

"All this was duly executed, and he was, from pressure of business, more than half forgotten, the affair having been scrupulously kept from the press, when one morning a letter was received from Mr. Stanton, to whom it seems he had been referred, to the effect that Mr. Fairfax was to be returned to this office for such disposition as seemed just and proper, that as far as he could see, the young gentleman amounted to very little, and he had serious doubts if he had ever even seen Mr. Mason! Upon reading this, my estimation of the abilities of the prisoner rose considerably. I knew him to be all that was charged against him, yet he had been shrewd enough to deceive and mislead our keen Secretary of War, and any one capable of doing *that* was at least entitled to have his claim for cleverness recognized.

"The matter had assumed a new and puzzling phase. What will we do with him, was a serious question. Clearly, under the circumstances, not to deal harshly, but something must be done—what? At length an idea occurs, and a plan is formed and adopted. Dispatching an orderly, an employee was sent for, and after a conference of perhaps ten minutes, he was dismissed. The party just mentioned was one of the most valuable men in the service of the United States, and his occupation perhaps the most perilous. He was in the employ of Captain Alexander, Provost-Marshal of Richmond, and at the same time in ours. Provided with protection from each of us, he passed from our lines to theirs and back with almost perfect impunity. His heart, however, was with us, and while it



was necessary for him occasionally to carry some information to the rebels—something that they would be sure to learn whether he told them or not, yet the information he brought us from them was often of the greatest importance. His instructions in this case were to go immediately to Richmond, and through Alexander obtain an interview with Mr. Benjamin, and as an item of information tell him that Mr. Fairfax had been arrested in New York some weeks since, and forwarded to Washington; that he had there been in constant communication with Stanton, Seward, and Lincoln; that he was about to be released and passed through the lines, and would probably attempt to consummate the original business he started upon, but under the circumstances, it did not look right, and our messenger deemed it his duty to warn Mr. Benjamin of all this and to suggest to Mr. Benjamin to think twice before he trusted Fairfax so fully after all these private interviews with officials in Washington, and especially after all being known as to his intentions that he should be liberated unharmed and permitted to go on his business.

"This being done, it remained to deal with Mr. Fairfax in a manner to allay suspicion and to conciliate him if possible. He was informed that the Secretary of War saw no good reason for holding him longer, and that he had been returned to this office for final disposition; that it had been decided to grant him safe conduct through our lines, but that should he be found again within our lines, he would be regarded as a spy and dealt with accordingly. His personal effects were all restored to him, and in the pressure of business during those troublous times, he was again almost forgotten. Some six weeks from this time, upon entering the office one morning, our quondam friend was found in waiting. He rose quickly, and waited, evidently undecided as to how he would be received. After a few seconds he walked toward the desk.

"'Colonel, I think you do not remember me?'

"'Yes—I remember; but has not your audacity run away with your discretion. You were duly warned that if found again within our lines, you would be treated as a spy. Do you realize the position in which you place yourself?' reaching forward to touch the bell, he stopped the hand nervously as he continued:


"'That is true, but your orders were qualified. You said, if without good and sufficient reasons. I have reasons, and before you place me under arrest, hear them.' He then proceeded to inform me that all that had been suspected of him was true; that he was on most intimate terms with Mr. Mason, that he had come to make arrangements as to issue of the *Cotton Bonds*; that the market in England was ready for them, and that

he had intended, if possible, to take back some of them with him, but that his credentials had been mostly verbal, it being known that he was personally acquainted with both Mr. Benjamin and Mr. Davis, and that they both knew his position. That no trouble had been anticipated in that respect, and even when released by me, he had congratulated himself upon still being able to carry out the original plan, which was, on his return, to run the blockade at Wilmington and Nassau. But to his surprise, upon his seeking an interview with Mr. Benjamin, he had been outrageously insulted, accused of being in collusion with Lincoln and the authorities, and wholly unfit to be trusted. To round off and perfect the outrage, he was placed under arrest, and closely confined in Castle Thunder. Stunned by the strange course affairs had taken, he patiently waited for days and weeks, expecting each hour that the wrong would be made right, until at length anger took the place of regret, and he solemnly swore to be revenged on a people for whom he had dared and suffered so much to serve and who had thus requited him.

"From that moment he bent all his energies on the means of escape, and at last, through bribery and extreme caution, he succeeded, and made his way to Fortress Monroe and Washington. There he had sought and obtained an interview with Mr. Seward, before whom he had stated the whole case, and had volunteered, if means were furnished him, to return to England, where he would resume his former relations with Mr. Mason, but with far different motives. His *amour patrie* was entirely changed by the harsh treatment he had received; his hatred for anything Confederate was intense; now all he wished was an opportunity to prove his devotion to the 'old flag.' All this, and more, he poured out in his hot, impetuous Southern fashion. Watching him the mean while, we could but feel that he was thoroughly in earnest.

"Well, after this extraordinary statement to Mr. Seward, what did he say to you?"

"Nothing, just nothing. He sat and smoked as impassively as a stone image, and when I had concluded he icily remarked "he did not see how this should be expected to interest him; that under some circumstances I might perhaps be able to give some desirable information as to minor points, but that the Government attached but little importance to the actions of the gentlemen in Europe who claimed to be manipulating the affairs of the Southern States," but as I was leaving him, almost entirely disgusted, he called me back, and suggested that I call upon you and say what I had said to him. As far as he was concerned, he professed to know little or nothing of such matters; perhaps my proffered services





might be considered worthy of acceptance by those who did know, and, with a cold bow I was dismissed, and here I am. I have arrived at the point where I care very little for the future. My efforts seem all to be misdirected and futile.'

"Mr. Seward's closing remarks, which he had quoted, gave instantly the key to the situation. I admit at first I was surprised that the shrewd Secretary had not instantly availed himself of such an extraordinary opportunity of obtaining the very information we needed so much. But in a flash it became evident that, however much he might desire it, it was the proper rôle for *him* to assume to appear indifferent, and that within a few hours something would be heard from the State Department on the subject. But the question came up, Is he to be trusted? May not this newborn patriotism be short-lived? How shall we prove him? These doubts were squarely presented to him, as the best method of solving them.

"'I expected that,' he replied; 'it is quite natural, and my only anxiety is how to convince you. What shall I do—what can I do, to satisfy you? God knows I am prepared to shrink from nothing you may propose, unless it be to go back to Richmond.'

"'Can you give me any information as to the *Cotton Bonds* at present?'

"'Yes, I do know something as to the *Bonds*. Part of them are printed, and some of them are already on the way to England. They are going through every outlet the Confederacy is in possession of. One lot I know of was to be taken charge of by a German Jew named Rossback; he was to cross the lower Potomac in a "dug out." How large an amount he is to take, or how many are in the party, I do not know, but the information is certain and reliable.'

"'Are you willing to rest your future on the reliability of this information?'

"He hesitated. 'Yes, I am, provided you will take every means in your power to intercept the shipment, and capture it. I am certain they have not got through, and am equally certain they will attempt it.'

"'Very well, but in the meantime what is to be done with you? What do you expect to be done?'

"He said nothing, but watched my face keenly.

"'Will you give me your word of honor that not a syllable of this conversation shall be repeated to any person?'

"'Yes, certainly.'

"'Will you give me your parole to report here every day at eleven o'clock?'

"'Yes.'


“Where do you intend to stay?

“I have friends in the city. I shall go to them, if permitted. They are bitter rebels, and believe me to be the same. Doubtless, I can give you information on other matters, if you desire it. I shall of course conceal the change in my sentiments, and, although I shall not court their secrets, still, if they force them upon me, I shall deem it my duty to report them, if dangerous to the North.’

“After this he went away. Each day punctually at eleven he was on hand, and each day with some item of more or less interest. Although apparently free and unsuspected, he was nevertheless closely watched. We did not feel quite sure of him yet. The policeman on the beat where he lived had especial orders to watch the house and who and what passed in and out.

“A short note to the local provost-marshal of St. Mary’s, a note to Commodore Dornin, securing the ever-willing coöperation of the navy in the Bay, resulted in the capture of the parties who were expected, and in securing *Cotton Bonds* to the nominal amount of thirty thousand dollars, which were forwarded to Washington and are now in the archives of the Government. Although the amount was smaller than was anticipated, still the report of Fairfax had been confirmed, and proved that he *did* have information, and was entitled to credit. When told of the matter, he replied that ‘he was sure when he told me,’ and that it must be borne in mind that the Confederate Government was making use of every means in its power to get these *Bonds* abroad, and that they were going in small lots on every blockade-runner they dare trust by land or sea.

“The surmise as to hearing from the State Department the day our friend had presented himself on his return was confirmed by receiving a telegram to the effect that ‘the Secretary would be pleased to talk upon certain matters at his house that evening, if convenient.’ A long and satisfactory interview was held with him in his library, the result of which was, if, after trial, the young man was deemed worthy, to accept his proposition, and pay such money as might be considered just and proper for the services rendered; that *verbal* instructions should be given him to instantly, by mail, communicate anything out of ordinary course which might be of interest; that he should, besides this, in any case, write weekly, or at least fortnightly, the minutes of business transacted by the enemies of this Government; that his letters should be numbered, and signed with a fictitious name, and that he should never address or be addressed by the State Department—in short, he to be unknown to any one there. Passports signed in blank were provided, so there should be no record or opportunity offi-



cially furnished to serve as a trace, and it was further decided that he start at once. It was also arranged so that, should he prove false, we could, through our legation abroad, lay the whole matter before Messrs. Mason and Slidell, a course which would probably make Europe too hot to hold the gentleman, and necessitate his return where he would be duly watched for and properly received. All this was fully carried out, and in less than a week he sailed from New York, bearing by consent many letters from his acquaintances to their relatives and friends abroad, who were working with what has proved to be more zeal than discretion for a lost cause. These were, so to speak, his credentials, for it was proof that the 'sympathizers' in the North still believed in and trusted him. Each week brought from him a communication, and nearly every letter was of importance. So jealously was this correspondence guarded, that the receipt of a letter necessitated a trip to Washington, and a personal interview with the Secretary of State; no allusion was allowed to be made in writing to this matter. But some of the trips paid—paid in being the means of saving to our nearly exhausted country millions of dollars. Time, as it rolled on, proved our correspondent to be faithful to us. Every move made by the Confederate emissaries was known at the State Department within fifteen days of transpiring, and measures taken to frustrate them if necessary. Every letter of importance written or received at rebel headquarters was either copied entire, or abstracts taken and forwarded, and, as I have since discovered, many times they were sorely puzzled as to how our Government should happen to *guess* so shrewdly at certain moves on their political chess-board, and be so fully prepared to meet them. A few items will demonstrate the value of this connection to us, which I will here say was to the last never even suspected, and of what benefit this arrangement of our far-seeing Secretary has been to the country at large.

"It was through this channel that information was received as to the 'Burley raid,' on Lake Erie in time to meet and successfully crush it; by the same means we were kept accurately posted as to the whereabouts and expected goings of the Anglo-Southern cruisers. While the *Florida* lay at Brest repairing, our correspondent visited her, talked freely with her officers, sent full and complete description of them, their names, former rank in our navy, the armament, power and arrangements of the vessel, etc. Through these letters we were informed of the building upon the Clyde of two swift and powerful steamers of the *Alabama* class, and their positive destination and purposes, soon enough for our minister to present the matter to the English government, with such overwhelming proofs as to their intended occupation, that slow and perverse as John Bull pro-

verbially is in such matters (and certainly was in anything tending to hinder Southern aid), they could not but notice this affair and the building was summarily stopped. This matter alone was source of great congratulation, for knowing how much one *Alabama* had done and was doing, toward destroying our commerce, it was easy to compute what two more, still more powerful, would be able to do.

"One remarkable plot was frustrated through this agency, of which few ever heard, or suspected. One letter gave certain information with all the detail, of a plan whereby one of our Pacific steamers, plying between California and Panama, was to be seized, armed with guns shipped from Europe for the purpose, and turned into a privateer to prey upon our commerce in those waters; but more especially to look after and capture the other steamers of the same line, and the treasure they were at that time carrying in quantities each trip. The plan was well conceived, organized and nearly matured, and the commanding officer was to be one of our old line naval officers, whose home was in Baltimore. A sufficient number of assistants were to rendezvous on the Isthmus at a certain specified time, to meet a designated steamer on her upward trip from Panama. All were to embark as passengers, and at a given signal when two or three days out, by force to take possession of the vessel, run it into a certain port on the coast of Mexico, and take on board the armament which was promised to be there in time, and was actually started for that purpose. The information was received by us, in point of fact, before it was by some of the parties on this side who were to be actors in the drama. We were informed when, and where, and to whom instructions and commissions were to be issued and the consequence was, we by intercepting some of them came into possession of documentary evidence sufficient to convict. Letting matters take their course we waited until the time had nearly come, when one fine evening the ex-captain was quietly arrested, to his intense surprise and disgust, and kept in confinement until the whole plan was disarranged and given up, then tried by court-martial and found guilty.

"But enough has been written to demonstrate that the arrangement, romantic, and almost improbable, as it might seem at first suggestion, was made, carried out, and proved of great benefit pecuniarily and otherwise to our struggling country. Some exceptions might be taken as to the propriety of the matter, but the old adage, 'All is fair in love and war,' can, we think, be fairly urged. At all events, in this case the end certainly seemed to justify the means."

*Almon Forman*

## THE NATION'S FIRST REBELLION

As long as the civilization of the world continues in an unbroken stream the Great War of the Rebellion will be clearly cut into the face of history as one of the grandest and saddest of civil convulsions; but although ninety years only have elapsed—on the fifteenth of August, 1884—since the nation's first rebellion had its birth, few there are who can tell when, where or how it came into being.\* Yet, when the United States had but entered its third year as a nation, the so-called "Whiskey Insurrection" of Western Pennsylvania threatened its feeble life. Primarily, the uprising was against the imposition of an oppressive excise law, which policy seemed to be forced upon the government by the peculiarly embarrassing condition in which the country was placed by her long and desperate contest with England. All the best thought of the statesmen of Great Britain, from the early part of the seventeenth century to the latter portion of the eighteenth, and the stout hearts and arms of English yeomen for nearly two hundred years combined with an indignant outcry and a stubborn resistance against the imposition of a life-draining excise system. For over a century various excise laws had been imposed upon Pennsylvania, to aid England in "vexing the public enemy in America"; and later by the Colonial Congress and the Congress of the United States. In 1772 the excise law passed by the Government of the Penns, sixteen years before, was revived and made to include the natural products of the province, excepting what were for the private use of the owner. On the face of it this seems like a very severe law, and it certainly would have been, had it ever been enforced; but, as it was assumed that *all* spirits distilled from the natural products of the Pennsylvania province were for the private use of the owner, the excise did not bear grievously upon the farmers of the country. At this time the manufacture of rum from molasses became quite profitable; but during the Revolutionary War, when the raw material could not be imported, the farmers commenced to make immense quantities of whiskey from their rye and wheat for the use of the army. So profitable did

\* The principal authorities consulted in the preparation of this paper have been the "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. IV., William Findley's "History of the Western Insurrection," "Incidents," by H. H. Brackenridge, and "History of the Insurrection," by his son, H. M. Brackenridge, Albert Gallatin's "Memoirs," and the account of the troubles given by Townsend Ward in "Contributions to American History."

the industry become that it threatened to create a bread famine among the troops and a feed famine among the horses. The youth of the land were rushing to the stills, as to the saloons in these later days, and were becoming sots and worthless citizens. It also must be remembered that on account of the low price of grain at the commencement of the war, and the drawing of farmers into the army, production was much less than usual. So here was a moral evil eating away the strength of the country, and an alarming material danger which threatened the very existence of the army. Good clergymen from their pulpits, and good citizens from the corners of the streets, found ample ground to decry and degrade the distilling business and to make it possible for the government to collect a considerable revenue, thus maintaining the army in fair condition and saving the country from her enemy.

In the year 1780 Congress resolved that an allowance should be made to the army for the depreciation of its pay. This was distributed among the different States for discharge. Although ultimately redeemed at par, the paper bills issued upon the unstable credit of the State of Pennsylvania were, of course, much depreciated. A large tract of land west of the Allegheny River, and some confiscated property also, proved unproductive as a means of discharging the debt; therefore, upon application of the officers of the Pennsylvania line, a law was passed by which the revenue arising from the excise was to be appropriated in the payment of this debt of honor to the country's patriots and defenders. But notwithstanding the commendable object for which the duties were to be collected there were several reasons why the laws could not be enforced at this time in Western Pennsylvania. The first was that most of the settlers were of Scotch-Irish descent; many of them had experienced the working of the excise system in their own countries, and the very grain of their natures was repugnant to it. Secondly, it had been tried in the neighboring State of New Jersey and been thoroughly defeated. For a short period, however, the government did attempt to collect the tax, and considerable revenue was realized in Westmoreland County. At length, the people of Washington County became so exasperated at the insolent, unlawful conduct of one Graham, the exciseman, that they shaved him, cut off his hair, dressed his horse's mane and tail, brought him back into Westmoreland County, and let him go. Soon no one could be induced to accept a commission.

When the Federal Government was organized in 1789, the excise law remained unpealed.\* At this time wheat was so plentiful and of so little

\* Carnahan.

value that it was a common practice to grind the best quality and feed it to the cattle. while rye, corn and barley would bring no price as food for man or beast. The only way left for the inhabitants to obtain a little money to purchase salt, iron, and other articles necessary in carrying on their farms, was to distil their grain, reduce it into a more portable form, and send the whiskey over the mountains or down the Ohio River to Kentucky, which country was rapidly filling up and affording a market for that article. The lawfulness or morality of making and drinking whiskey was not in that day called in question. When Western Pennsylvania was in the condition described, the Federal Constitution was adopted and a most difficult problem was presented—how to provide ways and means to support the government, to pay just and pressing Revolutionary claims, and sustain an army to subdue the most powerful combination of Indians which ever threatened the frontiers.\*

By 1791 the farmers of Western Pennsylvania were more extensively engaged in the manufacture of whiskey than those of any other section of the country, being forced into the business by the necessities of the times and their geographical situation. It is therefore a tribute to the moderation of their representatives that † the opposition to Secretary Hamilton's excise bill did not originate in the locality where it would oppress the most grievously, should it become law ; for on the 22d of January, 1791, while it was pending before Congress, the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, upon the motion of two members from the city of Philadelphia, adopted by a large majority resolutions expressive of their sense of the subject. The State Legislature declared that " no public emergency then existed to warrant the adoption of any species of taxation that would violate the rights which were the basis of government," referring in this manifesto to that portion of Section 8 of the nation's Constitution which forbids the unequal levying of duties, imposts or excises. In some States little or no manufacturing of spirits was attempted. Pennsylvania was the banner State, and Western Pennsylvania the banner section, in this industry. The farmers of the Commonwealth, who were in those times the distillers, therefore felt that the excise law would be by no means uniform in its workings, and that they had a battle to fight, not only on the ground of personal grievances, but of patriotic protest against the violation of the Constitution by the governing powers. Forty members voted in favor of the legislative resolutions and fifteen against them, some who were opposed


\* See Message Governor Thomas Mifflin, page 53, Vol. IV., Pa. Archives.

† Gallatin in "Contributions to American History," p. 188.

to the excise law still doubting the propriety of the State to thus interfere with a Federal measure. General John Neville, afterward so prominent as Inspector of the Western Survey, voted with the majority. Before the bill was passed, however, the Southern and Western members of Congress proclaimed an organized agitation for its repeal, Wm. Findley, Congressman, and Albert Gallatin, then a private citizen of Westmoreland County, being especially prominent in the ranks of the opposition. But the representatives of the people never advocated a forcible resistance to the execution of the law, although some of them were afterward obliged to appear as acquiescing in rebellious acts of which they did not approve.

The bill having become a law, March 3, 1791, the next step which the government was bound to take was to put the machinery in motion. Gen. Neville, who was among the leaders of the opposition to the State excise law, who is said to have remarked that Graham ought to have had his ears cut off, and who voted in favor of the legislative resolutions opposing Hamilton's bill, was appointed Inspector of the Western Survey, which comprised the counties of Fayette, Allegheny, Westmoreland, and Washington. The acceptance of this appointment, by which he bound himself to see that the unpopular law was enforced, created much indignation among the people of Western Pennsylvania, from whose hands he had received many public favors.\* They were the more irritated against him on being informed that he had expressed a contemptuous indifference as to the continuance of their good opinion of him, asserting that he was no longer dependent upon their favors, as he was now receiving a salary of "600 a year." The "600" passed among the people for "pounds": and in those days the masses felt a great aversion toward salaried officers, even showing their contempt, in the most offensive ways, against the county judges. Although among the better informed Gen. Neville's salary is supposed to have been "\$600," still his former supporters felt that they had just grounds for indignation, and were willing to believe the worst of him that they might whet their anger the more. He was a Virginian by birth, a brave officer under the lamented Braddock, and a warm friend, since youth, of Washington, with whom he fought and whose government he had firmly supported. When these facts have been stated, a reasonable explanation has doubtless been offered for his acceptance of a position which brought against him the charge of basely deserting his friends for "the emoluments of office." It is quite certain that his action, whatever its real significance, tended to concentrate the opposition, and to make the

\* Findley.





hot-bed of the Insurrection that part of Washington County adjacent to the Monongahela and near the Inspector's residence.

In the month of June, during which was to be inaugurated the first year of the obnoxious law, no offices of inspectors at which the stills were to be entered were opened in the western counties. But the people were in great consternation, and held their first meeting at Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville) on the 27th of July. Col. Cook, elderly and discreet, a member of the first convention of Pennsylvania, the holder of various judicial positions in the western country, an ardent advocate for the adoption of the Federal Constitution and an earnest supporter of it—in fact, a man of sound judgment, “safe years,” and generally respected, was elected chairman. Albert Gallatin, then a young, unmarried man of thirty, a friend of Patrick Henry, a farmer of Fayette County, who had already obtained a State reputation and was subsequently to be honored by the whole nation, was chosen secretary. Then, as ever, he was a staunch Republican or Democrat, but firmly attached to the government. In pursuance with the recommendations of this temperate and harmonious gathering, meetings were held in the different counties to elect delegates, who were to assemble in Pittsburgh during the month of September. The controlling spirit at the Washington County meeting was David Bradford, a lawyer of considerable ability; deputy Attorney-General of the State; formerly at the head of a revolutionary movement to erect a new State from the four counties of Western Pennsylvania and a portion of Virginia; and, all in all, possessed of the spirit of the demagogue who seeks by unworthy, even mischievous methods, to ride upon the waves of popular passion to his own advantage. The Washington County meeting resolved to treat with contempt every one who favored carrying the law into effect. Although it did not directly countenance violence against the excise officers, there is no doubt but that those turbulent souls who were inclined to tar and feather felt that they were upheld in spirit by the Washington County gathering, and David Bradford, its dashing leader.

The deliberations of the Pittsburgh convention were controlled by cooler heads. Having considered the laws of the late Congress, they resolved that “in a very short time hasty strides have been made to all that is unjust and oppressive—the exorbitant salaries of officers,” etc.; but more especially did they “bear testimony to what is a base offspring of the funding system, the excise law of Congress.” The law was branded as obnoxious because it operated upon a domestic manufacture, highly beneficial in the then state of the country; was not uniform throughout the States, and “tended to introduce the excise laws of Great Britain, and of

countries where the liberty, property, and even the morals of the people are sported with to gratify particular men in their ambitious and interested measures." The substance of the resolutions passed at the Pittsburgh meeting are given to enable the general reader to stand upon the ground occupied by the legal and logical opponents of the excise system. But the day before the gathering of the delegates the unlawful and violent inaugurated a series of antics which were continued, with more or less frequency, for four years, having for their object the driving of the officers from the country. The collectors had been fairly established in the western countries, while their agents and informers were abroad in the land. The people were too impatient, too fearful even, to await the righting of their wrongs by "due process of law," or to exercise their mild "right of petition." Besides, as is the case in every new, fertile, growing country, there were numbers of adventurous and restless spirits who were ripe for a revolution, considering it little more serious than a frolic on a large and exciting scale. It would really seem that although many opposed the laws from feelings of patriotism and self-preservation, many also acted the part of boys bent upon the perpetration of practical jokes upon a class of obnoxious men, fortunately (?) thrown into their hands. The collector for Allegheny and Washington counties, the first victim of the mob, was tarred and feathered, his hair cut off, his horse taken away, and he left to tramp home in this pitiable plight. Several persons were proceeded against for the outrage, but the deputy-marshal dared not serve the processes, while a simple-minded cattle driver, who was induced to assume the responsibility, was whipped, tarred and feathered, blindfolded, and tied to a tree, where he remained five hours. These are fair samples of the scores of cases which occurred during the succeeding two years. The stills of those who were known to have submitted to the law, or who were discovered to have "compounded," or compromised secretly with the collectors, were broken up and burned. Many law-abiding distillers, who were also proprietors of small grist or saw mills, had pieces of their machinery carried off, and sometimes the whole building torn down. Excise men were ordered to deliver up their commissions on pain of bodily harm and the destruction of their barns and houses. Some were tarred and feathered and tied to trees—this seemed the favorite amusement of these grim jesters. Some were taken out of their beds, bound, led to blacksmith shops, and burned in various parts of their bodies with hot irons. Thus were the officers of the government harassed and persecuted; but, so far as known, no outrage was committed upon a civil officer of the law.

In May, 1792, the government had lightened the excise duties and in

September the President issued a proclamation informing the distillers of his determination to prosecute delinquents, to seize unexcised spirits on their way to market, and to make no purchases for the army except of that which had paid the duty. But whether the government showed a spirit of compromise or a stern resolve to uphold laws which had never been repealed, the effect still seemed to be to whet the anger of the hot-blooded opposition. They continued to perform the most humorous acts, never, however, quite killing a poor exciseman with their practical jokes. Those who still claimed merely "the right of petition" to Congress now forbore to call their meetings in Pittsburgh, or elsewhere, and the boys apparently had the game in their own hands. During the latter portion of their reign of lawlessness they enrolled themselves under so ridiculous a banner that, had President Washington possessed a particle of humor, he might have forgiven them for all their past conduct.

Some time in 1793, a certain man had made himself obnoxious by entering his still at the excise office. His building was thereupon cut to pieces, which process was humorously called "mending" it. The "menders" were, by a further stretch of fancy, called "tinkers." Each mender was a tinker, and then and there the opposition to the excise laws labeled itself "Tom the Tinker." On the forest trees commenced to appear threatening letters, signed by "Tom the Tinker." "Tom the Tinker's" awful chirography stared scores of offending distillers, excisemen and Government informers from the sides of barns and houses, ordering them to enroll themselves under his banner, surrender their commissions, or publish a card admitting their submission to his authority in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. The mob element had surely assumed a party name which had the ring of democracy to it; and it is actually a fact that "Tom the Tinker" came to be applied, with due seriousness and respect, to any one who was known to be opposed to the laws—to even such orderly gentlemen as Albert Gallatin, Edward Cook, H. H. Brackenridge and William Findley. (The two latter were members of the Assembly from Allegheny and Westmoreland counties.) Liberty poles also were raised in the disaffected region by this mischievous "Will-o'-the-Wisp," from which flaunted such inscriptions as "An equal tax and no excise," and "United we stand, divided we fall." But very soon the popular frenzy, marshaled under the shadow of the impersonal "Tom," commenced to be directed by individuals.

During the winter of 1793-94, when the laws appeared to be gaining ground, and many of the distillers had signified their intention to abide by them, an association was formed in the vicinity of Inspector Neville's home, which, by the most violent, was considered as friendly to "Tom the

Tinker;" but, by the cautious, it is said to have had for its object the checking of the popular fury and the confining of it to petitions and legitimate measures of opposition.\* It was called the Mingo Creek Society, and consisted of a battalion of the Washington County militia, to be governed by a president and council, the latter to be chosen every six months by the people of the several captains' districts. No person holding either a State or a United States office could be elected president, but the society had the power of "recommending" capable persons to the legislative bodies. If its members had any grievances which they wished redressed, they were to apply to the society for relief, rather than to any court of justice. This was certainly an organization which was alarmingly like a military tribunal, and a strange institution to be established in a free, representative country, whose very bulwark of safety was supposed to be her civil courts. But its career was too short to be very mischievous, though there is no doubt that eventually this society became the machine through which the designing David Bradford hoped to organize an irresistible insurrection against the United States Government.

As has been remarked, what the "Tom the Tinker" men wanted was not a modified law but a repealed law; so that when the amended act of June, 1794, was passed they commenced to carry on their antics to a more shocking extremity than ever. The government therefore resorted to decided measures and issued processes against a number of non-complying distillers in Fayette and Allegheny counties. All the papers had been peacefully served except one, when, unfortunately, the Marshal called upon General Neville to accompany him, in the discharge of his duties, to the house of a distiller named Miller, in the latter county. It was then harvest time, and a number of farmers, somewhat heated with liquor, had gathered near by, sickles in hand, to cut the ripened grain. The sight of Neville piloting the Marshal to their neighbor's home for the purpose of serving a writ upon an oppressed citizen, and forcing him to take a ruinous journey over the mountains for trial, was more than they could patiently endure. While the officials were returning, having served the papers upon Miller, a number of the harvesters followed them and discharged a gun toward them, to express the people's dislike for the Inspector. The news of the Miller affair reached the Mingo Creek Regiment, which was forming a select corps to join General Wayne in his Indian campaign, and the next morning (July 16) a small squad assembled before Inspector Neville's house, four miles distant from Distiller Miller's. General Neville was prepared for the rioters, and after a short parley they were flanked by a sharp

\* Brackenridge's "Incidents," p. 148-9.

fire from the negro cabins and fled in dismay, leaving upon the field six wounded, one mortally. The news of this casualty spread far and wide, and the next morning, through the efforts of the regiment and "Tom the Tinker's" threats, about five hundred men mustered at Couche's Fort, not far from the Inspector's house. The insurgents, before they reached their destination, had appointed a supervisory committee of three, who, in turn, appointed James M'Farlane, a brave and popular officer of the Revolutionary War, commander-in-chief. Their object was to obtain the Inspector's commission; but they found that Gen. Neville had escaped, and that Major Kirkpatrick, his brother-in-law, with eleven soldiers from Pittsburgh, had been summoned to defend the house and the Inspector's papers. On the part of the besieging force operations were conducted with all the formalities of an important battle, out-guards being placed at the approaches to the house, and flags sent to demand the papers, and finally to request the mistress of the family and other females to withdraw before the firing commenced. During a cessation of the hostilities Major M'Farlane was killed. His death was looked upon as a cold-blooded murder, and although the committee did not consent to the general burning which followed, the conflagration being once started they were powerless to stay it. The regular soldiers surrendered and were dismissed, the buildings being all consumed except a small out-house which contained the negroes' bacon. The day after the destruction of Gen. Neville's home, the Inspector and the Marshal, while a violent storm prevailed on the river, took their departure in a boat down the Ohio River, and escaped through Western Pennsylvania to Philadelphia.

The shooting of M'Farlane, under cover of what his many friends considered a parley, set the western counties on fire, and runners were sent out in all directions to call a meeting at the Mingo Creek meeting-house on the 23d of July. At this gathering, which was largely attended, Messrs. Bradford, Marshall,\* Cook, and Brackenridge, whose names became so conspicuous afterward, appeared together publicly for the first time. Bradford openly approved of what had been done, and urged the necessity of making it a "common cause." Marshall argued against such positive action, but would make the question one of inquiry. Col. Cook was, as ever, moderate in his expressions, and Mr. Brackenridge favored sending

\* Col. James Marshall, an early settler in the Western Counties; a man heretofore noted for his moderate disposition, industrious, rich, and respected, having held the offices of Register, High Sheriff, and County Lieutenant; a member of the ratifying convention of the Federal Constitution and of the Legislature—the nature of his subsequent connection with the Insurrection was one of the most surprising incidents of this surprising period.

commissioners to the President. The meeting finally agreed to call a convention of the four counties at Parkinson's Ferry (Monongahela City), on August 14, "to take into consideration the situation of the Western Country."

If such spirits as Bradford could be bottled up during these trying times, it would be better for the world; but these are the very occasions when such demagogues as he are most alive to the "advantages of the situation." He no doubt imagined that now his iron was hot, he would strike it boldly, and forge from the excitement of the day that independent Commonwealth which he had previously been so anxious to create. His first step was to ascertain what his enemies were saying about himself and his supporters. So two of his friends intercepted the Philadelphia mail about ten miles from Greensburgh, Westmoreland County, and took out the Washington and Pittsburgh packets. Then another friend carried the stolen mail to the town of Washington, and Bradford and Marshall accompanied him and the letters to Canonsburg, a small village seven miles distant. There, in a little country tavern, the three conspirators, with four companions, called into the room for the purpose, opened the letters, and found that Major Thomas Butler, in command of Fort Fayette, at Pittsburgh, in giving an account of the attack on Gen. Neville's house to Secretary of War, Knox, had referred to "these deluded people," "these deluded and rebellious people," "the banditti," etc.; that Col. Neville, the son of the Inspector, had called the insurgents "rascals;" that John Gibson, Major-General of the militia, had given a distasteful account of the burning of Gen. Neville's house to Gov. Mifflin; and that Edward Day and James Brison had also referred to the troubles in an offensive fashion. This self-constituted council of war resolved to imprison the unfortunate letter writers, even if the magazines and military stores at Pittsburgh had to be seized to accomplish their purpose. They therefore drew up a pompous circular letter addressed to the militia officers, calling upon them to rendezvous at Braddock's Field,\* the place of the annual brigade muster, on the first day of August, "with arms and accoutrements in good order." Each officer was coolly and mysteriously informed as follows: "Here, sir, is an expedition proposed in which you will have an opportunity of displaying your military talents and of rendering service to your country. Four days' provisions will be wanted; let the men be thus supplied." Such strong remonstrances were sent to Bradford that he issued a countermand to the effect that "the brave men of war need not turn out


\* So called because it was the scene of General Braddock's unfortunate defeat, the locality being ten miles above Pittsburgh, on the same side of the Monongahela River.

until further notice." But the circular letter had done its work, and when he found that the people of Washington County were raging to be led to Braddock's Field, although the countermand was in his own handwriting, he denied that its issuance was his voluntary act. Marshall, who now attempted to dissuade the populace, had his house tarred and feathered, and with many other respectable citizens and commanders marched to Braddock's Field through fear. Others, with the patriotic design of endeavoring to check the passions of the multitude, went voluntarily.\* As it had become habitual with the militia of these counties to assemble at the call of their officers, without inquiring into its authority or object, many commands were led to the Field without knowing for what purpose they were assembled. Those who were acquainted with the contents of the circular letter were greatly excited at the mysterious nature of its phraseology, and looked for some weighty matter to be brought before them. A committee composed of the leading citizens of Pittsburgh also attended in order to save their city from destruction. Rage, fear, consternation, patriotism, curiosity, and suspense agitated men's minds, and induced some five thousand citizens to gather upon Braddock's Field and enroll themselves under the banner of "Tom the Tinker," now personated by "Major-General" David Bradford. By general consent he had assumed this title, and mounted on a superb charger, and arrayed in full martial uniform, with plumes floating in the air and sword drawn, he rode over the ground, gave orders to the military, and harangued the multitude. The Washington militia, which were the most numerous, were dressed in hunting shirts with handkerchiefs tied around their heads, this being their Indian costume. They amused themselves, most of the time, by shooting at marks or firing in the air, at random. Although they and many of the soldiers were ready for any mischief, much of the hostility against the city of Pittsburgh had been allayed by the knowledge, industriously circulated by the Committee of Safety, that the disgraced letter writers had been exiled from home. Late in the evening, when the Mingo Creek Regiment arrived, no decision had been reached as to the ultimate movements of the army. Most of the soldiers were still suspicious as to the honest intentions of the Pittsburgh people, but as they decided to remain over night with the mob they were looked upon with more confidence. Many a time around the camps that night was heard the question, "Are you a 'Tom the Tinker' man;" which query was the acknowledged test of patriotism. Many a shout went up from noisy militiamen, "Hurrah for 'Tom the Tinker!'" In the morning a council of the principal officers

\* Judge Addison's Charges, 122.

convened for deliberation, and retired to a shady spot in the woods. Edward Cook was appointed chairman. Mr. Gallatin was not present. General Bradford opened the meeting by stating that the object of his grand gathering was to chastise the offending correspondents. He thereupon read their letters to the Council. While they were deliberating quite a circle of riflemen had gathered around, despite the protests of the council, and finally one of the militiamen, the spokesman, said impatiently: "Gentlemen, do something quickly, or we will ourselves." The Pittsburghers, headed by Mr. Brackenridge, reiterated their determination to expel all their townsmen who had given offense, as they already had several. But the insurgents wished to prove the truthfulness of these statements, especially as it had been reported that Brison and Kirkpatrick, two of the "exiles," had just been seen on the Sandusky road. Bradford therefore ordered the troops to move on. Mr. Brackenridge then proposed, to prove that they could preserve the strictest order, that the army "should march through the town, and making a turn come out on the Monongahela bank; then taking a little whiskey with the inhabitants, embark, and cross the river." The proposal was made in a light vein, and no doubt with the intention of putting those whom he and his friends heartily feared in good humor with themselves and with everybody. To his surprise his proposal became the order of the day. By four o'clock in the afternoon nearly the whole body of troops had marched through the town and halted on a plain to the east of it, the property of Mr. Brackenridge. Many of the inhabitants had placed refreshments on their tables before their doors, and the Pittsburgh militia and the Committee of Safety busily employed themselves in carrying water and whiskey to the noisy but comparatively harmless crowd. A hundred or two, however, remained in town, after the bulk of the army had been safely carried away in boats, to burn the houses of Gen. Gibson, the Nevilles', Brison's, and probably Major Craig's; but by a little artifice and firmness the threatened danger was averted, Pittsburgh was saved, and the Insurrection was virtually dead.

Of this fact the general government was not aware. Its officers thought that it had just commenced. From their distant point of view it appeared to General Washington and his cabinet as if judges, attorneys, assemblymen, the militia officers and substantial merchants of Pittsburgh, who attended the gathering at Braddock's Field—all the elements in the "Western Country," in fact—had joined to form one hideous and powerful combination against the government. When the news of the gathering reached Philadelphia, the President immediately held a conference with his cabinet, and the Chief Justice, Governor and Secretary of the Com-





monwealth of Pennsylvania.\* The assembled statesmen divided themselves, at this meeting, upon the issue which has ever since vexed the councils of the country. The Federalists, or supporters of a strong central government, argued the necessity of sending an army to crush the rebels at once. The Republicans or Democrats held that the courts were sufficient to punish the offenders, Chief-Justice McKean declaring that "the employment of a military force would be as bad as anything the rioters had done—equally unconstitutional and illegal." There was also some doubt as to the proper way in which the state and general governments should co-operate. On August 6 Governor Mifflin appointed the Chief Justice of the State and Gen. Wm. Irvine, a prominent officer who had been engaged on frontier service and held important civil trusts, as commissioners to proceed to the scene of the disturbance, and endeavor to bring the people to their senses before the President should send his army of 13,000 men against them. The next day (August 7) the troops were ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey and Maryland. On the 8th of August, President Washington appointed Senator James Ross, Jasper Yeates and William Bradford as commissioners on the part of the general government.

It is neither necessary, to arrive at a clear understanding of the situation, nor possible in a paper of this length to go into details as to the events leading up to the actual appearance of some of Washington's troops. Suffice it to say, that Bradford's influence was decidedly on the wane, and that, although he was one of the delegates appointed from the counties to meet the state and government commissioners at Pittsburgh, the counsels of such men as James Edgar, Associate Judge of Washington County, Edward Cook and Albert Gallatin, of Lafayette, and H. H. Brackenridge, of Allegheny, were in the ascendant. Yet, while the convention was in session at Pittsburgh, a very seditious libel was posted up on the market-house and afterwards published in the *Gazette*, especially insulting to the militia of New Jersey.† The uncompromising "Tom-the-Tinker" men were greatly inflamed against the delegates, because they did not demand an unconditional repeal of the excise law, instead of listening to the offer of the commissioners to grant a general amnesty in return for a general submission. The representatives of the western counties had as

\* Account of Conference at the President's.—Pa. Archives, Vol. VI., pages 144-146.

† The paragraph which caused so much hard feeling was this one: "Brothers, you must not think to frighten us with finely arranged lists of infantry, cavalry and artillery, composed of your watermelon armies from the Jersey shores; they would cut a much better figure warring with the crabs and oysters about the capes of Delaware."—Pa. Archives, Vol. IV., p. 547.

yet not given their decision to the government, but finally, after meetings had been held at Parkinson's Ferry and Brownsville, they decided, by a vote of 34 to 23, to submit and accept the amnesty. Bradford was still for war, and at the latter meeting delivered a violent and extravagant speech, threatening with his men to defeat the first army that crossed the mountains, and then organize another which should checkmate any further attempt of the government to subdue the western counties. He even urged the propriety of erecting an independent government. But, although he still had a following, his star of destiny was plainly growing dim; and soon after the vote was announced, the typical "Tom-the-Tinker" man, "ex-Major-General" Bradford, withdrew and was not heard of for some time, when he was among the first to take the benefit of the amnesty. The rebellious subjects of the government were therefore required to sign a test of submission,\* on or before September 11, although they attempted to obtain an extension of time, in order to properly acquaint the people with the facts throughout the large extent of country covered by the amnesty. It is very probable that the acts of violence which occurred and the stubborn refusals to sign the test were largely the result of this incompleteness of information.† Bradford and Marshall signed on the day appointed, the former making a long speech exhorting the people to submit. Those who had been most deeply engaged in the excesses generally signed. In some places the papers were torn in pieces and those who wished to sign were prevented from doing so by violence. In the townships next to the frontier, the people said, "Let them sign who are involved," and refused to do an act which had an odor of taint attached to it. The whole county of Fayette, which had submitted to the authority of the Marshal, would not sign the test, but, in convention assembled, passed resolutions agreeing to submit to the laws and not oppose the collection of the excise. Senator Ross, the government commissioner, who had remained behind to receive the lists of subscribers, brought such discouraging accounts of tumult and rebellion to Philadelphia, that the army was put in motion toward Carlisle, with President Washington close in its wake. This town was situated in Cumberland County, about half-way between the national capital and the scene of the rebellion.

\* The test was in the following words: "I do solemnly promise henceforth to submit to the laws of the United States, and that I will not directly or indirectly oppose the execution of the act for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills, and that I will support as far as the law requires the civil authority in affording the protection due to all officers and other citizens."

† Findley, pp. 132-33.



At Carlisle General Washington was met by David Redick, Clerk of the Washington County Courts, and William Findley, of Allegheny County, acting as commissioners from the people of the "West," to explain to the Chief Executive "more circumstantially the state of the country, in order to enable him to judge whether an armed force would now be necessary to support the civil authority." Taking Mr. Findley's own account as our guide, the commissioners found themselves surrounded by the most disorderly and dangerous characters, and were subjected to continual insult, not only from drunken and carousing soldiers but from the officers themselves. The President received them with the courtesy of a born gentleman and the consideration of a wise statesman; but while they were conversing with him, during their last interview, a general officer, with others, walked before the window, and railed against him for "countenancing insurgents." \* Owing, however, to his salutary restraint, all their fire was spent in threatening what they would do. Laying their hands on their swords, which many of them had not been accustomed to wear, they would swear that there was no need of judges and juries; let them only *see* the rebels and they would "skewer" them. Before Washington's arrival, and while the army was marching toward Carlisle, two men had already been killed. While there liquor was drunk quite freely, and especially before this "salutary restraint" was present, insubordination and disorder were so rife that the people of Carlisle were in great apprehension lest their town should be burned. One reason for this alarming state of affairs was that the military corps were composed mostly of substitutes, who came prepared to do any mischief or outrage, and who were impatient at the restraint which cautious officers and the volunteer corps, who were generally men of liberal education and honor, placed upon them.

All these facts, and many more, the commissioners learned during their stay at Carlisle, and they justly felt alarmed at the thought of this motley gathering of soldiers overrunning the western counties. Messrs. Redick and Findley hastened home, and assurances couched in more submissive language than ever were given the government that citizens and distillers would strictly comply with the law. Never was the backbone of a rebellion more thoroughly broken; and it may be permitted an humble historian to suggest that the national government showed a little weakness in making a foolish exhibit of its strength. But the army clamored to be "doing something," as did Bradford's men at Braddock's Field. The New Jersey troops, in particular, were anxious to wipe out the stigma of the

\* Findley, p. 147.

Pittsburgh libel. So the President returned to Philadelphia, and the army under General Thomas S. Lee, of Maryland, proceeded to Uniontown, Fayette County, and soon were scouring the country for delinquents to bear away for trial beyond the mountains. Grave outrages truly were committed, and none of the troops acted more ingloriously than a portion of the Jersey horsemen who were sent to make arrests in the hot-bed of the insurrection, the Mingo Creek settlement. But it is not germane to the objects of this paper to discuss the particulars—the arrest of Sheriff Hamilton, Brackenridge and others—the wholesale arrests of November 13, called in that region to this day “the dreadful night.” Some of the arrested were released through the interposition of influential friends. Others were sent to Philadelphia for trial, where they were imprisoned for ten or twelve months and then discharged. Several were finally tried, and one or two convicted but subsequently pardoned.

But the government had established its authority, for the first time *as a government*. It was the country's first decisive test ; and it is the touchstone of any government's inherent strength, that it shall be able to put down a civil dissension and eventually retain the respect if not the love of the subdued. Whatever may be said of some of the military leaders of General Washington's army, it is the truth, beyond a doubt, that the President's discreet course in his dealings with those who were “railed against” as insurgents gained him friends even in the opposition ranks. As to the Excise law itself, the victory of Wayne over the Indians opened the navigation of the Ohio, made the markets of the West again accessible to the former rebellious country, and brought money into the counties, with which the tax was readily paid: while in 1802 the hated law was repealed.


*W. G. Cutler.*



## TRIBUTE TO THE LATE ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL

In the Summer of 1860, feeling diffident in regard to the merits of my unfinished *Life of Sir William Johnson*, I sent a few of its chapters to Orsamus H. Marshall, of Buffalo (to whom I was at the time a perfect stranger, though, of course, he was not unknown to me), with the request that he would kindly examine the manuscript, and give me his opinion as to the advisability of its publication. His letter in reply was so kind and so full of genial encouragement—as well as that of Mr. Francis Parkman, of Boston, to whom I had also written—that the work was completed and given to the public. This was the beginning of a friendship terminated only by the recent and lamented death of Mr. Marshall. The niche which this excellent gentleman filled in the social, literary and business world, and the fact that he was a frequent and valued contributor to the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, add peculiar interest to the fine steel portrait of him which forms the frontispiece to the present number. He wrote the first and leading article, published in the first issue of this periodical—in January, 1877. It was entitled, “Champlain’s Expedition in 1613–15 against the Onondagas.” It was charmingly as well as ably written, and attracted wide attention. It stands now in the richly bound Vol. I. (of the Magazine volumes) like an usher to the long line of excellent productions which have rendered this now popular and rapidly growing Magazine indispensable to every lover of American history.

Mr. Marshall has deservedly won high rank as an historical writer, and in his own particular province stands perhaps without a rival. What the term *genre* expresses as applied to paintings, may with equal force be used to illustrate the character of his writings. He chose chiefly for his subjects the aboriginals of Western New York, and the early explorers—subjects fraught with all the elements of picturesque romance, and the attractiveness which surrounds narratives of adventure and personal prowess; and the results of his fidelity in searching for original authorities, and in clearing from false exaggeration and obscurity the real story, is presented in a style always agreeable, and with a minuteness of detail which has given to his many historical monographs and contributions to magazine literature an authoritative value. The old documents, “crisp with age and covered with the dust of centuries,” which he has collected, and for the first time turned to account in the matter of verification and



illustration, take us behind the scenes and show us the wires, which, pulled by Louis XIV. and his ministers, made their puppets in the New World dance.

Mr. Marshall's numerous addresses before the Buffalo and other Historical Societies have done much toward creating a taste for historical studies. His published works have reached a wide community of appreciative readers : among the principal of these may be mentioned—in addition to the initial publication in the first issue of this Magazine—the “Expedition of the Marquis de Nonville in 1689 against the Senecas,” issued by the New York Historical Society in Vol. II. of its new series; the “Expedition of De Celeron to the Ohio in 1749;” “La Salle's First Visit to the Senecas in 1699” (privately printed in pamphlet form in 1874); “Historical Sketches of the Niagara Frontier,” read before and published by the Buffalo Historical Society; and “The Building and the Voyage of the Griffon in 1679,” also read before and published by the same Society, the distinguishing feature of each being the picturesque beauty with which dry historical facts are adorned, while truth is strictly preserved. The notion of the old school of historians that history, to be correct, must necessarily be dull, has of late years been gradually passing away. Among American writers who have aided materially in bringing about this change, Parkman, Bancroft, Prescott and Marshall are preëminent. The notable increase of public interest in historical investigation within the past few years, the rise of historical societies all over the land, and the ardent zeal awakened in a multitude of directions for the preservation of records, are also largely due to the historical impetus given to the scholarship of the country by such able and enthusiastic writers. The stern pioneer warrior, with arquebus and matchlock, the friars with their rosaries and peaked hoods, the plumed Indian with tomahawk and gayly-decorated quiver, pass before us, as we read Mr. Marshall's pages, like the figures in the glittering pageant of a night; and were it not for the carefully collected foot-notes, which afford a sure test of the accuracy of the text, we should often think it a dream of romance rather than a chapter of stern history. The period partially covered by his writings, like those of Parkman, is one of unique interest. Of the influences which were at work in founding New France, and of the facts themselves, comparatively little is known. It has been the generally received impression that the halo of romance surrounding the pioneers of the New World has been the result of this uncertainty, which a more accurate knowledge would at once dissipate. Parkman and Marshall, however, prove the contrary to be the case, and clearly show that the facts, when carefully studied, increase, rather than diminish, in picturesque charm and



coloring. France—a century later than England—was just emerging from the bondage of feudalism. The *tiers état* was struggling into life, and the free burgesses were gradually forcing the nobility, under the pleasure-loving Louis XIII., to relinquish their grasp upon their baronial rights and privileges. At this point the discovery of the New World seemed to show a way of escape; and under the guise of traffic and adventure, feudalism sought to engraft upon new stock that which was fast withering upon the old. Some of the attempts and trials, the successes and failures, the sufferings and daring, which ensued while the experiment was in progress, are clearly shown by Mr. Marshall. Especially is this the case in “The Building and Voyage of the *Griffon*.” The story of her voyage covers the early and dangerous explorations of La Salle, La Motte and Father Hennepin. “The humble pioneer of the vast fleets of our modern lake commerce,” as Mr. Marshall happily expresses it, “now spread her sails to the auspicious breeze and commenced her perilous voyage. The vast inland seas, over which she was about to navigate, had never been explored, save by the canoe of the Indian, timidly coasting along their shores. Without chart to warn of hidden danger, she boldly plowed her way.” The vessel was driven by violent gales north-westerly, and at length anchored in the calm waters of the bay of Missillinakinac. “Here,” continues our author, “the voyagers found a settlement composed of Hurons, Ottawas and a few Frenchmen. A bark-covered chapel bore the emblem of the cross, erected over a mission planted by the Jesuits. Like a dim taper, it shone with feeble light in a vast wilderness of Pagan darkness.” Gladly would we accompany Mr. Marshall in his delineation of the career of the adventurous La Salle, who with his companions, Hennepin, Tonty, Jontel and other kindred spirits, follow in and widen the track of his predecessor, Marquette; but our limits forbid, and as after an hour spent in rapt admiration of some magnificent creation of an artist's pencil we fain would linger, but are compelled to turn away, comforting ourselves with the intention of soon coming again, so we must be content with his closing paragraph. The vessel, it appears, was finally lost—not the only disaster, but simply one of a series which befell this enterprising explorer—“yet his iron will was not subdued nor his impetuous ardor diminished. He continued to prosecute his discoveries under the most disheartening reverses, with a self-reliance and energy that never faltered. He was equal to every situation, whether sharing the luxuries of civilized life or the privations of the wilderness; whether contending with the snows of a Canadian winter or the burning heats of Texas; whether paddling his canoe along the northern lakes or seeking by sea for the mouth of the Mississippi. His eventful life

embodied the elements of a grand epic poem, full of romantic interest and graphic incident ; alternating in success and failure, and culminating in a tragic death."

In Mr. Marshall's volumes, likewise, we catch full glimpses of the self-sacrificing devotion of the followers of Loyola in carrying out the work left by Champlain. We see them now pulling with strong arms their frail bark canoes against the rapids of the Canadian rivers, and again, elevating the Host before some sylvan altar—the brawny forms of the Indian braves bent in rapt surprise at the strange rite. To all persons interested in the vindication of the character of our aboriginals these writings peculiarly appeal. Mr. Marshall brought to his researches a benevolent nature, sympathizing with the Indians in all their misfortunes, and a fondness for traditions, which is the more interesting, as he had been brought into personal contact with their prominent leaders (Red Jacket, for example). Seen through the vista of prejudice the Indian, whom our ancestors first encountered, is more or less a hideous creature of cruelty ; and the Puritan exile, while he calmly burns out the tongue of a Quaker for a religious difference, holds up to pious horror the savage who scalps the white ravisher of his wife ! The late Col. Wm. L. Stone and Mr. Schoolcraft were the pioneers in hewing down the prejudices that had grown up around the Indian character ; they show conclusively that whenever the aboriginals were treated simply as fellow-men they never failed to show appreciation of it by their conduct.\* The first act of the savages of Eastern Massachusetts upon the arrival of the *Mayflower* was to tender her passengers presents of maize ; and not until their claims to kind treatment were ignored and themselves wantonly spurned (when the immediate danger to the colonists of starvation was over) did they raise the defiant war-whoop against the white strangers. And when, in the severe winter of 1678, La Motte and Hennepin, after following for five weary days an Indian trail through the frost-bound wilderness, and sleeping at night in the open air without shelter, reached the village of the Senecas, they were received by that nation, as we are told by Mr. Marshall, "with marked consideration and conducted to the cabin of their principal chief, where the young men bathed their travel-worn feet and anointed them with bear's oil." In fact, we do not remember an instance where the whites encountered the Red Men for the first time on the shores of this continent in which they were not treated with kindness and hospitality.

\* The great influence of William Penn, Sir William Johnson and Lescabot over the terrible, yet fickle Iroquois, which has always been regarded as so extraordinary, arose simply from the fact that they knew the magic of kindness and its potency over all, but especially over the Red Men of the forest.



"The Niagara Frontier" not only embraces sketches of the early history of that section of the country, but is a successful attempt to rescue from oblivion and illustrate historically some of the Indian, French and English names which have been applied to the most prominent localities on that frontier. This paper is characterized by the same agreeable style, joined to historical accuracy, which runs throughout the series; and with a similar conclusive way in which the writer in his "Expedition of Champlain" established to the satisfaction of so thorough a writer as Parkman the site of the battle between Champlain and the Onondagas, he settles the question of the original Indian name of the Falls of Niagara. The thanks of his countrymen should be given him for his painstaking efforts in putting into imperishable form the early history of a national curiosity in which Americans justly take great pride. "After the discovery," as we here read, "the Senecas appear to have given it the name of '*Det-gah-shoh-scs*,' signifying 'the place of the High Fall.' They never call it Niagara, nor by any similar term, neither does that word signify in their language, 'thunders of waters,' as affirmed by Schoolcraft." Indeed, it has been too much the habit of some of our American writers upon the aboriginals either to substitute a theory of their own in relation to the meaning of certain Indian names, or to announce a thing as a fact before having sufficiently investigated the subject. Schoolcraft is not the only author who has fallen into this error. Cooper, also, in his fiction, has originated a mistake in this way in writing of Lake George—the original Indian name of which is *An-dia-roc-te*—giving the manufactured one Horicon, which by some has been imagined to mean "Clear Water," as the original name. This, as in the case of Mr. Schoolcraft's definition of Niagara, is certainly poetic, but has not the merit of historical truth, which is of much more importance. In this sketch, also, we again meet with La Salle, as, in his brigantine of ten tons, he doubles the point where Fort Niagara now stands and anchors in the sheltered waters of that river. As his vessel entered that noble stream the grateful Franciscans chanted the *Te Deum Laudamus*. "The strains of that ancient hymn," says Mr. Marshall, "as they rose from the deck of the adventurous bark, and echoed from shore and forest, must have startled the watchful Senecas with the unusual sound as they gazed upon their strange visitors. Never before had white man ascended the river. On its borders the wild Indian still contended for supremacy with the scarce wilder beasts of the forest. Dense woods overhung the shore, except at the site of the present fort or near the portage above, where a few temporary cabins sheltered some fishing parties of the Senecas. All was yet primitive and unexplored."

In the "Niagara Frontier" allusion is made to the origin of the name of Buffalo. Its first occurrence, we learn, is in the narrative of the captivity of the Gilbert family among the Senecas in 1780-81. It next appears in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, held by Timothy Pickering. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland, in his journal of a visit to the Senecas in 1788, also speaks of their "Village on the Buffalo;" from that time the word seems to have come into general use. The Holland Land Company endeavored to supplant it with the term "New Amsterdam," but the early village fathers of the town, with unusual good sense, rejected the substitute, together with the foreign names which the same company had imposed upon the streets. It would seem, however, that they were not so successful in getting rid of the foreign "signs" in that city, as is evident to any one passing down its "Main" Street!

Of Mr. Marshall's private life much has been already written. He was one of the few of whom it can be said he was greatly beloved in life and deeply regretted in death. His intimate personal friend, Mr. Wm. C. Bryant, in his remarks before the Buffalo Bar, called together to do honor to Mr. Marshall's memory, said: "He sustained all the relations of life with exceeding grace and rare dignity; judicious, loving, kind, he had a heart open as day to melting charity. He was the typical American gentleman—dignified without haughtiness, courteous but not subservient, with winning graciousness of manner and observant of all the sweet humanities—a loving heart in a manly bosom."

In closing this brief tribute we may well add:

"His walk through life was marked by ever, grace;  
His soul sincere, his friendship void of guile,  
Long shall remember all his virtues trace,  
And fancy picture all his bright endear.

*William L. Stone.*

Vol. III—St. L.—2



## DID THE ROMANS COLONIZE AMERICA?

### II.

#### SOME EPITHETS AND IDIOMS IN THE ABORIGINAL INDIAN NAMES

As an evidence that the early colonists of America—or at least those who named the rivers of the Continent—are really of comparatively modern extraction, we may cite the fact that their nomenclature abounds in adjectives and descriptive phrases, while the language of primitive men in remote eras, as stated in a previous paragraph, indicates only the briefest nouns and verbs. A great majority of the (apparent) epithets in the native American names have unmistakable identity with the Latin. Roman idioms and phrases are presented with very curious and interesting development in analyses of those names—especially names of some of the great rivers of the Continent.

The Roman term for great was the well-known word *magnus*. Its abbreviation in the Latin was *magh*, *ma* (or *mah*, which refers to its Sanscrit root. *Mak* is the brief transcript of the Greek synonym.)\* The letter M was sometimes used as an abbreviation.

Now it is a very curious and striking fact that this letter M, or some other abbreviation of *magnus*, is in the native "appellation" † of nearly all our great waters. It is, indeed, in the name of all, with the exception of those where the sublime idea is indicated by terms other than in *magnus*; or where there was some conspicuous natural fact so distinctive as to require illustration otherwise—as, for instance, in the case of the ORINOCO of South America. I believe this word is simply *Orien aqua*—or the river that runs to the *Sunrise*. This is in perfect illustration of the actual physical fact; no other river in the world for the same distance runs more directly to the Sunrise, or to the *Oriens*, than the ORINOCO. There is another river in North America that had originally the same Indian name—the *Orien(s) aqua*. It is a river that runs so nearly to the sunrise, that in an easterly course of over two hundred miles it crosses a single parallel of

\* An abbreviation, the equivalent (in pronunciation) of the Greek root *mak*, is usually given in our transcripts of Indian names, printed "mac"—as in Potomac, Merrimac, etc. An examination of the originals of these leads to the conclusion that the "mac" here is but the abbreviation of *mah aqua*—or simply m-ac—the final syllable having been suppressed, as in the French abbreviation "ac" for *aqui*. Our Pilgrim Fathers "suppressed" the Indian in many ways.

† The term "appellation" is used in deference, and reference also, to the quotation from Mr. Jefferson.—Aug. No.

latitude six or eight times. Its ancient name has been corrupted to "Roanoke;" but if the student desires to find how the earliest explorers of Virginia and North Carolina wrote the word, the versions will be found in "Hawks' History of North Carolina." Local tradition preserves the original name yet in the famous "Oronoko tobaccou" that grows along this river.

These, indeed, are remarkable coincidences. The early Indian's mind was thoroughly scientific, and titles were truly characteristic. Definite expression, as we have stated elsewhere, was conveyed in the word coined. Hence, when a river name was spoken, the audience at once knew the character of the water. This was the general rule, though exceptions appear. We cannot now determine the facts fully, because many of the descriptives of the Indian names are evidently gone from the more modern title. We know that even in the historical period many of these (descriptives) have been dropped. For instance, we have now simply "MACKINAW," where it was originally MICHILLI MACKINAW (or *Ma-aqua-na*). We have now in our geographies and on our maps simply "HAW," where the original was *Saxapahaw*—two well-known descriptives gone from the ancient name. We have also "TOE," where it was originally *Estatoc*. Numerous examples could be cited had we space for illustration.

The Latin birth of the descriptive in the examples given will be seen as we proceed.

Not only have the Indian names been often shorn of their strength and vigor by the abbreviative spirit of our modern age, but sometimes those names have been clad in the most fanciful of garbs by literary aesthetes. In a group of the fanciful names appear TENNESSEE and MISSISSIPPI.

Let us analyze the latter, as it is one of our great waters having in the title the letter M.\* Before we proceed, however, with the task of analysis, we should formulate full principles upon which we can proceed legitimately, dealing, as we have to, partly with the absolutely unknown. There is a principle, well understood in the higher branches of mathematical science, applied in the elucidation of problems where, with a knowledge of three factors, the fourth or the unknown is an easy demonstration. In

\* Among the waters of the Western Continent, having in their aboriginal titles the letter M, are Mississippi, Missouri, Merrimac, Potomac, Moratoc (lower Roanoke), Michigan, Kallamuckee (great Tennessee), We-apa-ma-ooka (Albemarle Sound), Ma-aqua-esque-don (Delaware Bay), Ma-aqua or Mahaqua (Hudson), Appomatoc (James?), Minnesota, Alabama, Amaccura (in Florida and South America also), Ammasona (Amazon), Vermaha (La Plata), Mackinaw (Lake Superior), and Wasmasaw (Cooper). Webster says that Massachusetts means "great hills." The tradition in regard to nearly all the names cited connects the term "great" with the words.

the case of the Indian names we often have undisputed facts in our favor. In the example ORINOCO we have the illustration of a physical nature that cannot be controverted. Secondly, the fact that the Indians' words *mean* something—the fact that they have definite significance—certainly cannot be eliminated from the problems before us, if we have the evident descriptive epithet yet remaining with the name. We have also often the testimonies traditional. Fortunately the gap lying between the coinage of the word and its communication to our ancestors in the historical period was not so great, but that the truths of history were often securely held in the memories of the native, and correctly transmitted. We should not, however, attach too great importance to mere tradition, unless it is corroborated by the physical and the verbal facts. If these, however, shall all agree, and a comparative investigation reveals a further coincidence and corroboration in the Latin language—in the Roman theory—we certainly must consider the evidence decidedly in our favor, if not irrefutably sustaining the positions assumed.

Applying the touchstones, let us begin with the Mississippi, the greatest of our rivers. There are many traditions in regard to this name. There is one—given in "Barnes' School History"—which gives the meaning as "the gathering of the waters." Certainly there is the great physical fact illustrated there—in the current of that mighty stream; the waters of nearly half a continent are "gathered" in its embrace. The physical and the traditional here agree. We encounter, however, a difficulty in determining the full verbal facts, for our learned men are not fully agreed as to the true word. Hence we are required to evolve or produce order out of the chaotic material found in historical and literary archives. The modern writing, "Mississippi," as previously observed, is a work of fancy. The original has been given as "Metche Sepe" by grave and learned authority; and "sepe" or "sippi," is a recognized term for river in the Indian. These evidently have origin in APA—the "epe" or "ippi" being mere corrupt pronunciations of the Wallachian word (apa). There are, I think, less than a dozen of the Indian river names now written in "epe" or "ippe;" while in scores of them the river term is rendered in APA and ABA. Marquette, in 1673, gave the original word as "Metchi Sipi." The missionary Allouez, in 1665, wrote it "Messipi;" and one of the transcripts of the river name given by De Soto, the discoverer, in 1540, shows "Mico" (or Meso).

The original name is evidently composed of two terms—the prefix being something which the early writers endeavored to transcribe as "Messe," "Messa," or "Metcha." A close scrutiny of all the testimony bearing

upon the name—comparing it with the word MISSOURI—makes the true aboriginal name *MESSIS APA*.<sup>\*</sup> We must take the name MISSOURI into consideration from the fact that geographers and geologists alike generally regard the Missouri as the true Mississippi. The Indian evidently took the same view of the rivers; for the two words are almost identical in origin and significance.

The descriptive in the names are pure Latin. They come from the verb *meto*, which means *to measure*, or *to gather together*. In conjugating the verb these forms are developed: *meto*, *messis*, *messoi* (or *messio*). The latter means “the gathering.” This epithet, joined with the Sanscrit term *RI*, which is indicative of the rapid, rushing current so characteristic of this river, gives us almost the identical orthography originally used (by our earliest explorers there) for the name *MESSUIRI*.<sup>†</sup>

There are nice subtle differences in the two names —*MESSUIRI* and *MESSISAPA*—that betray in their coinage a mind schooled in science, not only the science of lexicography, but of geography and hydrography also. From Memphis down—say from the point where De Soto first discovered

<sup>\*</sup> I certainly have as much authority in the premises for this writing as those had who changed *Metchi sipi* to *Metche sepe*.

<sup>†</sup> A few writers appear to be thrown off their guard in endeavoring to clear up the mysteries that hang around the aboriginal American; they endeavor—so it seems to the present author—to solve the problems by consideration of the modern savage and his barbaric dialects with their modern infusions. The fact is, these—the modern savage and his dialect—are the products of so many corrupting influences that in attempting their solution one becomes involved in the most inscrutable mazes of difficulty and darkness. Learned philologists have dwelt long on the Indian language in analyses of the mere grammatical structure. Grammatical philosophy is indeed the most capricious and unreliable of all the sciences. For what possible analogy is there in the outward structure of such terms—so intimately connected in significance—as “go” and “went,” “good” and “better” (instead of *good-er*), and in such as *bonus* (or the old form of the word, *duonus*), *melior*, and *optimus*? These, it is true, are representative of the “irregular” in grammatical science, and allowance must be made for the “irregular” in the Indian.

If we attempt the correct analyses of waters, the nearer we obtain them from the fountain-head, the purer will be the specimen for the alembic. So with the Indian and his language; the further back the historical track we can go, the fewer the difficulties to be encountered. These papers are discussing the *aborigines* of America—not the modern savages of our great West.

Grammatical structures are often merely and purely individual and dialectic, and devoid of philosophical formula. They are constantly changing. Moreover, they have birth in ideas that do not antedate the modern dialect itself; and often they do not conform to model or ancestry. Many things about the Indian seem to conform to the Roman. Prescott, the historian (*Conquest Mexico*, vol. i., pp. 112-113) says, that in the mathematical sciences the early Indian system was in one particular “identical with the Roman,” and that “Roman sports” and “Roman games” entered into the amusements of the aborigines. In fact, the ruins of a theater, built on the very model of the Roman Forum, were found in Mexico, at Tezcacalco. Numerous architectural analogies exist in the Indian and Roman.



the river—the name *MESSISAPA* truly applies. This word means, with the Latin theory in regard to the prefix—the *gathered water*. Above that point the river *is gathering into its embrace* the other great waters of the valley; and hence the legitimate application of the participle to the upper river, hence the *Messui-ri*—truly *the gathering river*—and not the “muddy river,” as some authorities say the word means.

These are certainly striking, if not startling, testimonies revealing the Indian's knowledge of the mother (Latin) tongue. There is, without doubt, in them a corroboration of the threefold facts—the verbal, the physical, and the traditional.

But these are not all the valuable facts in connection with the river that evince the Indians' knowledge. The Mississippi was known to the early aborigines also as the *CHUCKAGUA* (Ramsay's *Annals of Tennessee*). This is the title, doubtless, which gave rise to the tradition that the meaning of the name was “Great Father of Waters.” We see the term “water” in the word in the Spanish version of the Latin *aqua*. The expression “Great Father” is supposed to be represented or expressed by the prefix “Chuc,” which is furthermore supposed to be same as the Hebrew *JAH* \* (or *Jehovah*)—the Great Father. This Hebrew term, or its corruption, is often found in the Indian nomenclature, and written in transcripts showing now “Chi,” “Che,” “Chu,” etc.: and what is more remarkable still, this term is nearly always in names applying to waters about which there is great mystery or grandeur. It appears to be a fact that the word *Jehovah* was once known in purity to the early colonists of America. The Choctaw Lexicon has it as belonging to that language. And that their word is not a mere modern appropriation or adaptation of the ancient one we have striking evidence. The Choctaws print it as “Chihowah.” Now an ancient tradition gives the aboriginal name of the Delaware river as *CHIHOCCHI* (or really *Chihocqua*). The legend (as recorded by Mrs. Ellett—*Poems—Tradition of “Delaware Water Gap”*)† is that God's Finger—or the Finger of the Great Spirit,—once touched the mountain, at a place now known as Delaware Water Gap; the rocks were then rent asunder, and the waters released from their long confinement in the valleys beyond. Hence the name—simply God's River.

Reserving for a future article other illustrations of the Indians' use of the Hebrew term, let us return to those names wherein the Latin *magnus* or its abbreviation is seen.

\* In the Spanish language—from which we get the Indian originals—Ch and J are the same in sound.

† Citation made from memory—the authority not at hand at this writing.

There is a tradition, I think mentioned by the historian Bancroft, that makes the meaning of the aboriginal name of the Hudson simply "The Great River." The Hudson has had many tribal appellations, mere dialectic distinctions. But the title that appears to be the oldest, the one most in conformity with the recognized models of the aborigines, is the word MAHAQUA. This appears first historically in connection with one of the oldest tribes along the river (see Am. Cyclopaedia, vol. i., p. 188.) But it is a well known fact that the aboriginal nations usually received their tribal distinctions or appellations from the name of the river upon which the people were first found by the early white explorers here. This is in accordance with a custom which has obtained in all ages of the world. The conclusion is therefore legitimate that the name MAHAQUA was first applied to the river. We are supported in this conclusion by all the historical facts pertaining to the name. The same name lingers still in a corruption of the old word, a name which applies yet to a tributary of the great river. This corruption is the word "Mohawk."\* Other corruptions of the ancient names exist in "Mohegan" and "Mohican" (which are identical illustrating an outgrowth from the primal word, and illustrating also the kinship between the terms OGHA, ACHA and AQUA.)†

The name MAHAQUA is pure Latin—acknowledging the prefix "Mah" to be but the Latin abbreviation (Sanscrit root) of the word *magnus*. We have not space in this Magazine for analyses of all the native Indian names showing the abbreviations of the Latin *magnus*. There is one illustration, however, we cannot omit in this paper. The early explorers of the coast lands of North Carolina and Virginia found the natives almost everywhere in their discoveries using the term "OCCAM" (or *aquam*?) in referring to large bodies of water. (See Hawks' History of N. C.)‡ A large Carolina lake is now known as WACCAMAW (*Aquamah*).

The word "OCCAM" illustrates a distinct Latin idiom—the Latin being

\* That *this is a corruption of Mahagua*—see Am. Cyclo., reference just given.

† Learned men differ with reference to these words. One school maintains that "Mohican" is correct, while another equally confident contends that it is "Mohegan." Such names show the uncertainty attaching to our modern transcripts of the *sounds* conveyed in the native language. It is hard to distinguish "egan" from "ican" on the tongue of a foreigner. Our word MICHIGAN—which Lippincott (Pro. Gaz.) says means "great water"—is almost identical in pronunciation with the native Mexican name written MICHIOCAN. OREGON is supposed to mean river of gold. If this conjecture is well founded the orthography should be *Auregan*, revealing at once the Latin origin.

‡ This same authority—Hawks' Hist. of N. C.—says that wherever the whites went the Indians greeted them with the expression of a word, written by the explorers "bonny." Whence comes this word if not in the *bonus* of the Latin—the immemorial "good morning," or "good day"?





one of the few dead languages that allows the terminal in a consonant: the Greek forbids it. There are many Latin idioms illustrated curiously in the Indian names. We shall cite some interesting examples before closing this paper. Before proceeding with them we desire to notice a group of names revealing a descriptive about which there can be no question as to its legitimate location in the Latin language, if comparative illustrations and analyses can demonstrate truth.

In some of our Northwestern States the term "Minne" is often found in the native Indian names of waters—as MINNESOTA, MINNEOAH, MINNEWAUKIN, MINNETONQUA, MINNEHAHA, etc. It is very evident that there was some conspicuous natural fact which gave birth to the expression "Minne" in the mind of the early aborigines.

What was this fact? Science, with its many voices, gives utterance to eloquent truths in our behalf. Geology and physiography enfold their testimonies. The blunt, plain English pioneer of modern times pushes into that same Northwestern country, and everywhere the same suggestive natural facts present themselves, and they are marked down on our maps in the terse and vigorous expression of *his* vernacular—simply *the Red*, or *the Vermilion*;—and if we look into the geographical literature of the country there, we shall find "the Great Red River" (of the North), "Vermilion Lake," "Red Lake," etc., etc., etc. Underlying the country are vast deposits of *red* clay, *red* sandstone, and *vermilion* earth. Many of the waters there have in consequence the *reddish tinge*. These are the natural facts so prominent and suggestive there. They were equally impressive upon the mind of early pioneers whether in the few decades ago or in the far centuries gone by. Each of these pioneers took from his vernacular its most expressive word, and left it as a perpetual memorial of birth and origin. And if we open our authorities on language, we find in the Indian "minne" merely the Latin *minio*, which in plain English means precisely the *red*, or the *red vermilion* clay.

It would be difficult to find verbal testimonies more conclusive than in those Minnesota names. There is not in them an isolated expression of a fact—the evidences are numerous and unmistakable. And yet if we attempt a more careful analysis of some of the names we are met with cumulative testimonies. The legend says that MINNE-TON-QUA means "thundering water." The Latin has *tono* for thundering—and the "qua" is but an abbreviation of *aqua*. MINNEHAHA reveals one of the Roman idioms referred to in a previous paragraph. The word contains, as a term for river, the Teutonic AHA, the equivalent of Celtic ACHA. The name is supposed to have applied originally to what is now known as the "Great Red

River of the North." It is no unusual occurrence for an interchange of names to be found in our growing country. In more modern times two of the Texas rivers have changed names. The Brazos was once known as the Colorado, and the present Colorado was known then as Brazos. Other examples could be cited. The poetical associations of MINNEHAHA have had much to do in its history. (I would not detract from the memory or fame of the grand old bard who has immortalized that word; rather would I lay additional honors about his own immortal name.)

In analyzing the word MINNE-H-AHA we discover what might appear as a superfluous h, yet, if we are right in our conclusions, the letter is there for a definite purpose. It is there as an expressive factor in the name. If we were to suppose the name meant simply "red water," we should perhaps do injustice to the Indian's art and knowledge. Let us probe the problem deeper.

By reference to our standard authorities on the Latin language, we find that the letter H is often the abbreviation of the word *habeo*, which, with most vigorous translation, means *to hold*. The word MINNEHAHA would therefore mean, with a liberal construction, River that holds the red or vermilion clay. This is demonstrated by the actual physical facts:—the waters do hold the red element for a long distance.

Have we other examples illustrating this idiom? In the Southern States are many rivers that flow through low alluvial soils and often in banks of a loose, friable clay. These banks are continually "falling in,"\* and hence the waters are always muddy. The TALLA-HA-CHIE is a noted illustration. We have the river term in this word in the Celtic ACHIA. The intermediate h indicates the *habeo* or holding the *talla*. What is "talla"?

A reference to our Latin shows us that *terra* and *tella* are identical in that language. The Southern Indians very rarely used r: and "talla" is but a corruption of *tella*, the earth, or the earthy débris held in solution in these muddy Southern rivers. Those who know from observation the character of those rivers, know that this earthy débris (represented by the "talla") is one of the distinguishing features of those rivers.

One of the Alabama rivers which is always muddy (where I have known it) is the TALLA-P-OOSA. This word is replete with suggestiveness and truth. The river term here is "oosa." This is considered an old Saxon word for water (see Webster—"ousa"). It is, however, found in ancient

\* Tradition says MONONGAHELA means "falling-in-bank river." The suffix "ela" is easily located in the Latin *elabor*, which means to *fall out*, or *slip away*; hence the Indian "falling in." Our English word *elude* perhaps has same parent.



river nomenclature in every quarter of the world. It is often in the native Indian names. It is doubtless a corruption of either ACHA or OGHA.

We see in the name, as we have it divided, TALLA-P-OOSA, three factors; a descriptive prefix in "talla"; with the suffix "oosa," an acknowledged river word. What are the functions of the other element in the word—the simple letter p? Indisputable testimonies give response to our query.

First, what is the other natural fact in connection with this muddy river? It is a very *powerful* stream. The immemorial legend says that the word means a "swift current" or "swift water." Well, swift waters are generally waters of power. But do the verbal facts coincide with these testimonies? Opening our Latin authorities again, we find that this letter p is a recognized Roman abbreviation of the word *pondo*, which means powerful. These are facts which the most skeptical cannot reject.

This tell-tale letter P—like the neighboring one M—is a curious exponent of verbal and historical facts. It is found in many native Indian names where the rivers are rivers of great available water power. (All great rivers have a certain element of "power." But we are now considering the available feature of that power.) Some of the most noted rivers in America, where the motive power is developed or available, have this letter P in the title. The POTAPSCO is the most powerful river of Maryland. The SAXA-P-AHAW turns more machinery than all the other North Carolina rivers. The WINNEPEG, the WINNEPESOCKET (or really the *Winne-pisc-aqua*), the PENOBSCOT, the RAPPAHANNOCH, the (Upper) POTOMAC, and many others having the letter P in the Indian name, are all noted for their water powers.

(The POTOMAC betrays either Greek origin [in *potamus*—river] or in *poto* and the abbreviation of *magnus*—*mag* or *mac*. Virginia has many rivers that reveal both Latin and Greek in their "native Indian names." There are for instance FLUVANNA [from the Latin *fluvius*—river] and also RIVANNA—from *rius*, another Latin word for river. RAPIDANNA and RAPPAHANNOCK also show Latin words.)

There are some very interesting and suggestive facts in connection with several of the examples cited in the above paragraphs—independent of the mere Latin theory. Let us indicate specially the SAXA-PAHA, the PENOB-SCOT (or the *Penapsca*) and the POTAPSCO. The former contains the pure Teutonic term AHA, and also the Latin root of our English word for rocky—*Saxum*. This Latin word, however, has its remote origin in the Sanscrit *Sax*, or *Ska*.

Scholars are familiar with the derivatives of the Latin word *Saxeum*, and the Sanscrit term *Ska*—such as “rough,” “rocky,” “stony,” “scabby,” “scaly,” etc.

Now if we investigate the character of the waters, their channels, etc., in America, having in their names either of the terms, the Sanscrit *Ska* or the Latin *Sax*—which, as we have observed, are identical—we are met with the startling fact that they are among the very roughest and rockiest on the continent. The SAXAPAHAW is one of the roughest and rockiest rivers in N. C.,—the ledges of granite over which the waters break aiding in developing the immense power of the river. The SAXATCHAWAN (with its Celtic ACHA) is the rockiest and most powerful river in the British American possession. The only river in the Gulf States having a native Indian name that contains the term *ska* is so proverbially rough that in common English parlance it is known as “the Flint” (of Alabama). The aboriginal name is THRO-NA-DEE-SKA. Two ancient river terms are revealed in this word, in addition to the unknown prefix and the Sanscrit suffix.

The Sanscrit suffix is in many native Indian names; but it is rendered in various (modern) orthographies. “Ska,” “sca,” “scaw,” “sco,” “scow,” and “scot” are all versions of the one true word—the latter (scot) supposed to be an original French rendering, the final *t* silent. The term *ska* is often in old nomenclatures, especially in the rough and frozen regions of Europe and Asia. In addition to the American words already mentioned, we see it in NEBRASKA, ALASKA, YAMASKA, ATHABASKA, CANIAPASCAW, ANDROSCOGGIN, and in numerous others. (The latter name is correctly written AME-RI-SCA-GAN.) The CANIAPASCAW is variously written. It is sometimes given as CANIAPUSCOW. It is well known, however, that all the existent orthographies for our Indian names are chiefly conjectural and fanciful. The various writings are but the efforts of scribes to give transcripts of the syllabic sounds contained in the words. There are no common and universal methods of expressing in written characters all syllabic sounds—especially the sounds of a foreign tongue. This fact has given rise to difficulties long recognized and wide-spread in literature, and especially geographical literature; and also in the nomenclatures of the human families. It is well known that the transcripts we have for nearly all the words in Oriental languages do not correctly represent the names as they exist in the native speech. Examination of our “authorities” on the Indian language shows the uncertainties that exist in the minds of our learned men in regard to aboriginal American names. We often find several transcripts of one word recorded in order that the reader may recog-



nize the difficulties encountered in arriving at the true orthography. The etymology of the Indian language is yet to be reduced to a science; its present orthography is but a field of conjecture, as we have seen.

To illustrate this fact we cite a name which has been written in one of the previous paragraphs as the WINNE-PISC-AQUA. Our authorities say that *Winnipiscogee*, *Winnepscockee*, and *Winnepscocket* are all recognized methods of writing the word. The latter, with its final *t*, betrays the hand of a French writer. We desire to notice in a future article the terms in this name more fully, giving our reasons for writing the word differently from modern geographers. For the present, we wish to discuss further the diverse methods of expressing in English the syllabic sounds in the Indian.

There is a corruption of ACHA (as *aka*, with the hard sound) often found in the river nomenclatures of the world with an expression, rendered, in English *pronunciation*, as *eka* or *ckuh*. It is variously *written* by geographers as "eco," "ico," "ika," "eque," "ega," "ucuh," "ucuh," "aga," etc. In the Russian language the word for "river" embodies the same sound heard in this corruption of ACHA. That Russian word is transcribed in English as *reka*, *raga* or *rega*—the *r* merely an abbreviated expression of the Sanscrit Rī.

Names that are typical \* of countless others in the Indian language are written in our geographies COCHECO, OSEWEGO, TOPEKA, CANECUH, MEXICO, etc. The latter name was once written MEXIQUE. The fact is, this is the present French writing of the word. MEGICO or MEJICO is the Spanish orthography.

Our wise men have speculated long and unwisely over the origin and significance of the word MEXICO. Let us but remember that it comes to us first through the Spanish. That Spanish word, as we have seen, was MEJICO (or *Mejaquo*). The "Mej" in this word is but an expression of the syllabic sound heard in the Spanish or Latin pronunciation of the word *medius*—just as we often hear the syllabic sound in "Ind-ian" rendered *Inj-un*, or *In-jun*, in English pronunciation.

This gives us a key to the long-sought mystery. Other science comes to our aid again. We consider the physical facts pertaining to Mexico. This strip of country is *between the two great seas*—it lies *in the midst of the water*, or in plain Latin, *media aqua* or *med-aqua*; and hence MEJ-AQUA or MEXICO.

*M. V. Moore.*

\* ONEGA is a typical Russian name. TANGANIKA contains a typical African expression. Stanley says that the word Tanganika means in the African dialects "great lake."

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### GEN. HOUSTON ON SECESSION

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :—Nearly ten years ago, while I was making an evening visit to an acquaintance in Washington, he showed me, among miscellaneous papers of some interest, a letter of Gen. Sam. Houston, written while the latter was last Governor of Texas. My friend had never been in Texas, and did not remember just how the letter came into his possession ; but as he was a collector of papers relating to public affairs, supposed it had been given him with other documents by some contributor to his fund who had been in the State during the war.

The letter is now much faded. It was evidently dictated by the Governor, and then signed by him, and copied by hand press into a letter book of his office. It is paged with printed figures from 12 to 22 inclusive, and in written figures from 1 to 11 inclusive. It contains the answer of Gen. Houston, as Governor of Texas, to the Commissioner sent by the authorities of Alabama to influence the action of Texas favorably to secession. The strong Union sentiments expressed in this letter, its moderation in judgment of those who professed sentiments opposed to those of it, author, and the final touching appeal, are worthy of remembrance in the history of the times to which it relates. I, therefore, have copied the letter carefully, and send it as an interesting and worthy contribution to the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct., 1883.

ALMONT BARNES.

#### [THE LETTER.]

Executive Department,  
Austin, Texas, January 2, 1861.

Hon. J. M. Calhoun,  
Commissioner from Alabama.

Dear Sir :

Your communication of the 5th inst., informing me of the objects of your mission, on the part of the State of Alabama, is before me.

As a citizen of a sister State, bearing an appointment as commissioner to Texas, from her Chief Executive, I welcome you here and trust that whatever ideas you may adopt in reference to the political opinions of the people of Texas, you may bear back with you the evidences of their kindness, hospitality and friendship.

Having convened the Legislature of the State, with a view to its providing a mode by which the will of the people of Texas may be declared touching their relations with the Federal Government and the States, I cannot authoritatively speak as to the course they will pursue. A fair and legitimate expression of their will through the ballot box is yet to be made known. Therefore were the Legislature in

session, or were a legally authorized Convention in session, until the action taken is ratified at the ballot box, none can speak for Texas. Her people have ever been jealous of their rights and have been careful how they parted with the attributes of their sovereignty. They will reserve to themselves the right to finally pass upon the act involving so closely their liberties, fortunes, peace and happiness ; and when through the free exercise of that sacred privilege, which has ever, until now, been deemed the best security for the liberties of the people and the surest means of remedying encroachments upon their rights, they have declared their will, then and then only can any speak for Texas. Until then nothing but individual opinions can be expressed ; and mine are entitled to no more weight than a long acquaintance with the people and a continued intercourse and communication with them, would justify.

That there is a difference of opinion existing in Texas, in relation to the course necessary to pursue at this period, none can deny. Citizens alike distinguished for their worth and public services, hold opposite views, and while all are united in the determination to maintain our constitutional rights they differ as to the mode of accomplishing the same. In this I do not include that reckless and selfish class, who moved by personal ambition or a desire for office or spoil desire a change of Government, in the hope that aggrandisement will attend them. I believe, however, that a large majority of the people, recognizing the obligations they owe to the border States, who have so long stood as barriers against the assaults of Abolitionism, desire to concert such measures as will not only conduce to their safety, but the benefit of the entire South. As Executive of the State, I have deemed it my duty to present to the other Southern States a proposition for a consultation, having that object in view. Alabama has not yet responded to the same, and although the tenor of your letter indicates that she will pursue a different course, I trust that when the great interests at stake are duly considered by her people, they will determine to join with Texas and a majority of the Southern States, in an honest and determined effort to obtain redress for the grievances which the North has put upon us, ere they take the fatal step, which in my opinion ultimately involves civil war and the ruin of our institutions, if not of liberty itself.

If Alabama has been the first to move in the direction which may possibly result in the severance of all connection with the Federal Government it is a matter of pride to me that Texas has, in the time of peril, been the first to move in that direction calculated to secure Southern unity and co-operation. Texas is the only one of the States which possessed, ere her connection with the Union, full and complete sovereignty. Though she brought an empire into the Union and added vastly to the area of slavery, she arrogates to herself no special privileges, nor has she yet consulted her own safety, or interest, save in common with that of the entire South. Knowing the obligations which she took upon herself when she came into the Union, she has thus far shown no desire to relieve herself of those

obligations, until it is manifest that the compact made with her will not be observed. Having made an effort in concert with her sister slaveholding States, to secure the observance of that compact, and failed in that effort, it would then be her pride to sink all considerations prompted by her own ambition and share a common fate with them ; but if on the contrary they consulting their own interests and their own inclinations, neither seeking her counsel or co-operation, act separately and alone and abandon a Union and a Government of which she yet forms a part, Texas will then be compelled to leave a policy whereby she has respectfully sought the good of the whole South, and will pursue that course which her pride and her ancient character marks out before her.

Were I permitted to trust alone to the tenor of the first part of your communication and had you given me no assurances of the fact that although Alabama "desires to assure her sister slaveholding States that she feels that her interests are the same with theirs ; and that a common destiny must be the same to all," yet that she will through her convention, which assembles to-day, the 7th inst., "withdraw from the present Union and take her position as a sovereign State," I could give you more assurance of my co-operation as Executive of Texas, with Alabama, in the present emergency. Should Alabama without waiting for the action of Texas withdraw from the Union, and Texas, by the force of circumstances, be compelled at a future period to provide for her own safety, the course of Alabama, South Carolina, and such other States as may follow their lead, will but strengthen the conviction already strong among our people that their interest will lead them to avoid entangling alliances and to enter once again upon a national career. No claim would then exist upon Texas for her co-operation, for her co-operation has not been deemed important at a time when it was essential to her safety ; and her statesmen will deem that she violates no duty to the South in unfurling once again her Lone Star banner and maintaining her position among the independent nations of the earth. If the Union be dissolved and the gloomy forebodings of patriots be realized in the civil war to follow, Texas can "tread the wine-press" alone in the day of her misfortune even as her freemen trod it in the past, and if she falls in the effort to maintain liberty and her institutions upon her own soil, she will feel that posterity will justify her and lay no blame at her door.

Texas, unlike Alabama, has a frontier subject to hostile incursions. Even with the whole power of the United States to defend her, it is impossible to prevent outrages upon her citizens. The numerous tribes of Indians now controlled by the United States and restrained by treaty stipulations and the presence of the army, would by the dissolution of the Union be turned loose to provide for themselves, and judging from the past it is not unreasonable to suppose they will direct their savage vengeance against Texas. The bandits of Mexico have, within the past year, given an evidence of their willingness to make inroads upon us, could they do so with impunity. These are some of the consequences



of disunion, which we of the border cannot shut out from our sight. If Texas has been compelled to resort to her own means of defense when connected with the present Union, it is not to be supposed that she could rely for protection upon an alliance with the Gulf States alone ; and having grown self-reliant amid adversity and continued so, as a member of the Union, it will be but natural that her people, feeling that they must look to themselves while sympathizing fully with those States whose institutions are similar to their own, will prefer a separate nationality to even an equal position in a confederacy which may be broken and destroyed at any moment by the caprice or dissatisfaction of one of its members. Texas has views of expansion not common to many of her sister States. Although an empire within herself, she feels that there is an empire beyond, essential to her security. She will not be content to have the path of her destiny clogged. The same spirit of enterprise, which founded a Republic here, will carry her institutions southward and westward. Having, when but a handful of freemen, withstood the power of that Nation and wrung from it her independence, she has no fear of abolition power while in the Union, and should it be the resolve of her people to stand by the Constitution and maintain in the Union those rights guaranteed to them, she will be proof against the "utter ruin and ignominy" depicted in your communication. A people determined to maintain their rights can neither be ruined nor disgraced ; and if Texas takes upon herself the holy task of sustaining the Constitution even in the midst of its enemies, history will accord her equal praise with those who sought only their own safety and left the temple of liberty in their possession.

Were I left to believe that Alabama is disposed to second the efforts made to secure co-operation of the South in demanding redress for her grievances, or that her course would in the least depend upon that of Texas, I would suggest such views as sincere and earnest reflection have induced. But, as you express the opinion that Alabama will, through her convention, without waiting to know the sentiments of the people of Texas, act for herself, there can be no reason why I should press them upon your attention, nor is it a matter of importance whether they reflect the popular sentiment of the State, or not. They would be alike unavailing. Nor will I enter into a discussion as to how far the idea of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States will be acceptable to the people of the States forming a Southern Confederacy. That Constitution was a compromise of conflicting interests. It was framed so as to protect the slaveholding States against the encroachments of the non-slaveholding. The statesmen of the South secured a representation of three-fifths of our slave property. Whether this and other provisions of that instrument will be deemed applicable to States which have no conflicting interests so far as slavery is concerned, is not for me to say ; but I cannot refrain from expressing the opinion, that if the proud and gallant people of Alabama are willing to "still cover themselves and their posterity under the folds of the old Constitution of the United

States in its purity and truth," the rights of Texas will be secure in the present Union, so long as that Constitution is preserved and controls the administration of the Government; and although the "administration of the Government by a sectional hostile majority" will be distasteful to the feelings of Texas, if she can, by fair and constitutional means, induce that majority to yield obedience to the Constitution and administer the Government in accordance with it, the triumph will be hers and we will escape the miseries of civil war; and secure to us and to our posterity all the blessings of Liberty which by the power of Union made us the greatest nation on earth.

Recognizing as I do, the fact that the sectional tendencies of the Black Republican party call for determined constitutional resistance at the hands of the United South, I also feel that the million and a half of noble-hearted conservative men, who have stood by the South, even to this hour deserve some sympathy and support. Although we have lost the day, we have to recollect that our conservative Northern friends cast over a quarter of a million more votes against the Black Republicans than we of the entire South. I cannot declare myself ready to desert them, as well as our Southern brethren of the border (and such I believe will be the sentiment of Texas), until at least one firm attempt has been made to preserve our constitutional rights within the Union.

In conclusion, allow me to say that, whatever may be the future of the people of Alabama, my hopes and ardent prayers for prosperity will attend them. When I remember their progress and the evidences they have had of the blessings of free government, I join you in the belief that they "will not act with rashness, or thoughtlessness, but with mature and deliberate consideration." Forty-seven years ago, to prevent the massacre of her citizens, it was upon her soil that I gave the first proofs of my manhood in devotion to the Union. The flag that I followed then was the same Stars and Stripes which the sons of Alabama have aided to plant on many a victorious field. Since then Alabama has risen from an almost wilderness region, under the fostering care of the Federal Government and the power embraced in Union, to a great, wealthy and prosperous people, and obtained a position which without Union with the other States she could not have achieved for ages, if ever.

Receive for yourself and the people of Alabama, whose accredited Commissioner you are, the assurances of my esteem and consideration.

I have the honor to be

Your Mo. Obt. Svt.,

Sam. Houston.



## MASSASOIT

The Pilgrims landed from the Mayflower on Plymouth rock, Dec. 21 (Dec. 11 a. s.), 1620. They numbered about one hundred persons, nearly one half being women and children. It was a terrible winter—the cold severe, snow deep, and they were surrounded by bloodthirsty savages. Their dwellings were rudely constructed cabins, but poor protection from the cold and storms; their food was scanty and their prospects cheerless and discouraging. Disease, caused principally by exposure and want of suitable food, made great havoc with life. Within three months after their arrival, about one half of their number had passed to the spirit land. Of those that survived, many were sick, others feeble, and but few were able to labor, or bear arms in case of an attack from the savages.

One hundred and one days passed and a new and strange scene opened to their view. The morning was clear and beautiful. The Pilgrims were preparing for their morning meal and for the duties of the day, not dreaming that any great surprise awaited them, when suddenly they saw on the rising grounds before their rude dwellings, a most imposing company of Indian warriors. These consisted of Massasoit, the "Great Chief," Quadequina, his brother, and sixty of his best men, armed with bows and arrows, their faces painted, "Some black, some red, some yellow, some white, some with crosses and other antie works; some had skins on them and some were nearly naked; all strong, tall men."

The sight of the savages thus arrayed was startling to the few feeble, sick and worn-out people, and they became greatly alarmed. They knew that should the savages attack them in their weak condition, they could offer no successful resistance, and their entire extermination must be the result. Yet they resolved to do their best, in appearance at least, and make as much show of military parade as possible. Capt. Standish, who was ready for any emergency, rallied his men, but alas! six only could be found able to take the musket, and this was really the military strength of the new settlement. Orders, deep toned and earnest were given. They faced, wheeled, marched and handled their guns (matchlocks) with wonderful ease and dexterity. Such a military display was doubtless new to the natives, something they had never seen before, and must have struck them with profound admiration. But they may have come to the conclusion that if that was all the military force of the settlement, they would not find it difficult to take it, were they so disposed.


After this military display, Edward Winslow ventured to approach the strangers, taking with him several presents, such as "a pair of knives, a chain, and a jewel for Massasoit, and a knife and a jewel for his brother; also a pot of strong water, with some biscuit and butter for a treat, which were readily and thankfully accepted. Winslow remaining as a hostage, Massasoit with twenty armed men, descended the hill, where he was met by Capt. Standish, who gave him a military salute, which was readily and politely responded to, and then conducted the dis-

tinguished visitor to an unfinished building, prepared with "a green rug and four cushions." Gov. Carver now appears for the first time on the scene, followed by a band, consisting of a drum and trumpet, and the military company. The salutations over, consisting of kissing of hands, etc., the governor took a seat and called for "strong water" and "fresh meat," of which they all partook freely. How "strong" the water was they drank is unknown, but it doubtless had sufficient strength to make them all feel comfortable. Never did a company of strangers experience warmer and more fraternal greetings.

The object of the visit of these strangers was then made known. They had come for no hostile purpose of destroying the infant settlement, which they easily could have done without divine interposition—they had come for peace, just what the few, defenseless pilgrims most earnestly desired. Massasoit had heard that a company of the English had landed at Plymouth, and he at once resolved to form a treaty of peace and mutual protection with them, if possible, and was now here to consummate the much-desired object. The treaty of peace was written, carefully considered and signed to their mutual satisfaction. How important and sublime the transaction—worthy the heads and hearts of the most distinguished statesmen and heroes whose noble deeds have been so greatly honored in the records of nations! When the strangers retired, the Pilgrims felt that even savages could be inspired with noblest sentiments for the government of man, and that they had true friends among the natives of the New World. The treaty of peace was strictly and sacredly observed for about forty years, and how much we are indebted to it as a nation for our success and prosperity, it is impossible at present to understand.

Massasoit was chief of the *Wampanoogs*, a tribe whose dominion extended over nearly all the Southern part of Massachusetts, from Cape Cod to Narragansett Bay. This tribe had been quite numerous, but at the time of the landing of the Pilgrims, was greatly reduced in numbers. Disease had swept off thousands of them. It is supposed that, from thirty thousand, the tribe was reduced to about three hundred. Morton, in his "New England Memorial," speaks of this great mortality: "The Lord was disposed," he says, "much to waste them by a great mortality, together with which were their own civil dissensions and bloody wars, so as the twentieth person was scarcely left alive when the Pilgrims arrived, there remaining sad spectacles of that mortality by many bones and skulls of the dead lying above ground, whereby it appeared that the living among them were not able to bury their dead." They had been exceedingly warlike, "even like lions," and are said to have been most "cruel and treacherous." The severe affliction through which they had passed, together with the peaceable disposition of their king, had wrought in them a great change—they had become more pacific and quiet in spirit.

The residence of this distinguished Indian chief was within the limits of what is now the beautiful village of Warren, Rhode Island. Philip, his second son, resided for a time at Mount Hope, but this was not the place of the family residence. At



the western part of the village, near the margin of Warren river, may be seen the "spring," from which he received his water, and which still bears his name. His dwelling was located within a few rods of the spring, in which he often entertained distinguished guests. His manner of receiving and entertaining them is worthy of note.

A short time after Massasoit's visit to Plymouth, the governor sent Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins—the former was subsequently governor of Plymouth colony—to visit the "great Sachem" with a present, to ascertain the number and strength of the tribe, and to view the country. On their arrival, having made their way for forty miles through the wilderness, they found the king absent, but he soon returned, and after the usual ceremony of firing salutes, he received them into his house. They delivered their message and presents, and "having put the coat on his back and the chain about his neck, he was a little proud to behold himself, and his men also, to see their king so richly attired. He assured them that the peace and friendship between them should continue, and that his men should give them no trouble. He made a speech to them thus: 'Was not he the commander of the country about them? Was not such a place his and the people in it? And should they not bring their skins to the English?' After this manner, he named at least thirty places, and they applauded him. He lighted tobacco and discoursed about England and the king's majesty. He offered them no food, for he had none. Time came for rest. He laid them on the bed with himself and wife." Says Mr. Winslow, "They laid at one end of the bed, and we at the other, it being only planks laid a foot from the ground and a thin mat upon them. Two of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us, so that we were more weary of our lodging than of our journey! But they greatly enjoyed their visit, and having most satisfactorily accomplished their object, they returned safely to their home in Plymouth, greatly delighted with what they had seen and heard.

News having reached Plymouth that Massasoit was sick, nigh into death another deputation was sent to him consisting of Edward Winslow, John Hamd and an Indian named Hobbamock for a guide. The interesting incidents of the expedition are given by Mr. Winslow in his journal. On the second day of the journey they were informed that the king was dead, and Hobbamock became greatly excited, and gave loud expression to his grief: "My loving Sachem, loving Sachem! Many have I known, but never any like thee! While I live shall never see his like among the Indians; he was no liar, he was not bloody cruel like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed, easy to be reconciled toward such as had offended him; he had governed his men with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved. The English have not a faithful friend left among the Indians."

But to their surprise, on reaching Massasoit's residence, they found him alive. Says Mr. Winslow: "When we came thither, we found the house so full that we could scarcely get in, though they tried to make way for us. The


charming, making a most hellish noise, greatly disturbing us and the sick. They told him the English had come to see him. I took him by the hand. He said, 'Art thou Winslow?' Being quite blind, he said, 'O Winslow, I shall never see thee again!' I desired to see his mouth, which was exceeding furred, and his tongue swelled so that he could scarcely eat. I washed his mouth and scraped his tongue, and gave him some confection which he swallowed. Soon he grew better and his sight returned."

The improvement of the king under the treatment of his English visitors was surprising. Mr. Winslow continues: "He desired me to kill him some fowl, and make him some pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth. I first made him some broth without fowl, using the flour from bruised corn. I put in strawberry leaves and sassafras root, and when boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him a pint which he drank, and liked it well. I made a shot at a couple of ducks and killed one. I dressed it and made more broth therewith, which he much desired. Never did I see a man so low, recover in that measure in so short a time. Many came not less than a hundred miles to see him. He would say, 'Now I see that the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have shown me.'" Surely, such a man as Edward Winslow deserved the gubernatorial chair of Plymouth Colony!

But this visit to the sick king revealed a matter of great importance to the English. Says Mr. Winslow: "On leaving, Massasoit called Hobbamock to him and revealed a plot against Master Weston's colony, and so against us, saying that he had been solicited to join it, but would not, nor permit any of his men to do so. He desired that the governor should be informed of it. So we departed." This friendly intercourse was continued between the Pilgrims and Massasoit while the latter lived.

The king entertained another distinguished guest at his humble dwelling which must have been a scene of no ordinary interest. Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts Bay for his liberal principles, or, for "soul liberty," as he calls it. He left at midwinter, and "steered his course" for the shores of the Narragansett. His journey must have been a severe one. He says: "I was sorely tossed for fourteen weeks, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." At length he reached the hospitable dwelling of Massasoit, and here he found a true friend, and such comfort as his means afforded. Roger says: "When I came, I was welcome to Ousamequin," (Massasoit). The gratification of such a welcome after being "tossed" for "fourteen weeks," as he was, must be experienced to be fully appreciated.

The family of Massasoit consisted of his wife, two brothers, three sons, two son's wives, and a grandson. His two oldest sons were named Mooanum and Pometacom. Soon after the death of their father, they went to Plymouth, and "professing great respect," requested that English names might be given them. The court named them Alexander and Philip. The former became chief sachem



on the death of his father, but soon died, and was succeeded in the sachemship by Philip. This noted chief is well known in history; and his war, called "King Philip's war," has immortalized his name. Unhappily, he did not possess the peaceable disposition of his father. He became an enemy to the English and sought their extermination.

Massasoit possessed many noble traits of character that would have greatly honored any Christian ruler. "He possessed," says G. M. Fessenden, Esq., "all the elements of a great mind, and a noble heart. With the advantages which civilized life and the light of pure Christianity would have supplied, he might have achieved a brilliant destiny, and occupied a high niche in the temple of fame. He never had full justice done to his character. In all of the memorials of Indian character which have come down to us, Massasoit's character stands above reproach. No one has ever charged him with evil. Other Indian chiefs appear on the page of history noted for some great act or distinguishing quality, mostly of a warlike, but occasionally of an amiable or benevolent nature, yet, often betrayed into some act of weakness, or guilty of cruelty and want of fidelity. But from the time when Massasoit repaired to Plymouth to welcome the Pilgrims and to tender to them his friendship, till the time of his death, a period of nearly forty years, when the Pilgrims were weak and defenseless, encountering want, sickness and death—when at almost any moment he could have exterminated them—in no one instance did he depart from those plain engagements of treaty which he made when he plighted his faith to the strangers. It was well for the Pilgrims that he lived between them and the powerful tribe of the Narragansetts, under Canonicut, who early showed a determination to attack and expel them, and were prevented only by Massasoit." Trumbull, in his work on "Indian Wars," pays a most honorable tribute to his character: "He seems to have been a most estimable man. He was just, humane, beneficent, true to his word; and in every respect an honest man." His personal appearance must have been noble and majestic, and his bearing exceedingly dignified. Physically, he was large, strong, and well-proportioned. Morton in his "Memorial," says: "The king is a portly man, and in his best years, grave countenance, and spare of speech."

He died in the autumn of 1661, and must have been at the time of his death about eighty years of age. As he had long lived in peace, so he died. All who knew him mourned for his death, feeling that they had lost a true and valued friend. We will honor his great virtues, though a heathen. His name is engraved on material more durable than marble, and shall live while American history survives. And though we may not be permitted to circle his brow with all the honors of a Christian hero, yet we may honor his memory as one of the best of pagan rulers, and especially as one who contributed largely toward the settlement and prosperity of this great republic.

R. W. ALLEN.

## NOTES

**BOSTON NOTIONS**—This is a well-known expression and goes back many years. It was used during the last century, and even at that time had become proverbial. In the preface to an oration on the Beauties of Liberty, delivered at Boston, December 3, 1772, "by a British Bostonian" [Mr. Allen], it says that "the Bostonians are very notional." Again, in the "Massachusetts Mercury," May 3, 1793, is an article, headed "Boston Folks are full of notions," which speaks of the fact as a proverbial saying.

BOSTON.

S. A. G.

**THE SARATOGA MONUMENT**—At the late annual meeting of the trustees of the Saratoga Monument Association, held at Saratoga Springs, Aug. 9, 1884, Mr. William L. Stone, chairman of the Committee on Design, presented a very interesting report of the transactions of the year and the progress of the work. The designs for the statues of Generals Gates, Schuyler, and Morgan have been accepted, and one niche will be left vacant to signify the treason of Arnold. The walls of the five stories of the monument are to be covered with bass-reliefs, and memorial tablets are to be placed upon the most interesting spots upon the field of operations, as at Freeman's farm, where the first battle of Saratoga was fought, the extreme outpost of the American intrenchments, the spot where General Frazer fell, etc. Seven of these tablets are already erected.

A committee of the trustees, Mr. Starin, Mr. A. S. Sullivan, and Mr. D. S. Potter, appeared before the joint Congressional Library Committee in Febru-

ary, and Mr. Sullivan in an eloquent speech urged the propriety of an appropriation to complete the monument. The committee unanimously reported a bill appropriating \$40,000, which passed the Senate on the 1st of May without a dissenting vote. It was also reported to the House, but it was impossible to reach it in order, and it went over to the next session, with no reasonable doubt of its passage.

The monument itself, as completed, has cost \$65,000, of which the State of New York and individual subscriptions have furnished \$35,000, and Congress, by the efforts of Mr. Starin when a member, \$30,000. The further cost will be that of statues, bass-reliefs, tablets, staircases, etc., which will be made up in the same way. It is the most important Revolutionary monument in New York, and one of the most important in the country, and when completed it will be largely due to the efforts of ex-Governor Seymour, Mr. Marvin, Mr. Starin, Mr. Sullivan, and a few other earnest and devoted gentlemen, among whom no one has been more untiring in his interest and devotion than the secretary, William L. Stone.

**MONHEGAN**—On the authority of John Johnston's excellent "History of Bristol and Bremen," it was stated, in the article "Something about Monhegan" [XII. 266], that this quaint old landmark was mortgaged by Thomas Elbridge to Richard Russell, of Charlestown, Mass., in 1650 (Nov. 3). According to "Suffolk Deeds," Liber I., p. 131, recently issued by the city of Boston, it



had been already mortgaged to Mr. Abraham Shurt, of Pemaquid, the "Father of American Conveyancing." This would indicate that the Russell mortgage was a second one, which does not seem hardly probable, or, that Mr. Johnston was wrong in his data, as will be seen by the following :

"10 (10) 1650. Thomas Elbridge of Pemaquid in N: E. Merch<sup>t</sup> granted vnto Abraham Shurt the Island of Monhigan in new England w<sup>th</sup> all the houses edificies buildings woods vnderwoods comons meadows pastures feedings & comodities there to appertaineing. w<sup>th</sup> all p<sup>r</sup>fits issues due & payable vppon any demise or lease thereof or any p<sup>t</sup> thereof reserved, w<sup>th</sup> all evidences concerning the same : Provided that if the sd Tho. Elbridge shall pay or cause to be pd vnto sd Abraham Shurt or his assignes the summe of thirty pounds sterl<sup>e</sup> at or before the 29<sup>th</sup> of Sept. 1651. that then this grant shal be void. dat<sup>d</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1650.

Thomas Elbridge & a seale  
Sealed & dd in pnce of  
John Daud  
Robert Long.

This deed was affirmed by m<sup>r</sup> John Daud of Bosto to be signed sealed & dd by m<sup>r</sup> Tho: Elbridge to m<sup>r</sup> Abr. Shurt his vse. before mee

William Hibbins :

During Philip's War, Monhegan was resorted to, as a place of safety, by the inhabitants of the neighboring settlements which were being devastated. The steps taken by Massachusetts for their relief will be seen by the following

from the "Massachusetts Records," vol. 5, page 122 : at a session of the General Court held Oct. 12, 1676,

"It is heereby ordered, that, for the service of the eastern parts, there be forthwith rayzed in the county of Suffolk one hundred & twenty able souldjers, with twenty of our Indians, which shall be sent w<sup>th</sup> all expedition, fitted & furnished with armes, amunition, & provisions sufficjent, in convenient vessells, to Kinnibecke, Shipscott, Monhegin, & Casco Bay, or Black Point, or where they may have opportvnity to doe service vpon the ennemy ; and that Major Clarke be desired and is heereby authorized to rayse & send away sayd forces as abouesayd ; and to put them vnder such conduct as himself, the council, or the Generall Court shall appoint."

E. H. Goss.

MELROSE, Mass<sup>ts</sup>.

FAMILY HISTORY—A Register has been opened by the publishers of the *Rhode Island Historical Magazine* wherein to record the address of all persons who may have collected matter relating to the Family History of Rhode Island.

This Register can be consulted at the office of the magazine, where will be found many valuable records relating to the subject.

Publishers and authors having circulars relating to family reunions and Genealogical or historic works, are requested to send copies, that they may be filed for the mutual benefit of all concerned. Address Mr. R. H. Tilley, 323 Thames Street, Newport, R. I.

# QUERIES

**CAPTAIN PIERRE LANDAIS**—The New York *Sun* of November 27th, 1883, contains an article of one and a half columns on this officer, signed D. C. Has any longer biography of him ever appeared? He was never an Admiral, as D. C. calls him.

B.

BROOKLYN, *Sept.* 8, 1884.

Will some reader of this Magazine have the kindness to inform me where I can consult rolls of the men who were with Ethan Allen at the taking of Ft. Ticonderoga?

Where are to be found accounts of the fight with Indians at Fort Morrison in Coleraine, Massachusetts, in March, 1759, earlier (or more particular) than the notice in "Holland's History of Western Massachusetts," Vol. II., p. 339?

I specially want information of the "Dea. Hurlburt" therein mentioned: who he was and where he came from?

CHAS. W. BRYANT.

GRANVILLE, OHIO, }  
*Sept.* 5, 1884. }

CAN any of the readers of the Magazine inform me where a piece of light artillery carried by the American Army in 1778, about the time of the battle of Monmouth, can now be found?

S.

A BUTTON—I have in my possession a button found about thirty-five years ago near the old Clove Road and the present Butler Street; it was found in plowing up an old oak stump; it is made of brass and has a copper shank. I enclose a drawing of it, and should like to learn whether during the Revolution of '76 any such button was worn by the soldiers of that time, and from which State?



I enclose a drawing of it, and should like to learn whether during the Revolution of '76 any such button was worn by the soldiers of that time, and from which State?

F. W. BOELL, JR.

25 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK.

# REPLIES

**MURILLO**[XII.281]—If "Art Student," who inquires concerning the pictures by Murillo now in this country, will consult the *Catalogue of the works of Velasquez and Murillo*, by Charles B. Curtis, London and New York (Bouton), 1883, he will find the information he seeks. This catalogue contains an account of every authentic picture by Murillo now known, with the name of the owner, also a list of pictures formerly known but which have disappeared. It appears that of the 481 paintings by Murillo there are seven

in the United States, the most important of which are: *The Immaculate Conception*, belonging to Mrs. W. H. Aspinwall, New York; *The Legend of Saint Diego of Alsala*, who is discovered by the prior of his convent with bread in his robe miraculously changed to flowers, which picture belongs to Mr. Curtis, the author of the catalogue, and is in New York city; *St. Rose of Lima*, in the possession of Frederick E. Church, the distinguished artist, at his residence in Hudson, N. Y.; *The Virgin and Child*, a

half-length, formerly belonging to the Marquis of Salamanca, and now in the possession of Henry Mason, Esq., of New York.

Of the first of these compositions three repetitions are known; of the third, three; and of the fourth, four. There is no repetition of the picture belonging to Mr. Curtis, an etching of which by Lalauze is given in the *Catalogue*. It is a large gallery work of eleven life-size figures, executed in 1645-48 for the convent of San Francisco at Seville, and its pedigree can be traced in an unbroken line of descent from the day it left the painter's hands down to the present time. It is doubtful if there is another work in America by any artist whose history can be established with absolute certainty for so many years.

The only one of the above paintings executed in the third, or *vaporoso* manner of the artist, is the *Immaculate Conception*. Ten others are in the second, or *Cálido* manner, which style Murillo employed in his greatest works, notably in those executed for the Capuchin Church, and those of the Hospital of the Ciudad. Specimens of the fish or *firo* manner are scarce; probably not more than five or six are in existence.

It should be remarked that the second and third styles do not indicate progressive steps in the method of the artist. They were employed by him contemporaneously, his selection being determined by the subject, the locality, or perhaps in some degree by the price; for the *vaporoso* manner, being shadowy and indistinct in outline required less labor in execution than the *Cálido*, whereas the greatest care is shown in composition and draw-

ing, the perspective being invariably accurate, the extremities carefully finished, the draperies graceful and well disposed, and the faces modeled with spirit and instinct with life.

FINTON.

SCHOONER.—The origin of this word has often been inquired for. It is the word *skunard*, applied to two-masted vessels by nations sailing on the northern seas of Europe. A somewhat similar craft is called *goëlette* by the French, from the name Gaulis, by which they were known in old times. B.

BROOKLYN, Sept. 8, 1884.

SMOKE [IX. 475].—A year or more ago, the question was asked by Hon. Benjamin H. Brewster where the poem "Smoke" could be found, as he desired to possess a copy of it. The following is copied from Bentley's Miscellany, Vol. II., pp. 268-9. Date, 1837.

#### SMOKE.

"A trifle light as air."

Swift sang a broomstick, and with matchless lore  
Rehearsed the contents of a housemaid's drawer;  
Great Burns's genius shone sublime in lice;  
Old Homer epicized on frogs and mice;  
And, leaping from his swift Pindaric car,  
Great Byron eulogized the light cigar;  
Pope for a moment left the critic's chair,  
And sang to the breezy fan that cools the fair;  
And he whose harp to loftiest notes was strung,  
E'en Mantua's Swan, the homely salad sung;  
Colossal Johnson, famed for dictionary,  
A sprig of myrtle; Cowper, a canary,  
Nor scorn'd the humble snail; and Goldsmith's  
lyre  
A haunch of venison nobly did inspire;—  
Of such light themes the loftiest lyres have  
spoke,  
And my small shell shall sound the praise of  
"smoke."

Essence sublime ! serenely curling vapor !  
 Fierce from a steamboat, gentle from a taper,—  
 Daughter of fire, descendant of the sun,  
 Breath of the peaceful pipe and murderous  
 gun.—

How gloriously thou roll'st from chimneys high,  
 To seek companion clouds amidst the sky !  
 Thrice welcome art thou to the traveler's sight,  
 And his heart hails thee with sincere delight;  
 As soft thou sail'st amid the ethereal blue,  
 Visions of supper float before his view !  
 Emblem of peace in council, when profound,  
 The sacred calumet goes slowly round !  
 Breath of the war, thou canopi'st the fight,  
 And veil'st the bloody field in murky night !  
 Precursor of the cannon's deadly shot,  
 And soft adorning of the peasant's cot;  
 With Etna's roaring flames dost thou arise  
 And from the altar's top perfume the skies !

I see thee now  
 To the breezes bow,  
 Thy spiral columns lightly bending;  
 In gentle whirls  
 And graceful curls,  
 Thy soft gray form with the azure blending.  
 When Nature's tears in dewy showers descend,  
 Close to the earth thine aerial form doth  
 bend;  
 But when in light  
 And beauty bright,  
 With radiant smile she gladdens all,  
 And the sun's soft beam  
 On thy shadowy stream  
 Does in a ray of glory fall,  
 Thou risest high  
 'Mid the deep blue sky,  
 Like a silver shaft from a fairy hall !

When from the light cigar thy sweet perfume  
 In od'rous cloudlets hovers round the room,  
 Inspired by Fancy's castle-building power,  
 Thy fragile form cheers many a lonely hour.  
 O'er every wave thy misty flag is seen  
 Careering lightly over the billows green;  
 And when, 'mid creamy foam and sparkling  
 spray,  
 Celestial Venus rose upon the day,

Thy vapory wreath the goddess did enshroud,  
 And wrapt her beauties in a milk-white cloud.  
 'Twas thou, majestic ! led the way before  
 Retreating Israel from th' Egyptian shore;  
 From out thy sable cloud, 'mid lightning's flash,  
 The trumpet's clangor and the thunder's crash,  
 From Sinai's mount the law divine was given,  
 Thy veil conceal'd the Majesty of Heaven !  
 When sun, and moon, and Heaven's bright hosts  
 expire,  
 And the great globe decays in flames of fire,  
 Then shalt thou rise, thy banner be unfurled  
 Above the smoldering ruins of the world.

SNODGRASS.

NEWPORT, R. I.

"COL. ELIAS DAYTON" (XI. 58).—  
 This distinguished and "trusted officer"  
 of the Revolution, here and repeatedly  
 elsewhere spoken of in the very historic-  
 ally important "Original Correspond-  
 ence," published *seriatim* in this Maga-  
 zine, from the ably editing hand of Mr.  
 E. F. De Lancey, was son of Jonathan  
 Dayton, of Elizabeth Town, N. J., and  
 born there in 1737. Until his death, in  
 1807, he was one of its most honored  
 and beloved citizens. He had signal-  
 ized himself in the military service of  
 the colony during the French war, be-  
 fore that with Great Britain, in which  
 throughout he most gallantly fought for  
 our liberties, and was specially in the  
 confidence of the commander-in-chief,  
 as the Emmet papers show, and also a  
 very interesting biographical sketch of  
 him contained in Dr. Hatfield's "History  
 of Elizabeth." In person and bearing  
 he strongly resembled Gen. Washing-  
 ton.

W. H.

## SOCIETIES

**NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—The first meeting of this society after the summer recess was held on Wednesday at the society's house, 18 Somerset Street, the president, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph.D., LL.D., in the chair. The death was announced of William A. Whitehead, of Newark, honorary vice-president of the society for New Jersey; also of Hon. Stephen Salisbury, a life-member of this society and president of the American Antiquarian Society. Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford and Rev. Dr. Increase N. Tarbox were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions of respect. President Wilder expressed the thanks of the society for the invitation extended by the town of Ipswich to attend the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of that place on the 16th of August. An account of the proceedings of that occasion was given by Mr. Safford and others in a graphic and interesting manner.

Following the announcement of some important donations to the society, by John Ward Dean, an able and elaborately prepared paper was read by the Rev. William Barrows, D.D., of Reading, the subject being "The Great American Desert, Historically Considered." When this "Desert" first appeared in print it embraced all we now own west of the Mississippi, from the British line south to the Spanish and west to the mountains. The germ idea of a desert, the speaker showed, lay back in Jefferson's letter to Dupont, 1803, when, preparing for the Louisiana purchase, he called the tract wanted "a barren sand." Lieuten-

ant Pike, who has left his name on one of the peaks of the Rocky Mountains, made a Government survey of the head-waters and regions of the Mississippi, Missouri, Platte and Arkansas, in 1805-7, and reported the country as incapable of cultivation, and that it must be left to Indians and buffaloes. Histories and school books repeated Pike's and Jefferson's mistakes. Washington Irving garnished them in his "Astoria," and in 1819-20 Lieutenant Long, of the army, confirmed and enlarged them in the report of his exploring tour. The people did not study much about the "desert" till the Ashburton-Webster treaty of 1842 turned attention to our possession of Oregon. The Doctor quoted English authors to show how they cultivated the delusion in their policy to secure Oregon. About that time emigration across the Mississippi and Missouri was turning those "arid tracts," "great swamps," "barren sands" and "American Sahara" into a fine agricultural region, now called Minnesota, Iowa, Dakota, Missouri, Kansas, etc. At the close of the paper a committee was chosen to nominate officers for the next year, consisting of Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford, Colonel Albert H. Hoyt, John T. Hassam, Cyrus Woodman, William B. Trask, Rev. Henry A. Hazen and Rev. Dr. I. N. Tarbox.

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**BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—The 25th quarterly meeting of this society was held at Pittsfield, Mass., in the Athenæum, during the second week in August. Professor Perry presided, and the meeting was one of unusual interest throughout. He read a letter from

"Josh Billings," containing a tribute to Lanesboro, his native town. Mr. Shaw had been invited to write the history of Lanesboro, but said he could not, as he is "only a paragraphist" and not a writer of history. Rev. A. B. Whipple read a very interesting paper on the history of Hancock, the longest and narrowest town in the county, its western side reaching one-third the length of the State's boundary on New York State. It was settled in 1767, and called Jericho, but made a town and named Hancock in 1776. He gave a biographical sketch of Samuel Hand, the most prominent citizen of the town for some years, and the first man to go to the Legislature from Hancock, who kept his money in an old chest which had a double bottom. He also sketched the Douglas family, who were among the prominent settlers and the ancestors of Stephen A. Douglas; and the Townsend family, of which Martin I. Townsend, of Troy, is the most prominent, and who, when a boy, worked hard on his father's farm, and subsequently went to Williams College, where he graduated with honor. Several other Hancock boys went through Williams, and are now scattered all through the Western States. Caleb B. Gardner had the first hotel in Hancock, built of logs, and the first clock which came into town. Mr. Whipple gave a brief history of Richard Jackson, who was confined in the jail at Great Barrington on the charge of treason. His case is noteworthy, because he went alone from Great Barrington to be tried for his life. He was convicted, and only escaped death by the intervention of one of the counsel. The essayist gave, in closing, a brief

history of the Baptist church of the town, one of the oldest churches in the county. The paper was discussed by Prof. Perry, who added facts of interest, and by Mr. Lewis, of Chicago, whose ancestors lived in Hancock; also by J. E. A. Smith, Rev. Joseph Hooper and others.

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THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. —A meeting of the Executive Committee was held at the rooms of the society, in the Westmoreland Club-house, August 16, Edward V. Valentine, Esq., in the chair. Numerous gifts of books and manuscripts were reported, some of great rarity and value. Acceptances of membership were read from Colonel Samuel Adams Drake, Boston; General C. W. Darling, Utica, N. Y.; Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, New York City; C. A. Hack, of Taunton, Massachusetts; Mrs. Virginia Hannon, Frankfort, Kentucky, and G. P. Frierson, Esq., Columbia, Tennessee. The secretary, Mr. Brock, reported that the second and concluding volume of the *Dinwiddie Papers*, of more than 700 pages octavo, with analytical index and portrait of Governor Dinwiddie, his arms, autograph, etc., was nearly printed, and would soon be ready for delivery to the members of the Society.

The Virginia Historical Society was founded in 1831. During its useful existence of more than half a century it has been sustained by a membership embracing the worthiest and most honored names in our State and country, with many of those of Europe. Its first president was the pure-minded and revered John Marshall.

## BOOK NOTICES

MICHIGAN PIONEER COLLECTION. Report of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan. Vols. I., II., III., IV., 8vo, pp. 554, 630, 712, 593. Published respectively in 1877, 1880, 1881, 1883.

This admirable publication is the work of a Committee of Historians, chosen for the purpose of preserving in permanent form as much of the early history of the State of Michigan and its pioneers as is obtainable. The information has been gathered from the first settlers themselves whenever practicable, and from old letters, papers, and documents. The State Librarian, Mrs. Harriet A. Tenney, sent out a general circular eleven years ago, calling attention to the importance of gathering historical materials. It was not until 1874, however, that a meeting was held for the purpose of organizing a State Pioneer Society. Vol. I. gives a complete history of the movement and its results; also publishes at length many of the early papers read before this new and enterprising institution. John D. Pierce, the first superintendent of public instruction in Michigan, presented a curiously instructive paper on the 3d of February, 1875, in which he describes the inception and origin of the Michigan school system—about 1835. There were then no canals, no railroads; even the old slow coach was scarcely to be found. "We had," he says, "the lumber wagon and the Indian trail. We forded rivers, waded marshes, and when night came, if we found a shanty, with a piece of old carpet for a door, we turned in for the night, and all were satisfied. But, notwithstanding all this, the people then here came mostly from the region of school-houses, and were anxious for schools." Another paper of unusual interest was read before this society during the same year, on "Internal Improvements," by the President, Hon. O. C. Comstock. The Reports of Counties occupy a large portion of the volume; while an elaborate account of the annual meetings of 1877 and 1878, with the papers read, and other matters of consequence, fill the pages of Vol. II. The "History of Methodism in Detroit," "A Michigan Geological Expedition," "History and Times of John Norvell," "Law and the Legal Profession," "The Mound Builders and Their Work," and "Incidents in the Administration of Indian Justice," by Gurdon S. Hubbard, of Chicago, are among the attractions of Vol. III. As we turn the leaves of Vol. IV., we find the same excellent editorial work, and equally interesting and valuable historical material, well distributed, from the first page to the last. Of the papers inserted, we can only mention as among those particularly interesting: "Doctor Douglass Houghton," Michigan's first geologist, by Prof. Bradish; "The Old Cass

House." "Detroit Half a Century Ago," and "The Bark-Covered House," by William Nowlin. Numerous portraits grace each of the volumes.

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE TODAY. At Home and Abroad, in Field and Workshop. By ROBERT P. PORTER. 12mo, pamphlet, pp. 48. Boston, 1884: James R. Osgood & Company.

This essay, published in a neat and convenient volume for the benefit of the general reader, was read before the Arkwright Club in Boston on the 7th of August, 1884. Mr. Porter is the champion advocate of Protectionist doctrines in this country. He spent considerable time in England investigating the condition of labor there, and his theories were well formulated before he crossed the ocean. He shows in clear, graphic language how agriculture, commerce and manufacturing in the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Holland have been affected by these two economic policies, Protection and Free Trade. Through his researches abroad, the author is well equipped for the discussion of industrial progress, and however much the reader may dissent from some of the opinions expressed, the array of facts presented is sure to engage careful attention. The work will be especially appreciated by business men, farmers and artisans. "The Present Condition of British Labor," the "Effect of Foreign Competition in England," the "Effects of Free Trade in Holland," the "Free Trade and Protection of Germany," "The American System," "The Ultimate Benefit to the Consumer," "How the Farmer Reaps the Benefit," "East Indian Wheat Competition," "Workingmen Benefited by Protection," "A Word for Woman," and the "American Point of View," are among the topics treated at length.

APPLETON'S DICTIONARY OF NEW YORK, and vicinity. With maps of New York and its environs. Sixth year. Revised each year to date of issue. 16mo, paper, pp. 248. New York, 1884. D. Appleton & Co.

There is no better or more accurate guide to the City of New York than this *Dictionary* of the Messrs. Appleton. The price is only thirty cents, it is of convenient size, and it abounds in sketches of institutions gleaned from the most trustworthy sources. Visitors from abroad or from other portions of America will find it helpful in a multitude of directions.

**THE THEATRE ; Its Early Days in Chicago.**

A paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, February 19, 1884. By J. H. McVICKER. 12mo, cloth, pp. 88. 1884, Chicago.

"The drama was gaining strength in this country about the time the place where we now dwell entered the ranks of civilization," says Mr. McVicker. "A bright sky came toward the end of September, 1833, and the treaty was signed which terminated the red man's claims to the land of Chicago." During the winter following, the few inhabitants depended on a debating society for amusement; and the "store-keepers played checkers while waiting for customers." A few months later, the first theatrical performance was given in Chicago, in a private house. The original of the first application for a theatrical license, together with others covering a period of nine years, from 1837, were found in the solitary vault belonging to the city that withstood the flames of October 9, 1871, and are said to be the only authentic records bearing on the subject. The first home of comedy and tragedy (a little room in the "Rialto," a frame building in Dearborn Street) has been described by the poet B. F. Taylor as a "den of a place, looking more like a dismantled grist-mill than the temple of anybody. The gloomy entrance could have furnished the scenery for a nightmare, and the lights within were sepulchral enough to show up the coffin scene in Lucretia Borgia." The various sketches of early life in Chicago which Mr. McVicker has introduced into his paper are truthfully drawn. A child was on one occasion refused admittance to a school for the reason that the parents were connected with a theatre. The boarding-house of thirty or forty years ago is pictured to the letter; and the whole work teems with important historical material.

**THE HISTORY AND GENEALOGY OF THE PRENTICE, OR PRENTISS, FAMILY,** in New England, etc., from 1631 to 1883. By C. J. F. BINNEY. Second edition. Published by the Editor. Boston.

The sketches of prominent members of the Prentiss family with which this elegant and excellent work abounds, together with numerous well engraved portraits, render the volume something more and better than a mere genealogical text-book. Turning the pages at random, we find, for instance, that Dr. Nathaniel S. Prentiss, for thirty years town clerk of Roxbury, Massachusetts, when a boy, made a studio of an old carriage in his father's yard. During nine years he was principal of the Roxbury Latin School. He was a religious man of the old Puritan type, tall and stout, with a full face. Charles Prentiss who graduated from Harvard College in

1795, was subsequently famous for his essays in prose and verse. He became editor of the *Anti-Democrat* and the *Child of Pallas* in the early part of the century; he also edited the *Washington Federalist*; and, in 1809, the *Thistle*, a Boston theatrical paper; in 1811, he was the editor of the *Independent American*, in Washington, D. C. He was the author of the first school history of the United States, and it had a great sale. Hon. John Prentiss, in 1799, at the age of 21, established, under many embarrassments, with seventy subscribers, the *New Hampshire Sentinel*, which he edited 48 years. In 1805, he purchased the copyright of Adams's Arithmetic for \$200 per year for twenty years, and in 12 months sold 60,000 copies. In turning over these pages we find authors, politicians, clergymen, and good, substantial citizens in every branch and generation. There are many living who will remember the brilliant orator, S. S. Prentiss, whose famous speech in the "Mississippi Contested Election Case," charmed Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. His brother, Rev. George Lewis Prentiss, D.D., long a resident of New York City, and Professor of Pastoral Theology, Church Polity, and Mission Work in the Union Theological Seminary, is a well-known author. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Edward Payson, D.D., and her popular and admirable writings are in every library in the land. Of one of her late works, "Stepping Heavenward," 70,000 copies were sold in this country, and tens of thousands in Europe, five different London houses having printed it without a copyright. Narcissa, the daughter of Judge Stephen Prentiss, married Dr. Marcus Whitman, and perished in the Whitman massacre at Walla-Walla, in 1847. Another member of this remarkable family was George D. Prentiss, of the *Courier-Journal*, the witty and talented editor and poet. Mr. Binney has executed his work with fidelity, skill and good taste, and produced a book of exceptional and permanent interest.

**CAPTAIN RICHARD INGLE, the Maryland "Pirate and Rebel," 1642-1653.** A paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, May 12th, 1884. By EDWARD INGLE, A.B. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 53. Printed by the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

There is much welcome information in this little brochure. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pirates were constantly appearing along the American coasts, and their depredations upon trading vessels and settlements rendered them the terror of the colonists. But men were sometimes styled "pirates" who were by no means wild rovers on the high seas in pursuit of plunder. Richard Ingle has been handed along from generation to generation as a "pirate,"





a "rebel" and an "ungrateful villain," and the author of this paper now presents facts which serve to throw fresh light upon his character and explain many of his so-called "piratical" and "rebellious" performances. He was not of the class who subsisted on the property of others captured by mere brutal power. He was a personage of importance, and more or less associated with William Clayborne, "the rebel"—and is believed to have participated in the beginning of the rebellion caused through Clayborne's claim to Kent Island. Mr. Ingle, in the preparation of this essay, has endeavored to give an unprejudiced historical account of Captain Ingle's eventful career, and, in view of the misstatements concerning him, has examined into every specific charge with lawyer-like precision. The summing up of his argument is to the effect that "if Ingle led on the rebellion, he was acting in Maryland only as Cromwell afterward did on a larger scale in England, and as Bacon, the brave and noble, did in Virginia, and to be placed in the same category with many who will be handed down to future generations as rebels, will be no discredit to the first Maryland rebel."

**LIFE ON A RANCH.** Ranch Notes in Kansas, Colorado, The Indian Territory and Northern Texas. By REGINALD ALDRIDGE. With Illustrations. 16mo, paper, pp. 227. New York, 1884. D. Appleton & Co.

The author of this little volume recites his own personal experiences in ranch life, and illumines his pages with instruction, suggestion and captivating anecdote. It is the story of an investment in stock raising, and the results of six years of untiring work. It will prove, well studied, a lesson of value to a host of young men who are turning their attention to this branch of industry in the far West. Mr. Aldridge is an Englishman, and a traveler of keen perceptions. He is able, moreover, to present the results of his observations and experiences in an easy, condensed, and engaging style, and we doubt if there is another book in the language throwing so much light upon the mode of life and the facilities for money-making in the various grazing districts of the far West. He thinks the number of cattle reared in the United States will never be much in excess of the wants of the population, and tells us that there is comparatively little range now that is not well stocked. He warns the prospective settler that there very few places south of Wyoming and Montana where a man can drive in a herd of cattle and establish a ranch without asking leave of anybody—as he could a few years ago. He must first buy out some one already in possession. The work is informing on all points, and those who are seeking enlightenment as to ranch life and its prospects will do well to consult its pages with care.

**COL. JOHN BROWN.** His services in the Revolutionary War. Battle of Stone Arabia. An address delivered before the Onondaga Historical Society at Utica, N. Y., April 28, 1884. By REV. GARRET L. ROOF, D.D. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 24. Utica.

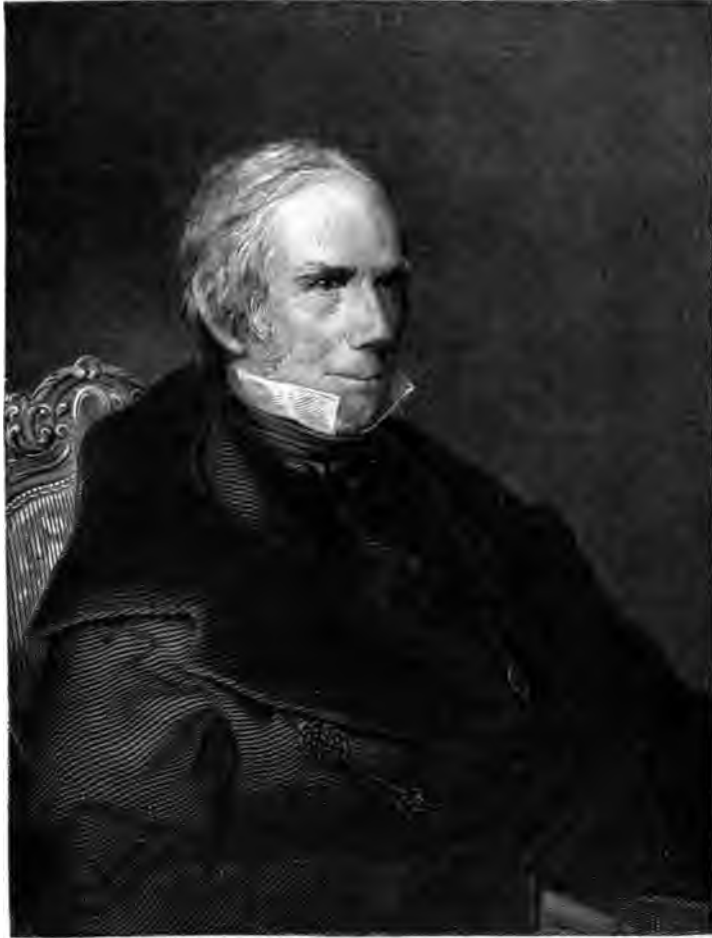
The object of this paper, to present in Chronological order the principal events in the life of Colonel John Brown, has been skillfully achieved, notwithstanding the seeming scantiness of existing records. Col. Brown was a graduate of Yale in 1771, and soon afterward became a law student in the office of his brother-in-law, Hon. Oliver Arnold, at Providence, Rhode Island. When his studies were finished, he practiced law for a short time, and then engaged in the service of his country, taking up his abode in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. The dispute was already assuming a serious aspect between Great Britain and her colonies, and he was appointed from the "County Congress" at Stockbridge (in 1774), of which he was a member, with four others, to report on the obnoxious Acts of Parliament. He was next sent to the Provincial Congress at Concord; and from there dispatched as envoy to Canada. Of his military exploits Mr. Roof furnishes many interesting particulars. Of his personal characteristics the author says: "Col. Brown was an accomplished scholar, fond of elegant literature, and gifted with talents of a high order. One of his most attached friends was the lamented Montgomery."

**A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.** For the use of Schools and Academies. By Horace E. Scudder. 12mo, pp. 432. Philadelphia, 1884. J. H. Butler.

We have rarely examined a better short school history of our own country than the one before us. It is a pleasure to commend such a work, not only to all teachers in our schools, public and private, but to parents as well. Mr. Scudder does not burden the young mind with tiresome details, nor does he omit any of the important facts which every child should understand. He writes in a clear and attractive style, and he introduces admirable questions with a view to stimulate intelligent examination of other historical works.

**ANNOUNCEMENT.**—The Magazine will publish in its November issue the first of two illustrated historical essays on the "Unsuccessful candidates for the Presidency of the Nation." The eminent Georgia historian, Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D., will contribute an article of unusual interest on Button Gwinnett; and the number will contain several other papers of more than ordinary interest to the reading public.

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*H. Clay*

*[Three times an Unsuccessful Candidate for the Presidency of the Nation.]*





# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NATION

### I

SUCCESS is not always the measure of greatness. Neither is defeat the assurance of want of ability or fitness for office. These truths are in nothing more forcibly illustrated than in the triumphs and failures of the various candidates for the highest place of power in the gift of the American people. Since the beginning of Presidential rule, now nearly ninety-six years, we have had twenty-one Presidents. With the exception of Washington, each President encountered opposing strength in his election that well-nigh turned the whole current of events. The men who did not win played a very important part in the winning game. We are bound to them by certain ties of interest if not of gratitude, irrespective of political creed or considerations. They belong to history, and history should gather in its own. The chief characters in the grand army of the "unsuccessful," since the inauguration of Washington on the balcony of Federal Hall in Wall Street, may be divided chronologically into two companies; the first embraced within the period of sixty-four of the ninety-six years, and the second within the thirty-two years from 1853 to 1885. Of the relative importance of these two groups of men, the intelligent reader will draw his own conclusions later on.

Instances have not been wanting, as we all know, where the unsuccessful candidate at one election became the choice of the majority in a subsequent electoral vote. During the early years of the Republic, he was the inevitable Vice-President. Then again, he became the National Prime Minister, conducting the affairs of that department of the Government which quietly and unostentatiously overshadows all others, and with which the American public are the least familiar. And he held various and responsible trusts. John Jay and George Clinton, of New York, the one Chief Justice of the United States, and the other for eighteen successive years Governor of New York, each received a few votes at nearly every Presidential election prior to 1805, at which time George Clinton became Vice-President. As early as 1793 Clinton seemed on the high-road



to the Presidential mansion through the fact of having received fifty electoral votes. He was a man of ability and iron integrity, one who, though unsuccessful in the particular direction of the Presidency, proved himself in many respects no insignificant factor in the shaping of our country's laws and institutions. His accompanying portrait shows better than any other extant,\* the strong, honest, common-sense, immovable Scotch-Irish character of the statesman and patriot. He had a good medium forehead, from which his scanty gray hair was combed up to hide its bald summit, thick bushy eyebrows, and a scrutinizing look out of keen eyes, a well-developed lower face, with a domineering chin, and a large mouth firmly closed.

Jay seems to have had no personal aspirations for the Presidency. When Washington retired in 1797, Jay's name was much mentioned. Many preferred him to Adams, believing him to possess more coolness, judgment, and consistency, with less tendency to prejudice; and Hamilton, the real leader of the Federalists, was emphatically of that opinion. Jay was then fifty-two years of age, tall, slight, calm, self-contained, his features clear cut, and of a type denoting refinement and morality of the highest order.† But John Adams was ten years his senior, and being already Vice-President was in the line of promotion. Adams was, moreover, the representative of New England, which was the great arm of the Federalist party. The second candidate, intended for the Vice-Presidency, was the brilliant Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, then forty-seven years of age, who had just returned from a mission to Spain, where he had concluded the treaty of St. Ildefonso, which secured to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi.‡

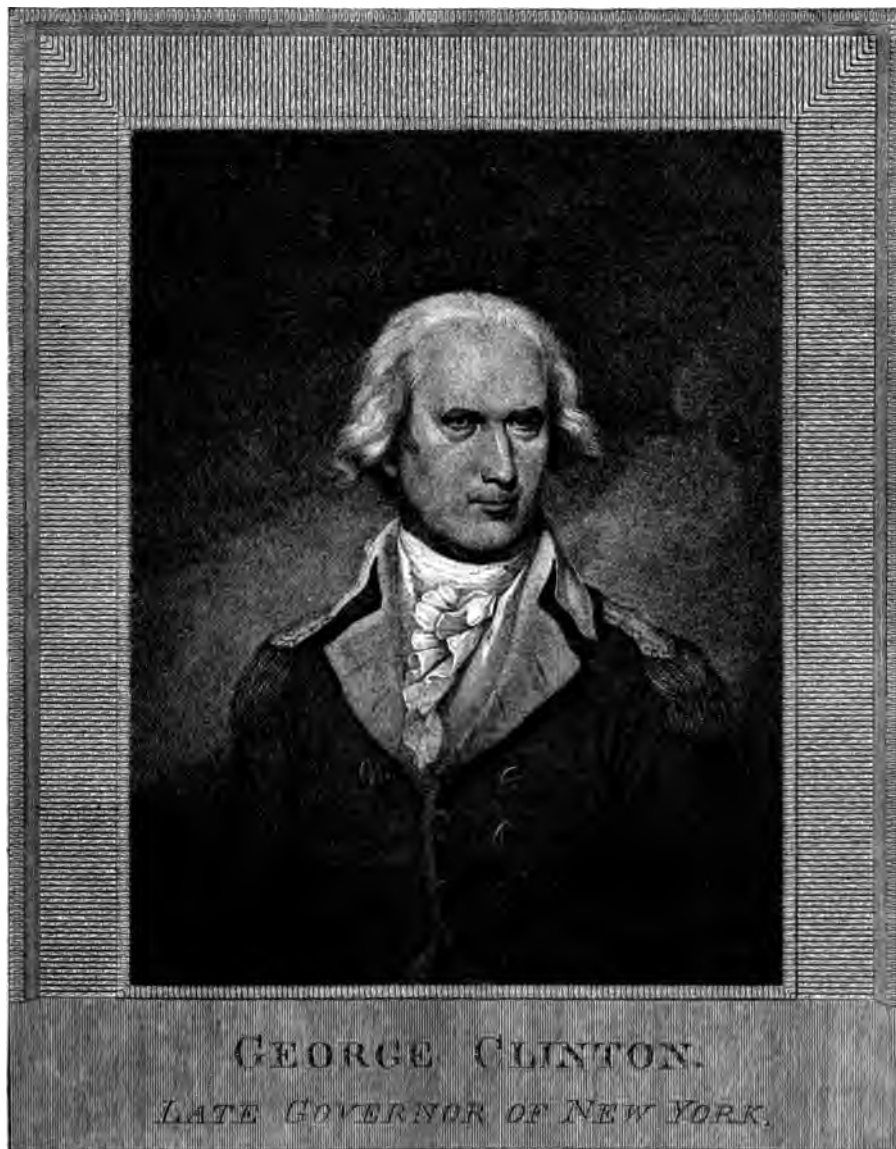
Against these two candidates arose the astute and successful politician Thomas Jefferson, with Aaron Burr, as yet little known in politics, in his shadow. Jefferson was fifty-four, a Democrat of the most democratic convictions—otherwise a Republican—in person tall and loose-jointed, with a kindly blue eye, fair complexion, reddish flaxen hair, and a general Celtic cast of face.§ He was eminently a man of opinions, not of action; and he was no orator, rarely making a speech. At the same time he had shown himself powerful in official position, and the fire in his soul blazed forth in an energetic and steadfast hatred of Hamilton and all his measures. The

\* This Magazine, in September, 1883 [x. 176], published one of the well-known portraits of George Clinton, which may be studied in connection with the rarer picture given here.

† This Magazine, in May, 1883 [ix. 305], published the portrait of John Jay.

‡ This Magazine, in September, 1883 [x. 180], published the portrait of Thomas Pinckney.

§ This Magazine published, in February and May, 1884 [xi. 97, 394], two portraits of Thomas Jefferson.



*From a rare and exceptionally valuable copy of the painting by J. Wright, in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*

Federalists were afraid of Jefferson. Dread of the bare possibility of his reaching the Presidential chair amounted almost to a mania. The contest

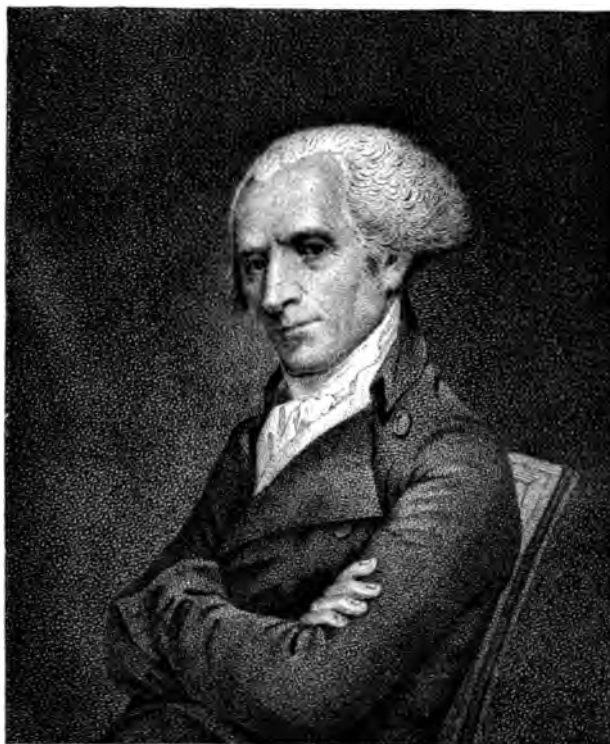




in this third Presidential election was one of the fiercest America had as yet chronicled. On either side it was confidently affirmed that the country would be ruined if the enemy should prove victorious. The newspapers distinguished themselves with offensive and aggressive personalities—hardly excelled by our famous journals of 1884. When the voting began many a voter's opinion was expressed as to the kind of a man a President ought to be, by making his own selection of a candidate—as if he had adopted in advance the theory of President Seelye. Samuel Adams, the lofty and incorruptible; Oliver Ellsworth, the jurist, scholar and independent thinker, one of Connecticut's brightest men; James Iredell, the North Carolina statesman; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina; George Clinton, John Jay, John Henry of Maryland, Samuel Johnston, and George Washington were all remembered at the polls, and were among the "unsuccessful." Aaron Burr received thirty votes, and Thomas Pinckney fifty-nine. The Federalists had reason to regret with bitterness the want of political energies focused to a precise point. There is little doubt but Pinckney might have been Vice-President if the proper course had been taken. John Adams received seventy-one of the electoral votes, and Jefferson sixty-eight. Therefore John Adams was declared President. But what of his great defeated adversary? In this connection we have one of the historical curiosities of political contrivance, and its disappointing results. The votes for President and Vice-President were not then cast separately, nor could the electors designate in their ballots any choice between the two. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes took the highest office, the one with the next highest number became Vice-President. Thus Jefferson, the leader of the opposition, the man of all others least wanted among the government officials—the great enemy-in-chief—must be the Vice-President for four years! That which the successful party was most anxious to avoid was precipitated through their own mismanagement, "under the operation of the constitution" as Adams expressed it, and Jefferson was given a conspicuous place for the succession.

The signs of promise were quickly freighted with infelicity. Adams and Jefferson met with graceful politeness. The unsuccessful candidate complimented his predecessor in the Senate, and meekly and mildly entered upon the performance of his duties. But the administration was stormy from the beginning; and ere long the President and Vice-President had fallen permanently asunder. The French disturbances, and the war question created a perfect resurrection of all the old animosities between parties and individuals that had ever existed, and brought new ones to

life in every quarter. The two envoys dispatched to France to join Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in the hope of making peace were, John Marshall, afterward Chief Justice, who for his public service was ranked by many with Washington,\* and Elbridge Gerry, afterward Vice-President, a small, slight, urbane man of fifty-three—a master in all questions of commerce and finance. Jefferson earnestly entreated Gerry to accept the appointment when he found him reluctant. But the unfortunate trio might as



ELBRIDGE GERRY.

*From engraving by J. B. Longacre; drawing by Vanderlyn*

well have been spared the ignominy of the mission, for it was a failure. The Directory refused to treat with American ambassadors until grievances were redressed and apologies made for offensive language in Mr. Adams' speech to Congress. Meanwhile the alien and sedition laws, projected as a system of defense, nearly produced a civil war. Never was an executive head more successful in fanning the flame of party spirit than President

\* This Magazine published, in July, 1883 [xii. 62], the portrait of John Marshall.



Adams. He was an expert in that line ; and he was vigorously censured for everything he did and for everything he did not do. He was not apparently in unison with the humor of the age. He had, too, a faculty for disagreements ; and he was not in harmony with his cabinet or his party. In the midst of the turmoil and political demoralization, the newspapers went raving mad and attacked the government, statesmen, citizens, and each other with indecent ferocity. The epithets of rogue, liar, scoundrel, and villain were common terms. "It was a pleasure to live in those good old days, when a Federalist could knock a Republican down in the streets and not be questioned about it," said one of the New York Congressmen of that era in his old age. Vice-President Jefferson was cool and patient, and by no means an uninterested spectator. Nor did he hesitate to turn everything practicable to his own personal advantage in the way of influence.

But quite another and a different man now steps forward in the catalogue of unsuccessful candidates. Aaron Burr had hitherto occupied a very limited space in public notice. He had taken a high position at the New York bar ; and he had been six years in Congress, and yet had never originated any political idea or measure. He was thirteen years younger than Jefferson—younger, indeed, than most of the public men of his time. In audacity he was matchless. His rise was more rapid than that of any other person who ever played a prominent part in national affairs. His star seemed to fairly canter into the skies. The cause is well known. The Republican party was hydra-headed—had never been consolidated. New York was the great center of its power. Yet through old family feuds and other reasons it was chopped up into factions. \*The Clintons were at the head of one faction, the Livingstons of another, and so on. Burr was essentially a lazy man, but he had a genius for seizing the few salient points of a great operation, and making more out of these than the multitude could by touching every detail. He was never diffuse. His self-composure was rarely if ever ruffled in the least. He was small of stature, well-formed, with black, piercing eyes, and an irresistibly pleasing address. He saw and grasped the situation. New York must be revolutionized. By a concurrent calculation the results of the Presidential election for 1801 were made to rest upon the vote of New York alone—and even upon the members of Assembly to be chosen in the City of New York at the spring election of 1800, as Presidential electors were to be chosen by the Legislature in joint ballot. Defeat for the Republicans seemed certain. Burr consulted with Jefferson, and ostensibly worked for Jefferson. He drafted an imposing list of names for the New York City ticket, adroitly placing

that of George Clinton first. Then came that of General Horatio Gates, who was bitterly opposed to Hamilton and Schuyler; and next that of Judge Brockholst Livingston, son of Governor William Livingston of revolutionary fame. Each of these three would naturally refuse to act with the others, and each had personal aims, claims, and jealousies. Thus all Burr's talents for intrigue and persuasion were given full play. After repeated interviews Livingston consented to have his name used, provided Clinton and Gates were prevailed upon to do likewise. Gates was next attacked, and through an extraordinary display of Burr's peculiar tactics finally yielded so far as to promise to stand if Clinton would. Then Burr approached Clinton. This was a more difficult undertaking. It was well understood that Clinton had pretensions to the Presidency. He did not like Jefferson, and he liked Burr less than Jefferson. To be asked to stand for the New York Assembly for the sole purpose of helping Jefferson into the Presidential chair, brought heavy lines into his stern face. The solicitation coming too from an aspiring man, who was only a mere stripling aide-de-camp when he (Clinton) was the foremost man in the State, was humiliating in the extreme. He was deaf to all arguments for a time. Burr was alive with fruitful expedients; and he was so gentle and courteous withal, that if he failed in one visit he could presently make another. Clinton refused and refused to have his name used. Burr, finally, with captivating sweetness told him that it was the inherent right of a community to command the services of a man of superior ability in a great and grave crisis, and that the party were determined to nominate and elect him whether he would or no.

Clinton at last made the slight concession that he would not publicly repudiate the nomination. He also agreed to refrain during the canvass from his customary and emphatic denunciation of Jefferson. He kept his promise; but neither he, nor his rising nephew, De Witt Clinton, nor any of his relatives, personally assisted in the campaign.

Burr, wiry, sharp eyed and ever on the alert, worked with telling effect. He personally superintended the making of lists of voters, with the political and other history of each appended in parallel columns. To this was added every crumb of information to be had as to their opinions, health, habits, temperament, etc. The committee on finance jotted down the names of the principal men whom they proposed to solicit for funds, and looking over this list, Burr remarked that a certain politician, equally distinguished for zeal and parsimony, was assessed one hundred dollars. "Strike it out," he exclaimed; "you will not get the money, and from the moment the demand is made upon him his exertions will cease, and you will not see

him at the polls." He next noticed one hundred dollars placed against the name of a man who was liberal with his purse but indolent. "Double this," said Burr, "and tell him no labor will be expected of him, except an occasional attendance in the committee room to help fold the tickets." The result was as predicted. The lazy man paid the money with a smile, and the stingy man worked day and night.

At the polls not a point was lost. Burr was, with the exception of Hamilton, the most active and industrious man during that exciting period in North America. The contest ended with the first Republican triumph in our annals. The city had been carried by a majority of four hundred and ninety votes. The news took the whole country by surprise. The coming victory in the autumn was thereby confidently assured. By a policy intangible and indescribable, the elements of Republicanism had been brought into a united and invincible body. The price of Burr's local achievements was candidacy for the Vice-Presidency, and it was granted with bad grace. He was eminently unsuccessful in the matter of inspiring confidence. The Federalists selected Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. There was some thought of withdrawing a few Federalist votes from Adams, that Pinckney might be made President, but the project was abandoned. When the result of the election was made known, all parties were in a frenzy of disappointment, for there was a tie: Jefferson and Burr had each received the same number of votes—seventy-three. Adams had received sixty-five, and Pinckney sixty-four. The decision, therefore, rested with the House of Representatives, voting by States. As there were sixteen States in the Union, another difficulty arose when Congress assembled as to the majority necessary for a choice. The Republicans could not control the choice, and the Federalists had the power, by holding steadily together, to prevent any election whatever. Thirty-five ballotings ended alike. The House had resolved in the morning not to adjourn until a President was chosen. One member, too ill to leave his bed, was borne on a litter to the Capitol, and his wife sat by him and administered his medicines; the ballot-boxes were carried to his couch that he might not miss a ballot. All day, all night and until noon of the next day the balloting went on, until the exhausted legislators "begged for a dispensation from their own regulation," and agreed to take a recess. For seven days the country was in the most troubled excitement. Finally the influence of Hamilton was brought to bear upon the situation; the Federalist representative from Vermont absented himself, and the two Federalists from Maryland dropped blank ballots into the box. Thus at the close of the seventh day, ten States, a sufficient majority to satisfy the law, voted for



AARON BURR.

*From the painting by Vandyke—to which is appended a certificate from Burr, under his well-known signature, dated "January 1, 1834," in these words: "I certify that the Portrait by Vandyke is the best Likeness ever Painted of me since 1809."*

Jefferson, and he was declared President. Burr was really the most unsuccessful of the unsuccessful candidates in this election. He came out of the fray badly singed and blackened. Morally he was a failure from the beginning. Politically he had betrayed trust by aiming for the Presidency,

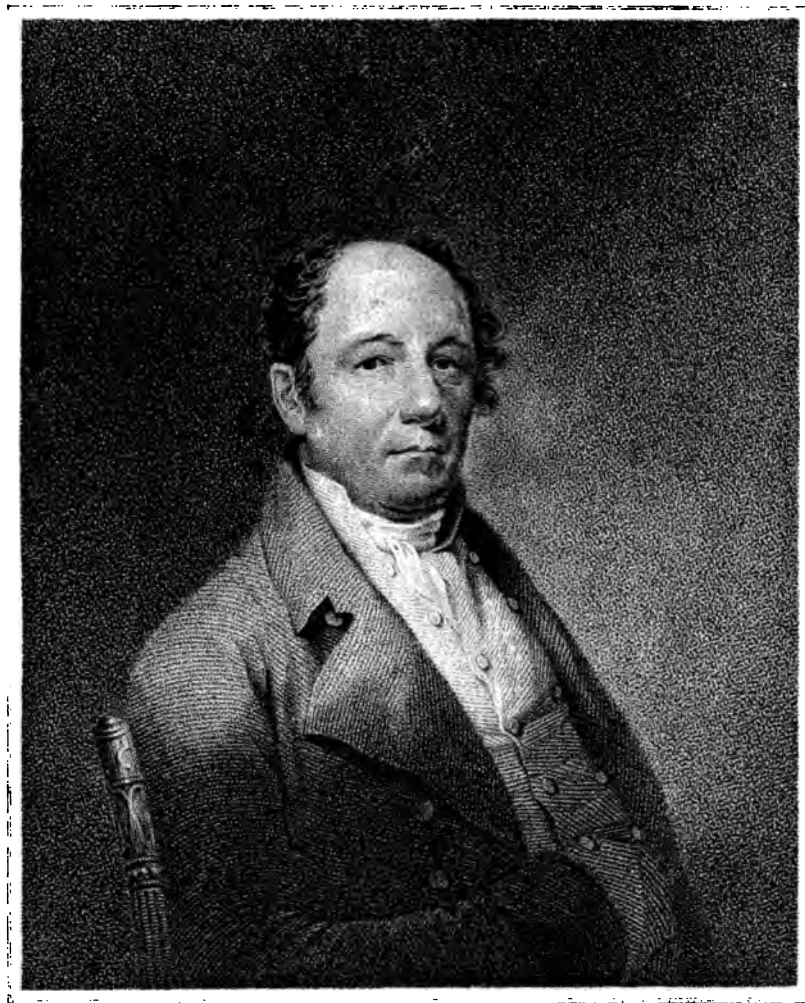
in defiance of the well-known wishes of his party. And his unscrupulous and marvelous aptitude for intrigue alienated all honest men. He was Vice-President for the subsequent four years; but his course was downward. His star had reached its zenith, and was descending swiftly toward the setting sun.

The portrait of Burr which was published in the Magazine for September, 1883, represents him at the age when best known to the American public. The portrait of Burr given in connection with this article, is from an exceedingly rare copy of Vandyke's painting, in his advanced years, for which the Magazine is indebted to the priceless collection and the generous courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

The unsuccessful candidates in the fifth Presidential election were Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, George Clinton, and Rufus King. Burr was dropped out of consideration altogether in the nominating caucus, and in his after attempt to secure the governorship of New York, vacated by George Clinton, the duel came to pass in which Hamilton fell. The Republicans were now so decidedly in the ascendant that Jefferson and Clinton received one hundred and sixty-two electoral votes each; and there was no ambiguity about which should be President, and which Vice-President.

The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution had just been adopted, its necessity having been made apparent by the long contest in the House about Jefferson and Burr in 1801. The Republicans began to call themselves Democrats by this time, and interesting feuds sprung up in many places, like tares in a wheat field. Never had there been such an overwhelming victory. Pinckney and King received only fourteen votes each. Even Massachusetts, to the surprise and chagrin of the vanquished, went for Jefferson. Pinckney was a South Carolinian, a statesman of personal elegance, family, and fortune, born in 1746. He was educated for the bar in England, at Westminster, Oxford, and the Temple. Cyril Jackson, sub-preceptor of the prince who became George IV., was his private tutor at Oxford. He had hardly established himself in the practice of his profession in this country when the war broke out, and he passed through every vicissitude of a soldier's life. Later, in the councils of the nation he successively declined three important offices, that of chief justice, and the two secretaryships of State and War. From 1805 to 1825, he was President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati. His home was one of generous hospitality, and with all his varied attainments and culture he was earnestly religious. His fine portrait graced the pages of this Magazine in September, 1883 (Vol. X., p. 179).

Rufus King had recently been minister to England for six years, sent by



RUFUS KING.  
*From the painting by Wood.*

Washington, remaining through the whole of Adams' administration and two years of the first term of Jefferson. When he left America the Federalists were dominant, and on his return he found a new order of things established. He retired to a beautiful country seat in Jamaica, Long Island, with little inclination for further public life. But he was twice the nominee for Vice-President, and in 1817 was the defeated presidential candidate in opposition to James Monroe, receiving thirty-four electoral



votes. He was born in Maine in 1755, thus was nine years younger than Pinckney ; and he was also bred to the law. He was a member of the old Congress, when New York was the seat of the national government, and in 1786 married the daughter of the rich merchant John Alsop, and made his permanent home in the metropolis. He was an eloquent speaker, a remarkably well informed man, and a model of courtly refinement. He was rich, studiously inclined, possessed a large library, and wrote with ease. He was sent to the Senate of the United States for the third time in 1813, and was re-elected in 1819. He took the lead in opposing the admission of Missouri to the Union as a slave state. In 1825 he was once more sent as minister to the court of St. James.

It is no matter of surprise that the Federalists should have chosen two such men the second time for candidates. In the sixth presidential election, 1809, they were defeated with more *éclat* than in 1805. Both Pinckney and King received forty-seven votes. The tide was rising. Changes had been at work and the democratic waters were troubled. The treason of Aaron Burr, war in Europe, and the embargo had divided public attention during the greater part of Jefferson's second term. In 1807, when half the mercantile world was sealed up by the British, all the other half by the French, and America in a chronic rage at the condition of affairs, Jefferson wrote: " Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this misinformation is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day. I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow-citizens, who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in their time ; whereas the accounts they have read in newspapers are just as true a history of any other period of the world as of the present, except that the real names of the day are affixed to their fables. I will add, that the man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them ; inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehood and errors."

When Jefferson declined to serve for a third term it was a knotty question to determine whether Madison or Monroe should be chosen to succeed him. All the approved appliances for general warfare were brought into requisition, such as personal influence, newspaper articles, and caucus meetings. George Clinton was again defeated in his aspirations for the Presidency ; and Monroe's opportunity was deferred. Madison and Clinton, for President and Vice-President, became the nominees ; and when the

electoral votes were counted it was found that Madison had received one hundred and twenty-two, and Clinton one hundred and thirteen. Clinton had also received six votes for the Presidency. Three of Clinton's supporters for President—from New York—voted for Madison as Vice-President, and the other three for Monroe.

In 1813 New York again furnished a notable unsuccessful candidate. The country was in the midst of its second war with Great Britain, and



DE WITT CLINTON.

the Presidential contest was animated in the superlative degree. The Federalists adopted De Witt Clinton as their leader, in order effectually to defeat the spirit and policy of an administration which it was claimed had been under French influence and dictation for twelve years. The war disputation had long been the chief point at issue between parties, and the Federalists meanwhile had grown materially in strength, with discord for a steady diet. Matters seemed approaching a terrible crisis. New England declared that the war had been instituted on the most frivolous and

groundless pretenses, and denounced Madison and the whole war party in showers of stinging invectives, and with a degree of violence without parallel in our political history. Josiah Quincy's withering sarcasm in opposing war measures in Congress to the last, led to his being caricatured as a king—a crown upon his head, his coat scarlet, his stockings white silk, two codfishes crossed upon his left breast, and holding a scepter in his hand while proclaiming himself "Josiah the First King of New England, Grand Master of the Noble Order of the Two Codfishes." Governor Caleb Strong of Massachusetts, and Governor Roger Griswold of Connecticut fearlessly refused to honor the President's call for troops, and denied the constitutional validity of the articles of war enacted by Congress. Madison feared, and with good reason, that New England would secede from the Union, for she threatened to negotiate peace for herself alone, and let the rest of the country fight until satisfied. The convention of Federalists that assembled in New York City in September, 1812, to agree upon a candidate, met privately with closed doors. De Witt Clinton was not a Federalist, but he was an advocate for peace. He had already received the nomination from the New York Republicans, a movement opposed with great bitterness by some of the factions of what was the remnant of the old Burr party. The Federalists were tolerably unanimous in their choice of Clinton. They thought him a giant in certain directions. He was only forty-three years of age, and had his candidacy proved a success he would have been the youngest President on record. His public career had commenced earlier than that of most men. He was mayor of New York City at the age of thirty-four, and gave up his seat in the Senate of the United States to accept the office. Since then he had solved grave problems and pushed into successful operation many important schemes of learning and benevolence. He was a weak politician in numerous particulars. He had no gifts for strategy or cunning device, but he could stand abuse like a Christian martyr.


He was one of the most splendid looking men of the age, very tall, with a large, finely proportioned figure, bore himself with dignity, and was deliberate in all his movements. His enemies criticised his manners as savoring too much of arrogance. His shapely head was admirably poised, and attracted attention from the great height and breadth of his forehead; he had beautiful curly chestnut hair, clear, hazel, thoughtful eyes, a Grecian nose, and fair complexion. He was a classical scholar and a man of varied accomplishments; his reading was wide in its range, and he was perfectly familiar with the contents of every volume in his large and valuable library; he was well versed in theology and captivated by science.

Jared Ingersoll, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, son of Jared Ingersoll, of Connecticut and stamp-act fame, was the nominee for Vice-President.

The results of the election were one hundred and twenty-eight electoral votes for Madison, and eighty-nine for De Witt Clinton. Elbridge Gerry received one hundred and thirteen votes, and duly became Vice-President. Mr. Ingersoll received eighty-six votes.

Within the next four years peace had been declared, and prosperity had returned to bless the American people. The retirement of Madison led to the nomination of Monroe. Rufus King—as before stated—was the opposing and unsuccessful candidate. A portion of the Democracy desired the elevation of Daniel D. Tompkins of New York to the Presidential chair, but he withdrew his name, and was then nominated for Vice-President. New York seemed to have the knack for supplying candidates. The election in 1817 was a marvel of quiet good order. The “era of good feeling” had commenced in earnest. Other subjects than politics occupied the public mind. Monroe and Tompkins each received one hundred and eighty-three votes. At the second election of Monroe in 1821, the very unsuccessful candidate in opposition to him was John Quincy Adams, who received but one solitary vote! Two hundred and thirty votes were given to Monroe, and two hundred and eighteen to Tompkins.

But this serene state of affairs was only the delusive calm before the rising and approaching storm. Party lines had been almost obliterated through the characteristic prudence of President Monroe. Thus when the tenth Presidential campaign was inaugurated, the candidates, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and William H. Crawford, singularly enough all subscribed substantially to the same political creed. The struggle was a personal and sectional one rather than of a party nature. There was never any other like it in this country before or since. It bristles with interest from the fact that new parties took their rise from it. In many of its features it was more spirited and agitating than any previous contest except the first election of Jefferson. But there was an absence of rancorous assault upon the individual candidates themselves, that even in this far-away view is refreshing. They had all been in the public service, and in every instance fitness for the distinguished post was conceded. John Quincy Adams, as premier under the courteous, discreet, peace-loving Monroe for eight years, had conducted a dignified and acceptable foreign policy, and was thoroughly conversant with domestic affairs as well. The candidate who most nearly missed a place in our catalogue of the unsuccessful, was William H. Crawford. He had been Secretary of the Treasury nine years, and prior to that period had been for a short time at



the head of the War Department, also Minister to France, and six years in the Senate of the United States. The country knew him and had faith in him. He was fifty-five years of age, had been educated a lawyer, and while in the early practice of his profession had compiled the first digest of the laws of Georgia—published in 1802. He possessed naturally great force of character, and his intellectual qualities shone to peculiar advantage in the consideration of important and exciting political questions. He was essentially a statesman, and his integrity was of the highest order.

Andrew Jackson was better known to the public as a soldier. His availability for the Presidency was based upon his popularity with that class who always revere a great general. He had freed the land from the savage and swept the invader from the soil. His worst private vice was that of a duelist. He had reached his sixtieth year, a rough, resolute, honest, high-tempered, benevolent, straightforward, capable, and irresistible man, with a peculiar genius for power. He was a product of the wilds of the West, of Irish parentage, became an orphan when a mere lad, was tossed about like a football among the fights and prisons of the Revolution, and finally managed to study law, and speedily rose to such eminence in his profession that in 1798, at the age of thirty-one, he was appointed by the President judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court. He was about an inch over six feet high, slender but graceful, very unhand-some, so to speak, with a long, thin, fair face, and high narrow forehead with reddish hair falling low over it—hair that as he grew older was elevated to a bristling aspect—and eyes of deep brilliant blue. An English writer described him during his Presidency as “tall, bony and thin, with an eye of dangerous fixedness, deep set, and overhung by bushy gray eyebrows; his features are long, his forehead scamed, and his white hair, stiff and wiry, brushed obstinately back, and worn with an expression of bristling bayonets. His mouth has a redeeming suavity when he speaks; but the instant his lips close, a visor of steel would scarcely look more impenetrable.”\* He was governor of Florida in 1821–2, and United States Senator from 1823 to 1824. But he had no familiarity whatever with the practical machinery of the government departments. The first two Presidents had assisted in laying the foundation of the Republic. The three following, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, had all served in the Department of State; and Adams was thoroughly drilled in the same school.

Henry Clay, for a long series of years the most popular man in the United States, buoyant, imperious, and ambitious, took his first degree as

\* This Magazine, in February, 1884 [xi. 104], published the portrait of Jackson.

an unsuccessful candidate on this occasion. The electoral vote was ninety-nine for Jackson, eighty-four for Adams, forty-one for Crawford, and thirty-seven for Clay. Thus the choice of a President must be referred to the House of Representatives. In accordance with a provision of the



WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

constitution, only the three highest candidates were to be considered in such an emergency. Henry Clay was consequently excluded. But considering his prospects for the future better served by the Presidency of Adams, he exerted all his influence in favor of that experienced statesman, who was finally chosen; this allegiance raised a tempest among the friends of Jackson, who accused Clay of having been bought; and when he accepted the office of Secretary of State the clamor increased, to his serious

injury, although the charge was disproved. John C. Calhoun received one hundred and eighty-two votes in the electoral college for the second office, and consequently became Vice-President.

From the beginning of John Quincy Adams' administration it was very apparent that the unsuccessful candidates would exercise a controlling influence over coming events. The partisans of Crawford were seriously irritated and disaffected, although the critical condition of his health at this juncture precluded the possibility of his assuming the duties of President, had he been chosen. The Jackson men gave expression to their displeasure in a concentrated and bitter opposition to every act of the President, and in re-attacking Clay on all occasions with the charge of political corruption. Their weapons were never allowed to become dull-edged. Atrocious falsehoods traveled far and wide—which the slow truth, as usual, failed in overtaking in time to prevent the mischief intended. In the Senate twenty-seven voted for Clay's confirmation as Secretary of State, and fourteen against it, of whom was Jackson himself. The two parties which thus came into flourishing existence planted their roots deep and firm, with wrath and personal resentment for sustenance, and started on a race destined to continue for many decades. Professing the same constitutional principles, they were fiercely divided on almost every question of public interest. The Jackson men of Tennessee nominated Jackson for the Presidency of 1829 as early as October, 1825, even before Adams had met his first Congress or disclosed his future policy; and Jackson accepted the nomination, and resigned his seat in the Senate. Henceforward, for three years before the Presidential electors could be chosen, the contest was in active progress throughout the country, controlled by the iron will of its chief. The administration proved to be one of the most wealth-producing in the history of the country. Mr. Adams was a great statesman, and his premier was a great statesman. The information which President Adams and Secretary Clay possessed concerning the condition of foreign countries, enabled them to negotiate more treaties within the four years from 1825 to 1829 than during the entire thirty-six years through which the preceding administrations had extended. Various difficulties in relation to navigation and commerce were satisfactorily settled; and spoliation claims were adjusted with Sweden, Denmark and Brazil. President Adams was personally above reproach. But he was cold and formal in his manners, and of so positive a character as never at any time to command popular admiration. On the contrary, Jackson, the western farmer and the stern soldier, was genial and gracious whenever he appeared in public, and his dashing boldness attracted the masses like a magnet. He was carried

triumphantly into the Presidential chair, but not without a battle in which every engine known to political warfare was called into service. Private character was attacked on all sides, and almost everything was said and written that was unworthy and disgraceful. Fortunately, however, only little people perish under abusive criticism.

Adams was now the unsuccessful candidate; he received eighty-three votes, while Jackson rejoiced over one hundred and seventy-eight. John C. Calhoun was again elected Vice-President. Adams was sixty-two at this time, of medium stature, slightly stout, and with every indication of robust health. His complexion was fair, his face intellectual, round and full, and his eyes black and piercing. There was no such word as defeat with him, however unsuccessful as a Presidential candidate. Work, persistent and untiring work, was the secret of his useful career. He was elected in 1830 to the House of Representatives, and for more than sixteen years was one of the principal figures in this branch of the national legislature. There was in all that period scarcely a question involving a point of morality, of national honor, or of literary and philosophical culture in which his voice was not heard.\*

President Jackson was a politician rather than a statesman, and his views in relation to public affairs were chiefly matters of instinct instead of argument. His intense personality ruled over all. The important questions before the country at the moment of his accession were sufficient to have agitated the profoundest thinkers the world has ever known, and wise and good men must naturally differ in opinions. Beyond all these considerations, however, Jackson stirred the waters of his administration into a murky turbulence on the start, by inaugurating the custom of removals from office for opinion's sake. Within nine months more than twice as many government officials had been removed as by the six Presidents before him in the whole forty years of their combined rule. During his first year in the Presidential chair nearly seven hundred changes were made. The meaning of "Reform" according to this new dictionary was rewarding friends and punishing enemies. Quarrels in high places and quarrels in all places were perpetual. The new Democrats were a different order of men from the Democrats of the Jeffersonian era. Jackson maintained that the people should everywhere manage their own affairs, and the people rejoiced in a president who was from their own ranks.

Henry Clay was the powerful leader of the opposition, and destined to take his second degree as an unsuccessful candidate in the next Presidential election. The convention system was first introduced in the canvass for

\* This Magazine, in February, 1884 [xi. 93], published the portrait of John Quincy Adams.



1833, and the practice of adopting a platform of principles, which has ever since prevailed. Popular feeling is a power hard to resist; the man of small mind will swim with the current. But Clay also possessed the elements of popularity. His birth-place was as rural as that of Jackson; the log school-house where he learned to read and spell was just as primitive, and the boy mounted on a pony going to mill for a bag of meal was fully as picturesque as any of the similar features in Jackson's early career. The same absence of definite education, the study of law, the rapid advance in political life, and similar personal characteristics distinguished the history of these two men. In two adjacent Western States they acquired local influence and permanent strength, and then enrolled their names among the first and highest of the nation. Clay lacked the romantic charm of military heroism, but the nationality of his views, and his long devotion to public life marked him distinctly for the Presidential chair. He was ten years younger than Jackson, lithe, sinewy, and active, with remarkable powers of endurance. Like his great adversary, he had the imperious spirit of a conqueror, and could brook no rival. He could be gentle and conciliatory in social intercourse whenever he desired to please, and was a steadfast friend in the same ratio that he was a bitter and defiant foe. He had been many years in the United States Senate, had declined President Madison's offer of the mission to Russia, and a place in the Cabinet, and President Monroe's offer of the mission to England and a Cabinet office. It was his eloquence in Congress that roused the country for the war of 1812. And his advocacy of a system of internal improvements, the protection of American industry, and a thorough American policy, to the exclusion of European influence on this continent, was remembered with gratitude.

A third party, however, came into the field in the beginning of this canvass; an organization, which originated in western New York, called the Anti-Masons, and it nominated its own President and Vice-President, with the avowed purpose of putting an end to all secret societies. Foremost in these Anti-Mason movements were William H. Seward, who in 1830, at the age of twenty-nine, became a State senator and a leader of the new Whig party, and Thurlow Weed, who had recently begun his editorship of the *Albany Evening Journal*, in opposition to the Albany Regency—a body instituted to manage the Democratic party of New York.

From the "infected district," as the Masons and others styled the region of the birth-place of Anti-Masonry, the party spread like a contagion through the Northern States and some portion of the South. It held the first national convention in 1830, at Philadelphia, in which ten States were represented by ninety-six delegates. It was the original plan to make

ex-Postmaster-General John McLean the Anti-Mason candidate; but in the second convention at Baltimore, in 1831, in which thirteen States were represented by one hundred and twelve delegates, William Wirt received the nomination for President, and Amos Ellmaker for Vice-President. Seward wrote to Mr. Weed from Auburn, October 19, 1831, "The name



WILLIAM WIRT.

of William Wirt added to the splendid names recently enrolled on our banner is destined to be the proudest and most victorious."

The Clay men were sadly out of humor with these proceedings, having all along indulged in the delusion that the Anti-Masons would nominate Clay, or else make no nomination. Now they determined to unite in a desperate effort to break down the Anti-Masons altogether. They as-

sumed the name of National Republicans, and held a convention in Baltimore, in December, 1831—three months after the Anti-Masonic convention. Henry Clay was nominated by a unanimous vote for President, and John Sergeant for Vice-President.

The details of this presidential campaign, if fully written out, would present one of the most extraordinary pictures in our political development. The electioneering processes would read like romance. The wheels within wheels were kept on a perfect whirr. Leading men and renowned orators rode through the country in springless wagons and on horseback—for railroads were not yet—to stir men into action, and increase the popular vote; and in their zeal thought little of swimming rivers or sleeping under hay-stacks if thereby their party could be served. The controversy between the two rival chieftains, the blind devotion of both parties, the inveterate prejudice of each to the other, the eloquent vituperation and inelegant sarcasm of the angry disputants in public places, and the herculean industry of the Anti-Masons in trying to advance the interests of the "blessed spirit," by breaking the ranks of both the Jackson and Clay men, distinguished this election above all others in our annals.

But Jackson, even while vetoing the bill that had passed both Democratic houses of Congress rechartering the Bank of the United States, was the second time borne like an enchanted prince into the presidential chair. He received two hundred and nineteen of the electoral votes; Clay forty-nine; Wirt seven; and John Floyd, governor of Virginia from 1829 to 1834, eleven.


Henry Clay remained in the Senate from 1831 to 1842, and offered the famous resolution of censure when President Jackson commenced his second term by the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States, an act which was pronounced unconstitutional.

William Wirt was a scholarly man of some sixty years, a lawyer by profession, who had served twelve years as Attorney-General of the United States. He specially distinguished himself in the trial of Aaron Burr for treason at Richmond in 1807, and henceforward was considered one of the foremost in his profession. "His style was classic, figurative and flowing, his reasoning powerful, and often overwhelming." He was fond of literary pursuits, and wrote on many subjects with elegance, rapidity, and enthusiasm. He was a man of singular amiability of temperament, and greatly beloved by his friends.

The unsuccessful candidates in 1837 were four in number. Of these, William Henry Harrison received seventy-three votes, Hugh L. White twenty-six, Daniel Webster fourteen, and Willie P. Mangum fourteen.

Martin Van Buren of New York, Vice-President during the last four years, was the winning candidate. He had been the devoted supporter of all Jackson's Democratic measures, presiding over the Senate in the most graceful and parliamentary manner through the tempestuous scenes of his second term. But financial disaster was the grand legacy of Jackson's administration. When the public money which had been withdrawn from the Bank of the United States was deposited in the local banks, it became easy to obtain loans. Speculation extended to every branch of trade, and especially to western lands. New cities were founded in the wilderness, and fabulous prices charged for building-lots. Foreign goods at the same time were imported heavily, for which gold and silver were sent abroad in large quantities. When Jackson, just before retiring from the chair of State, issued his famous "specie circular" requiring payments for the public lands to be made in hard money, gold and silver were swept into the treasury. Consequently business men could not pay their debts. Consternation seized all classes. The storm burst with terrific fury in New York within one month after Van Buren's inauguration. Two hundred and fifty houses suspended during the first three weeks of April. From New York the panic extended all over the Union. The failures in New Orleans reached twenty-seven millions in two days. Even the national government could not pay its debts.

Up to this time the political parties had not openly divided on the question of slavery, although it had created much excitement in Congress. The opposition had taken the name of the Whig party, and were quietly jubilant over the test by which it appeared possible to elect Harrison in the next struggle. He was a man of the people, though not equal to Clay in leadership. But then Clay was a Free Mason, and unacceptable to the Anti-Masons, and his advocacy of the protective tariff made him unpopular in certain portions of the South. He was not willing to have his name used if the cause could be better promoted by any other. Harrison was nominated, with John Tyler for Vice-President. The utmost enthusiasm greeted the announcement. Songs came into vogue that were heard the country through, and once heard were never forgotten. Great meetings were held and so much noise made that the campaign has gone into history as the "shouting campaign." Invention was racked for new methods in which to display the log cabin. In one instance, as an illustration, in a remote Massachusetts mountain town, a public meeting was called in the church. The farmers collected, built a log cabin on wheels, to which they attached eighty yoke of oxen—trimmed with green boughs, and banners, and flowers—and preceded by as many young girls on horseback as



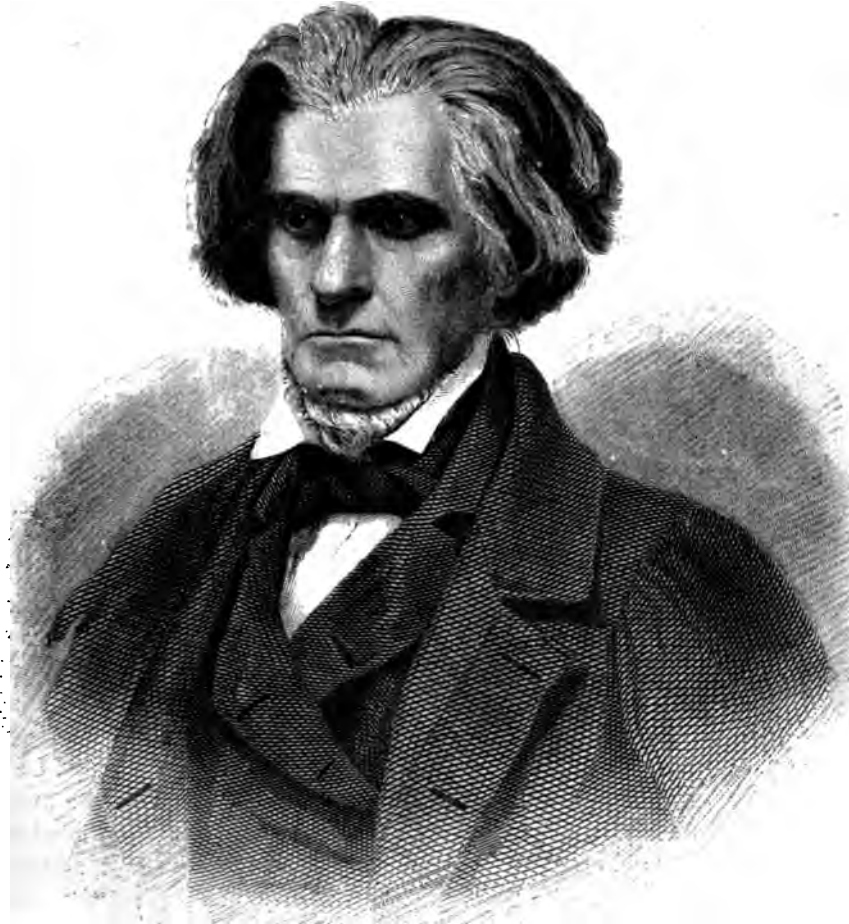
there were, States in the Union, this imposing procession marched for miles to the place appointed, the multitude singing on every side the rattling song, with its chorus :

" For Tippecanoe and Tyler too,  
Tippecanoe and Tyler too ;  
With them we will beat little Van,  
Van, Van is a used-up man,  
And with them we will beat little Van."

The same crude song was repeated, with others similar in style, in the church between the speeches, and this in a pre-eminently religious community. The "log cabin" and "hard cider" were seized as emblems of the simplicity of Harrison's early Western life, and his military reputation, like that of Jackson, "carried him on to fortune." He received two hundred and thirty-four votes, and Van Buren was the unsuccessful candidate, with only sixty.

Daniel Webster as well as Henry Clay participated in this presidential struggle. Webster had recently been in England, where his fame had preceded him, and where his great speech in the Senate against the right of an individual State to nullify an Act of Congress was quoted as next to the Constitution itself the most correct and complete exposition of the true powers and functions of the Federal government. He had not been unwilling to risk being the second time an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, but circumstances led him to withdraw his name prior to the convention. He was appointed Secretary of State by President Harrison immediately after the election. At the end of two years he resigned, and his great opponent in the State sovereignty doctrine, John C. Calhoun, was his successor, appointed by President Tyler. This eminent statesman and brilliant orator had been Secretary of War in President Monroe's cabinet eight years, Vice-President of the United States eight years, and for a long period in the Senate. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, was graduated from Yale College in 1804, studied law, and soon entered public life. "That young man has talent enough to be President of the United States," said Dr. Dwight, of Yale, before Calhoun had finished his college course. And but for his peculiar doctrine of State rights honestly entertained and earnestly advocated, and his ultra views on the tariff and slavery questions he would have been, through his commanding talents and unspotted integrity, one of the most available of candidates. In arranging the canvass for 1845, Calhoun's name was before the Democratic public, and South Carolina and Georgia were in favor of his nomination. The Whigs were united for Clay, and Calhoun in one or two instances remarked

that nothing could prevent the election of Clay but his own candidacy. The Democrats had been so exasperated at the success of the Whigs in 1841, that every point was guarded in relation to their next choice. Early in January, 1844, Calhoun wrote a letter in which he refused to have his name



J. C. CALHOUN.

go before the nominating convention. But South Carolina cast her votes for him, nevertheless. The adherence of the Democrats to Mr. Van Buren was by no means unanimous, although many were in his favor. The following is an unpublished letter from Henry Clay to Thurlow Weed, dated :

"WASHINGTON, May 6, 1844.

"I do not think I ever witnessed such a state of utter disorder, confusion, and decomposition as that which the Democratic Party now presents. Many believe that this convention will now abandon Mr. Van Buren and take up some one else. That is not my opinion, unless he chooses voluntarily to withdraw, for I think he is really the strongest man of their party.

"I am sure you will be pleased to hear from me that I am firmly convinced that my opinion on the Texas question will do me no prejudice at the South."

The Democrats finally agreed upon James K. Polk, of Tennessee, a comparatively unknown man, who would excite no antagonisms, and be acceptable to the South. The Abolitionists held a convention at Buffalo and nominated James G. Birney, of New York, as their candidate, but he was so supremely unsuccessful as not to receive one electoral vote, although the popular vote for him was considerable. The canvass was nearly as exciting as some of its predecessors, and it was noisy in the extreme. It differed from that of 1841, in that both parties shouted and went about singing songs. The Democrats gained the victory, and the Whigs charged them with fraud. Polk received one hundred and seventy electoral votes, and Henry Clay one hundred and five. Thus the candidate who was unquestionably the most brilliant and popular man in the United States at this period, was for the third time the unsuccessful candidate.

The annexation of Texas followed the accession of President Polk; the way for it had been prepared by Secretary Calhoun, and joint resolutions adopted by the Senate were approved by President Tyler three days before the close of his administration. This act provoked the Mexican war, and the Mexican war gave to the country its next President, and its second Whig victory.

The unsuccessful candidate in 1849 was the Democratic nominee, Lewis Cass. He was a man of marked ability, and stood well before the public. Born in 1782 in Exeter, New Hampshire, he had acquired an academic education, studied law, crossed the Alleghany mountains on foot, and commenced practice in Zanesville before he was twenty-one. With the war of 1812 he distinguished himself in military affairs, and subsequently was eighteen years Governor of Michigan. In 1831 he became Secretary of War, and served as Minister to France from 1836 to 1842, since when he had been in the Senate of the United States. His career resembles that of John Quincy Adams in length and in its various vicissitudes. He was re-elected to the Senate after his defeat in the Presidential election of 1849, where he remained until appointed Secretary of State under President Buchanan. His purity of private life, temperance, scholarly habits, literary

tastes, and philosophical tendencies rendered him one of the interesting men of his time. In the Presidential test he received a very large popular vote, and one hundred and twenty-seven electoral votes, but General Taylor received one hundred and sixty-three votes, and was declared President, and Millard Fillmore was elected Vice-President.



LEWIS CASS.

In the canvass for 1853 both parties had an uncomfortable time in the matter of selecting candidates. The Whigs desired Webster, for he was the greatest statesman of the party; but it was feared that his relations to the fugitive slave law and his famous seventh of March speech would seriously interfere with his prospects for election.

The Democrats preferred General Cass, but hesitated in their choice



lest he fail again to win. Both parties desired to ignore the slavery question, but in spite of their efforts to suppress it, the subject grew aggressive, and obtruded its "seven heads and ten horns" into every political assemblage. The Democratic convention was in session six days, and on the forty-ninth ballot Franklin Pierce was nominated. The Whigs were in



WINFIELD SCOTT.

a worse predicament; for when they assembled in convention two weeks later they voted fifty-three times before the question was decided. Their nominee was the veteran General Winfield Scott. He was a prominent figure before the American people, and notwithstanding his acknowledged weaknesses, was a military hero who commanded the respect and confidence

of the masses. Nor was his reputation confined to the limits of his own country; he had friends and admirers in other lands. "At this time," wrote John W. Forney, "there was no personage at the capital who looked like a great man so much as General Scott. He was in his sixty-seventh year, and his history was as eventful as his appearance was distinguished. Of lofty, almost gigantic stature, erect and soldierly, with a face (now before us in an engraving) like the best of the antique medallions, he was, with all his vanity, most cultivated and captivating. He had seen much of society and men. In his youth a soldier and a lady's man, he had read a great deal, and remembered what he read. Born in Virginia, his grandfather was a Scotchman of the Clan Buccleugh, who fled across the Atlantic 'with a small purse' of borrowed money, and 'a good stock of Latin, Greek, and Scotch jurisprudence.' His father died a captain in the Revolutionary army when Winfield was six years old. He was well educated, and especially in the classics. He was an impulsive correspondent, and could hardly keep out of print. His 'hasty-plate-of-soup' letters made sad havoc in the ranks of his friends during his candidacy for President."

The anti-slavery organization held a convention and nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, who was destined to be an unsuccessful candidate. The popular vote for him was upward of twice as large as that for Birney in 1845, but he received not one electoral vote. General Scott received forty, and declared himself profoundly thankful for his defeat. General Pierce received two hundred and fifty, and was therefore elected. The popular vote, however, for Pierce, was but slightly in excess of that for Scott.

*Martha J Lamb*

## AN OLD COLONIAL COLLEGE


There is often an unconscious pathos in some casual paragraph in a daily newspaper; but not often does the busy journalist, in his hurried midnight work, have to chronicle the probable occurrence of an event so unusual and so suggestive as the death of an ancient college. The "paragraphers" of our journals, a few months ago, hardly knew how much of quaint and courtly history they were summarizing when they wrote, in three lines: "Williamsburg College of Virginia, once a strong seat of learning, although local in character, has gone completely to decay. Last year it had but a single student, and now it has not even one." This announcement, to be sure, has proved to be premature, but the fortunes of the old college are still precarious, and its fate uncertain.

The institution was the first American college to receive a royal charter; it was the first planned by English colonists in any part of the world; and the first, save one, in actual establishment. Washington was once its chancellor, though not one of its graduates; and his interest in it was unflagging from the time when it gave him, then an ambitious youth bound for the western wilds, his commission as surveyor. Three other presidents of the United States—Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler—studied within its walls; and Jefferson, before he established his pet University of Virginia, long cherished the idea of making the college at Williamsburg the university of his dreams. Once the richest of American schools, it fell at last into almost hopeless poverty; once surrounded by the nobility and gentry of England's most aristocratic colony, it finally became a little more than a grammar-school for an impoverished community. In the middle of the eighteenth century it was a source of sound learning and the seat of an important colonial press; but in 1884 it has left in its town—indeed, in its whole vicinity—not one newspaper to chronicle its fallen fortunes. Though two great wars battered against the doors of its thrice-burned building, it lived until a time of profound peace, and of increased hope for the material prosperity of Virginia.

The College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, Virginia, was chartered and began its career in 1693. A period of one hundred and ninety-one years hardly seems long at Oxford, or Cambridge, or Vienna, or Prague, or Heidelberg; but measured in American annals that period is almost a century longer than the constitutional life of the United States, and

more than two-thirds as long as the existence of Englishmen on American soil. To Americans, at least, this college has therefore seemed both ancient and venerable; older than Yale, Columbia, or Dartmouth, and hoar indeed beside such yesterday-growths as the Universities of Michigan, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins. Nor is its age its only claim to a modest place in its country's history: its environment in the historic peninsula of "tide-water Virginia" would have made interesting a college less creditable in itself. Three miles south of the battle-scarred college building is the deserted island of Jamestown, whose ruined church-tower marks the site of the settlement of 1607, the first made by Englishmen on American soil; and ten miles eastward is that poor village of Yorktown, where the Revolutionary war ended. Williamsburg itself, a "city" of fifteen hundred inhabitants, was the capital and chief place of Virginia until 1799; and its eighteenth century inhabitants used to be proud of the resemblance which, in their loyal fancy, its "court" and governor bore to St. James' and to royalty itself.

There is a common impression that no attempt was made to establish a college in America before the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay opened Harvard College at Newtown, in imitation of the English Cambridge from which many of them had come. But seventeen years earlier, in 1619, English bishops raised fifteen hundred pounds for the purpose of starting an Indian college in Virginia; and at an earlier time fifteen thousand acres of land had been appropriated for the same purpose, through the efforts of Sir Edwin Sandys, the leading English promoter of Virginian colonization. Had this school been permitted to begin its life, it was intended to bestow upon it the honorable name of university. So certain did its establishment appear that its site was selected, near the present city of Richmond; and a preparatory school was planned at Charles City, which was also to receive an endowment of land. The spirit of the university, if no more, was transferred from England to America in the person of George Thorpe, "a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber"; but it was quenched when, on March 22, 1622, the Indians, for whom the establishment was chiefly designed, killed Mr. Thorpe and three or four hundred of his fellow-colonists. From such a blow the yet unorganized school could not recover, and the Virginia cavaliers seem to have been sadly contented to let the Massachusetts sons of old Cambridge outstrip them in setting up a place of learning on the new soil. In 1660, however, the "grand assembly," or Virginia parliament, at James City, took up the idea anew, and duly resolved that the lack of a learned ministry was a great evil; that a steady supply of clergy from England could hardly be expected; and that



a "college and free school" be therefore established in Virginia, "with as much speed as may be convenient, housing erected thereon for entertainment of students and schollers." A petition was presented to Charles II for letters patent for the collecting of money in England, and also for his majesty's request that Oxford and Cambridge universities would meanwhile furnish the Church of England in America with ministers. The governor, council, and burgesses subscribed money and tobacco toward the same end. Further legislation followed the next year, and a site for the college was selected "at a certaine place within this government known by the name of Townsend's Land." The royal charter was, however, not given until after William and Mary had come to the throne. It was finally granted on the eighth day of February, 1693, in the fourth year of their reign. The cause of this further delay of thirty-two years is not clearly apparent, but that it was not wholly disadvantageous is shown by the fact that "Townsend's Land," a locality near Yorktown, on the York River, had meanwhile been found to be unwholesome, and that "Middle Plantations, now Williamsburg," was therefore the location substituted.

The idea of giving the colonists this chance for getting an education had been by no means welcome to some in authority in Virginia. Sir William Berkeley, one of the governors, deplored the poor quality of the ministers sent from England, and was not unfavorable to the establishment of a college for the instruction of their successors; but his idea of the best education of the children of the people was that they should be taught by their parents at home. "I thank God," said he, in a somewhat celebrated exclamation, "there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" The worthy governor apparently prided himself upon his ability as a logician. A similar enlightened spirit dictated the words of Mr. Attorney-General Seymour, when Dr. James Blair, the first president of the college, brought to him the royal command to issue the charter. The money bestowed on the new college, in Seymour's opinion, might much better be spent on the costly wars in which England was then engaged. The good divine tried to show to the attorney-general that ministers were needed in Virginia; that the college would supply them; and that the ministers, when supplied, would give spiritual comfort to the souls which, Dr. Blair reminded Seymour, existed even in a colony. "Souls!" cried Seymour in a repartee which history has not let die, "damn their souls, let them make tobacco!" But Dr. Blair's mission was successful; the charter was duly signed; and a

good financial endowment was granted the new school. The contributions of the king and queen were £1,985 14s. 10d., raised from the quit-rents of the colony; also a penny a pound on tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland (the fees and privileges of the office of surveyor-general of Virginia), and ten thousand acres of Virginia land. The college exercised its functions as surveyor-general for many years, and, as has been stated, gave George Washington his surveyor's commission. Other moneys had previously been raised; £2,500 was given by Virginia colonists and English merchants in 1688 and 1689; and the prospects at the start were certainly sufficiently encouraging. The connection of the college with the tobacco-tax was a profitable one, for there were as yet no signs of the impoverishment of tobacco-lands, which was subsequently caused by the short-sighted policy of which Thomas Jefferson so bitterly complained.

It is worthy of remembrance that the course of study established and since maintained at the college was for a period of three years, instead of four; and to this imitation of Oxford and Cambridge was added another privilege enjoyed by William and Mary College alone among American institutions of learning: that of representation in the House of Burgesses, or colonial legislature. The election of its representative was by the faculty of the college; he must be one of their own number, or a member of the board of visitors, or "one of the better sort of inhabitants of the colony," as ran the aristocratic phrase.

Another feather in the cap of this new servant of science and art was that the first college building was planned by Sir Christopher Wren. It was 136 feet long, with one wing, and was designed to be the first part of a quadrangle. Sir Christopher's plans were "adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there," an early chronicler tells us; and the same authority adds that the building was "not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital." In the newly completed building were held the Commencement exercises of 1700, which were celebrated with as much pomp as the resources of the colony would permit. Planters came in coaches, and distant New York and Pennsylvania, as well as accessible Maryland, were represented among the spectators. "His Majesty's Royal College of William and Mary" had certainly been born with a golden spoon in its mouth; and its glory was further increased by its selection as the seat of the Virginia General Assembly. In 1705, unfortunately, the building caught fire, and was destroyed, with its library and physical apparatus. Neither of these could have been very extensive, but the blow was a severe one. It is a curious coincidence that another of the few fires which have injured American colleges—that which destroyed Harvard Hall in 1764—came, as

did this, at a time when the colonial legislature had been holding its sessions in the academic walls. For the Harvard fire the colony held itself responsible, and contributed liberally toward the replacement of the building and its contents.

It is considered certain that the Williamsburg college was rebuilt within the original walls, and that the restored building was not unlike its predecessor. This was not finished for eighteen years, as money and masons were lacking. But new grants and donations were made from time to time during the eighteenth century; the amounts and donors need not be recapitulated. It is enough to say that the college of William and Mary, like Harvard, Dartmouth, King's College, the University of Pennsylvania, and other American institutions, did not look in vain to English benefactors, and that in the Virginia college, as under the special care of the Church of England, the dignitaries of that body took a particular interest. Until 1776 its presidents were called the "commissaries," or colonial representatives of the successive bishops of London; and after that war several bishops of Virginia were heads of the college. The morals of its clerical graduates were considerably better than those of some of their English predecessors. Too many of the Anglican clergy in Virginia, before the establishment of the college, had been idle, drunken, and over-fond of gambling and the chase—the moral quality of the young ministers educated at William and Mary and sent to England for ordination merely, was thought to be materially higher.

The character of the education given at the college cannot be exactly ascertained; as at Harvard and Yale, it was undoubtedly poor in itself, and naturally poor in comparison with that which was then offered at the English universities. Nor is it plain that many students availed themselves of even those facilities which they had, nor that all the instructors had any marked success in inspiring enthusiasm. Of course the manufacture of Latin verses was early undertaken; it was, indeed, a condition upon which the college received 20,000 acres of land, that the faculty should annually present, on Guy Fawkes' Day, two copies of Latin verses to the governor or lieutenant-governor of the Dominion of Virginia. This presentation was made with a good deal of display; the faculty and students marched in procession to the governor's "palace"; the verses were "presented" by the president, and declaimed by two students. The governors, in return, took some interest in the affairs of the college, in proof of which we are informed that Lord Botetourt—by far the best of the Virginia chief magistrates—attended morning and evening prayers in the college chapel. The same popular governor founded a philosophical prize in the college, and a

bronze statue commemorating him is owned by the college to-day. This statue has had an unquiet history; during the Revolutionary war it escaped the fate of absolute destruction, which befell the effigy of George III in New York; but suffered the less indignity of having its head and one arm knocked off. During the civil war of 1861-1865 it was removed for safety to the grounds of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, at Williamsburg; but was later restored to the college grounds. If its presentation is correct, Lord Botetourt's face showed that strength and winsomeness of character which endeared him to the colonial heart.

Meanwhile the experiment of Indian instruction was carried on at the college, in accordance with the original plan. An English observer, in 1724, came to the conclusion that the Indians have "admirable capacities when their humors and tempers are perfectly understood;" but his picture of their life at Williamsburg is not a very bright one. Many sickened and died, and not all of those who lived to return to their tribes retained their fondness for the arts of civilization. Those two trials beset those who were seeking to educate the Indians at other places, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and indeed they still exist to a certain extent. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that it is at Hampton Institute, Virginia, only a few miles from Williamsburg, that Indian education has been attended with excellent results within the past ten years.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the college could boast a solid house for its president, and a chapel, in which were afterward buried not a few of the great men of the colony, among whom were Bishop Madison, the first head of the Episcopal Church in Virginia; Peyton Randolph, first president of the American Congress; and Lord Botetourt. A few rods from the college still stands the old brick Christ Church, Bruton Parish—the oldest church edifice now in regular use in Virginia, and the oldest but one in erection. On its walls four mural tablets commemorate departed worthies, and in the adjoining church-yard lie representatives of many a courtly old Virginia family. Gray's own soul would have delighted in the coats-of-arms and quaint sculptures adorning some of the crumbling tombs.

To return to mundane affairs, it was in 1726 that the House of Burgesses granted the college the proceeds of a tax on liquors, to be applied to its running expenses, and to the establishment of scholarships. A quarter of a century later the same benevolent body enriched the college with "the proceeds of the tax on peddlers." Those who are inclined to throw stones at the source of these benefactions, should remember that Harvard University has more than once profited by the gains of an authorized lottery, receiving more than \$18,000 from such a source as late as 1805. Yet,



though money was coming in at William and Mary College, some contemporary accounts rather go to show that religion was simultaneously going out. Charges and counter-charges affecting gubernatorial supervisors of the college, and other officers, were not unknown for many years; and Thomas Jefferson, the most eminent graduate of the college, and its cordial friend, in advanced life remembered the "regular annual riots and battles between the students and the town-boys;" and bore testimony to other greater evils. From one source and another have come down to us complaints that the college was neither a college, nor a grammar-school, nor an Indian hospital; that its teachers squabbled among themselves, to the detriment of their academic work; and that some of the professors, sent out by the bishops of London, were drunken, quarrelsome, and ignorant of the subjects they professed to teach; while the "best students went hunting on Sundays." In 1722 Dr. Blair had felicitated himself on the fact that Virginia was not "infested" with the enemies of the Christian faith, "so that we have little or no occasion in our sermons," he said, "to enter the lists with atheists, deists, Arians, or Socinians, nor are we troubled with either Popish or Protestant recusants, or any of those unhappy distinctions by which the Church of England is most unfortunately subdivided." In spite of this pleasing picture, it is evident that twenty-five or fifty years later, the orthodoxy of some of the guardians of the college was superior to their intellectual attainments, and their attainments superior to their morals. The college had an income of £4,000, ample, certainly, for the care of sixty students; but money did not make morals, and not until Jefferson's undergraduate days were over did the college throw off its internal diseases. In 1769, James Madison, afterward President of the United States, was sent from Virginia to Princeton College, in New Jersey, because his parents feared the infidelity which was said to reign among the students at William and Mary. It cannot be said that at this time good work was not done in the college, by good men and for good students; but the pages of its history, like those of the history of all colonial Virginia, bore too many blots. It can only be urged that the college, though marred by faults and disgraced by positive evils, had within itself the seeds of future reform—offering considerable opportunities to those who would accept them, and rendering to its country, in spite of all faults, a service not likely to be over-appreciated by the cold historical students of to-day.

But, after all, if it had done nothing but to train Thomas Jefferson, its work at that time would have been well worth doing. Jefferson was undoubtedly the best educated of all the presidents of the United States, not excepting John Quincy Adams. Some men lend honor to their colleges

from the mere fact of their quondam residence thereat, but without any debt to the college for benefits actually received. Such was not the case with Jefferson. In after life he proved to be a statesman in a true sense; a scientific man of more than superficial attainments; a scholar in ancient and modern history; the pioneer in introducing the German university system in America; the master of a good English style; an amateur of fair musical ability; and a political economist who was able to give sound advice on questions of social development. It is not too much to say that the foundations of his various intellectual successes were laid at William and Mary. The surroundings of the college, at the time of his arrival in Williamsburg, were not in all respects prepossessing, nor was its internal condition one of ideal excellence. But Williamsburg, though boasting no more than three hundred houses and a thousand inhabitants, was the largest town young Jefferson had ever seen. Its muddy streets were avenues in his rustic eyes, and its modest architectural displays—the governor's palace, the parish church, the college, and the capitol—seemed to him in many ways notable. The somewhat gay society of the place attracted him at once, and he took part in many a dance in the old "Apollo Room" of the Raleigh Tavern, which was subsequently the scene of several pre-Revolutionary conclaves. The legislators of the colony assembled once a year; the courts attracted the most brilliant lawyers of Virginia; and the "aristocracy" of the place, which for two centuries has prided itself on its courtly ways, afforded to the country lad many a silent lesson in manners. The six-horse coaches, the state clothes of the men, and the particularly gorgeous array of those "belles of Williamsburg" celebrated by a Virginia poet, dazzled his eyes and fired his ambition. In the capitol, when an undergraduate, Jefferson could stand in the lobby and learn the art of oratory; and there, on a May day in 1765, he heard Patrick Henry make that speech which is still familiar to every young American who "speaks his piece" in school. Jefferson, then twenty-two years old, had become a friend of Henry before either of them visited Williamsburg; and the fiery young orator was Jefferson's guest at the time of the delivery of the well-known speech.

Nor was Jefferson only indebted, or chiefly indebted, to the *surroundings* of the college. One of the instructors at William and Mary soon became a sort of Rugby Arnold to the young man, and deeply influenced his studies and plans. Jefferson himself tells us: "It was my great good fortune, and what probably fixed the destinies of my life, that Dr. William Small, of Scotland, was then professor of mathematics—a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of com-

munication, correct and gentlemanly manners, and an enlarged, liberal mind. He, most happily for me, soon became attached to me, and made me his daily companion when not engaged in the school; and from his conversation I got my first views of the system of things in which we are placed." This Dr. Small afterward returned to England, and became an intimate friend of Erasmus Darwin. How well Jefferson profited by his instruction is told us by John Page, subsequently governor of Virginia, who says that "Mr. Jefferson would tear himself away from his dearest friends to fly to his studies." Professor Small made Jefferson so zealous a student of mathematics that the pupil, in after life, declared mathematics the "passion of his life." Jefferson and his instructor talked, walked, and dined together; and the professor, who was an intimate friend of Francis Fauquier, then lieutenant-governor of Virginia, often took his young student to Fauquier's house, where there was plenty of music, and also plenty of that conversation which is usually described by the adjective "superior." Fauquier, Small, Jefferson, and a fourth friend, George Wythe, afterward an eminent Virginian jurist, met almost daily; and the influence of each upon each was great and constant. As for his associates, Jefferson felt, he says, the "incessant wish" to become what they were. And yet it is said that Jefferson worked in the college, at times, "fifteen hours a day." His horseback exercise had at first been regular and prolonged, but under the stimulus of Professor Small's instruction—though against his counsel, we may be sure—this amount of out-door recreation was steadily reduced. But no amount of intellectual work could induce Jefferson to give up his violin; and to the restful influence of music, the charms of good society, and the sanitary effect of honest enthusiasm we may ascribe the preservation of that sound health on which he always prided himself.

The work of the college in the war of the Revolution was not confined to that done by Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence. Four signers of the Declaration—George Wythe, Benjamin Harrison, Carter Braxton, and Thomas Nelson—were among its graduates; and others prominent in councils or in arms were John Marshall, James Monroe (President of the United States), Governor John Tyler, Peyton Randolph, Theodoric Bland, Charles Harrison, John Page, Edmund Randolph, John Taylor, and Beverly Randolph. Nor was the Revolutionary offering of the college confined to the graduates whose services it gave; it sent three professors and thirty students to the army; it lost nearly all of its endowment because of the depreciation of paper money; and its chief building was fired, and its president's house burned, during an occupation


by French troops in 1781. The exercises of the college were suspended during the summer before the siege of Yorktown, hence the French occupation. The government of France made good this loss.

During the Revolution occurred an interesting non-martial event: the establishment of the parent chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa society. It first met in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern, December 5, 1776. That its centennial was not observed in the year of centennials was an unfortunate neglect on the part of the many existing chapters of this oldest of American college societies.

After the Revolution the poor, rent college enjoyed a period of peace for eighty years, and was able to do good serviceable work, undisturbed, until 1861, when, of course, its doors were again closed. In the fall of 1862, some months after the battle of Williamsburg, the main building was burned by drunken stragglers of the United States army, acting without orders. Strenuous efforts have been made from time to time—notably by Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts—to secure the grant of a sum of money to the college by the government, in consequence of this loss. These efforts have been unsuccessful, not so much from ill-will to the college as from the belief that a dangerous precedent would be established by the restitution.

During the civil war nearly the entire college enlisted in the Confederate army. Besides the burning of the main building, during the fighting around Williamsburg, other houses in the college grounds were burned or dismantled, and at the close of the war little remained save the wreck of former greatness. Its loss seemed the worse because in 1859, just before the outbreak of hostilities, an accidental fire had burned the inside of the old hall, which had been restored within a year.

Notwithstanding all its misfortunes, the college was reopened at the close of the war; subscriptions of money and gifts of books came from both Southern and Northern States, and also from England; a new faculty was elected; and an old bequest of the eighteenth century was made available by an English court. Since that time the college and its grammar school have done a useful though modest work for the young men and boys of the immediate vicinity, few students coming from a distance. Its final decline has been due to continued lack of means, to the increasing impression that "tide-water Virginia" is a malarious region, and to successful rivalry on the part of the University of Virginia and Washington and Lee University. Both these colleges, and even such lesser Virginia institutions as Roanoke College, have received from the North large gifts, which old William and Mary might better have had.



Has the college any future? Perhaps not, although it has outlived many dark days. It was hoped that the Yorktown Centennial of 1881 would attract attention to it, and steps were taken to repair its financial condition, in connection with that anniversary; but for some reason the efforts proved barren of results. Another scheme, broached two or three years ago, was to make the college a department of the University of the South, an Episcopal institution at Sewanee, Tennessee; transferring thither its name and portable effects. This idea, which has apparently been dropped, doubtless originated with Rev. Dr. George T. Wilmer, formerly the Episcopal minister at Williamsburg and a professor in the college, but now a member of the faculty of the University of the South. Certain small properties, and a most honorable name, remain at William and Mary, but it must be confessed that the future looks dark.

But around the Williamsburg of 1884 still cluster memories that cannot die. Its broad "Duke of Gloucester Street," three quarters of a mile long and one hundred and sixty feet wide, lined with ancient houses of wood or brick, still seems to the imagination peopled with the gentry and grand dames of the colonial days; on the site of its burned capitol one half hears the fiery words of Patrick Henry; the one lone chimney remaining of the Governor's Palace points upward with the same silent lesson taught, three miles away, by the deserted old tower of Jamestown church; the colonial powder-magazine, now used as a stable, tells of Revolutionary days; the parish church, two hundred years old, reminds us of the wigged and brocaded worshipers of the old régime; and the Wythe house, Washington's headquarters, speaks of the closing days of that great war which ended on this peninsula. And the college itself—to-day it is deserted and half-forgotten; but its little light, like that of some star which perished long ago, is still shining as though its source were not quenched.\*

*Charles F. Richardson.*

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\* In preparing this article, the writer has been under obligation to the pamphlet "History of the College of William and Mary"; Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English, 1874.

## BUTTON GWINNETT

With the exception of the last five or six years, which were rendered somewhat memorable by an active participation in the events connected with the inception and progress of the Revolution in Georgia, and by his tragic death, Button Gwinnett appears to have spent his life in tranquillity and without special mark. Aside from the Constitution adopted by the Georgia Convention in 1777, which is generally supposed to have been, in large measure, the offspring of his thought and political sagacity, we have no monument either of his literary or public effort. He wrote and spoke but seldom, and his signatures are esteemed among the rarest of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

His birth in England occurred almost contemporaneously with the planting of the colony of Georgia, at Savannah, by the illustrious Oglethorpe. That his education was not neglected may be accepted as a fact, although it was perhaps not so liberal as to have inclined him to the adoption of one of the learned professions. In early manhood he engaged in mercantile pursuits in Bristol, England. This city, however, in a spirit of adventure, he soon abandoned and became a resident of Charles-Town, South Carolina. Here, for a season, he resumed his avocation as a merchant; but, ere long, attracted by the growing importance of the younger Province of Georgia, he transferred his hopes and his property to Savannah, its commercial metropolis. There, as early as 1765, we find him established in the business of a general trader. It was a place of limited means, and trifling were the ventures of its most prosperous merchants.

The establishment of a convenient highway connecting the town of Savannah with the Scotch settlement at Darien, on the Alatamaha River, tended largely to the development and the population of the intermediate swamp region, which was very fertile and well adapted to the cultivation of rice, cotton, corn, indigo, and vegetables and fruits of various sorts. The regulation prohibiting the introduction of negro slaves into the Province of Georgia had been abrogated, and former restrictions upon the alienation of lands had been removed. Thus encouraged, and allured by the agricultural advantages of this portion of the Province, colonists from other plantations flocked in and possessed themselves of the rich deltas of the Great Ogeechee, the Midway, and the North Newport rivers. The accession of the Dorchester congregation—consisting of some three hundred and fifty



whites and fifteen hundred negroes—materially enhanced the wealth and increased the population of this Midway District. It contributed to the rising importance of the village of Sunbury, situated upon a bold and beautiful bluff on Midway River, which, overlooking the placid waters of that stream and the intervening low-lying marshes, descries in the distance the green woods of Bermuda Island, the dim outline of the southern point of Ossabaw, and, across the sound, the white shores of St. Catharine.

When the claim of Mary Bosomworth \* was finally adjusted, this island of St. Catharine, upon which she had fixed her home, was acknowledged to be her individual property. Apparently dissatisfied with his mercantile pursuits, and anxious to avail himself of the attractions offered by the Midway District, fast becoming the most influential parish in the Province, Gwinnett, about 1770, converted his property into money and purchased this island from Thomas and Mary Bosomworth. Including some cattle, horses, hogs, lumber, and a plantation-boat, the cost of these premises amounted to £5,250. With some negro slaves he there established a plantation and turned his attention to agriculture. Indigo, rice, corn and lumber were the staple commodities of the region. His residence was in easy access to Sunbury, then the rival of Savannah in population and commercial importance. With Dr. Lyman Hall—the leading physician in the community, and one of the earliest and most influential “Sons of Liberty” in the Province—he contracted a strong personal and political friendship. To this association may probably be referred the active interest which Gwinnett soon manifested in the political fortunes of the Province, then on the eve of a mighty revolution.

His first public service of which we find any mention was rendered as a delegate from the Parish of St. John to the Provincial Congress which convened in Savannah on the 20th of January, 1776. By that Congress was he selected, in association with Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, Lyman Hall, and George Walton, as a delegate to the Continental Congress. In that national assembly he appeared on the 20th of the following May, and, as one of the members from Georgia, affixed his signature to the Declaration proclaiming the independence of the United Colonies.

With the framing and passage of the Constitution of 1777, which for twelve years defined and supported the rights of Georgia as an independent State, Button Gwinnett had much to do. In truth, he was regarded as the parent of that instrument; the provisions of which were,


\* Her Indian name was Cowsaponckesa. Claiming to be of royal blood, she was in turn the wife of John Musgrove, Jacob Matthews, and of the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, at one time chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment. She had rendered various and valuable services to the colonists.

in the main, well considered, wise, and adapted to the emergency. Not a few of them have withstood the changes of more than a century. To the present day are their beneficial influences recognized and approved.

In February, 1777, Archibald Bulloch,—the first Republican President and Commander-in-Chief of Georgia,—who was a tower of strength to the Revolutionists,—whose personal integrity, high sense of honor, patriotism, admirable executive abilities, honesty of thought and purpose, sturdy manhood, unquestioned courage, and comprehensive views of the public good were invaluable in shaping the conduct and maintaining the dignity of the infant Commonwealth—who, with ceremonies the most august, had promulgated the Declaration of Independence in Savannah, and in all his acts had commanded the respect, confidence and devotion of his fellow citizens,—passed away suddenly, the lamp of liberty in his hand trimmed and burning, his noble character, exalted impulses and brave deeds constituting a precious legacy to his people. The infant State was filled with mourning.

By the Council of Safety was Gwinnett, on the 4th of March, 1777, elected President and Commander-in-Chief of Georgia in the place of President Bulloch. In that capacity was he to serve until such time as a governor could be duly appointed in obedience to existing constitutional provisions. Thus had he rapidly attained unto the highest honor within the gift of the commonwealth.

Prior to this elevation a resolution had been adopted by the General Assembly to add three battalions of infantry and a squadron of dragoons to the Georgia troops serving on the Continental establishment, and to form them into a brigade. Colonel Lachlan McIntosh was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general and assigned to the command of these forces. Gwinnett had been a candidate for this position, and he became thoroughly embittered by McIntosh's success. When he assumed the reins of government he permitted not his anger to slumber. In order to mortify the military pride of his adversary and to impair his influence, he impressed upon the public mind the danger of investing army officers and courts-martial with powers which could possibly be withheld from them and intrusted to the civil authorities. Acting upon this theory he intervened in military matters to such an extent that he seriously impaired the discipline of the troops and incited among the officers a spirit of insubordination toward the commanding general. Thus, when an officer was charged with an offense, either civil or military, Gwinnett claimed the right of trying him before the Executive Council. If detailed for special duty, or assigned to a temporary command of moment, he insisted that he





should take his orders from the president and council. The effect of all this, as may well be imagined, was demoralizing to the army and most galling to General McIntosh.

Anxious to signalize his administration by a feat of arms, Gwinnett planned an expedition against East Florida. The prospect of retaliation was pleasing to the public, and in the breast of the president there lurked an ambitious hope that he would be able to overrun and subdue that sparsely populated province and annex it to Georgia. Instead of intrusting its command to General McIntosh, who, as the ranking military officer of the State, was clearly entitled to expect and to claim it, Gwinnett, heaping affront upon affront, set him aside and determined in person to lead the expedition. His deliberate purpose was, with the militia of the State and the Continental troops then stationed in Georgia, to form an army of invasion without consulting General McIntosh on the subject or even allowing him to accompany his brigade. The movement was to be immediate. Proclamations were printed which he proposed to scatter broadcast though the land so soon as he crossed the river St. Mary. He labored under the impression that to insure success and encourage the inhabitants to a change of government nothing would be needed save to hoist the standard of liberty in Florida and make a show of a supporting army. Persuaded, however, that the province of East Florida was in a large measure peopled by loyalists from Georgia and South Carolina, that no reliance for subsistence could be placed upon the products of the region, and that an accumulation of supplies was requisite before he could venture upon the expedition, he abandoned his scheme as at first chimerically entertained.

Still intent upon the consummation of his ambitious project, and reiterating his resolution to lead the army in person, he assembled his council, denominating it for the time being a *council of war*, and concerted the following plan of operations: Sawpit Bluff, twelve miles from the mouth of the river St. John, was designated as the place, and the 12th of May as the time for the rendezvous of the forces which were to participate in the contemplated reduction of East Florida. Colonel Baker, with the Georgia militia, was to march by land, while Colonel Elbert, embarking four hundred of the Continental troops in three galleys and several small boats, was to repair by water to the point indicated. Having, with great difficulty, crossed the Alatomaha River at Fort Howe, Colonel Baker moved with only one hundred and nine men in the execution of the order intrusted to him. Near Nassau River he was defeated by Colonels Brown and McGirth, and his command was wholly dissipated.

Colonel Elbert was sorely perplexed upon finding that he was commissioned to lead the Continental forces detailed for the expedition, to the exclusion of General McIntosh, who, as his superior officer, was entitled to claim that distinction. He was also greatly concerned at the abnormal condition of affairs brought about by orders emanating from President Gwinnett and his council, by which he was required to report directly to, and to receive his instructions from, the Governor and Council. With General McIntosh did he communicate, advising him of the disagreeable situation in which he found himself, and expressing his regrets that the orders issued did not come through him as his commanding general. He even went so far as to remonstrate with the Governor and Council in regard to this irregularity. Gwinnett, however, controlled his Council, insisted upon his rights as commander-in-chief, and, being of an imperious will and implacable in his hate, continued to supplant General McIntosh, and to subject him to humiliation. The detachment of Continentals led by Colonel Elbert utterly failed in its purpose; and so, without benefit and pregnant with disaster, ended an expedition conceived in ambition and jealousy, planned without due caution, and sadly marred in its execution.

Responding to the emergency caused by the lamented death of Archibald Bulloch, and in the exercise of his gubernatorial powers, President Gwinnett issued a proclamation requiring the several counties of the State to elect delegates to a legislature which should convene in Savannah on the first Tuesday in May, 1777. The first and chief duty of this assembly was to elect a successor to President Bulloch. Gwinnett was an avowed candidate for the position. The Legislature met in due season, and, after organizing by the selection of Dr. Noble W. Jones as speaker, and Samuel Stirk as secretary, proceeded to the choice of a governor. John Adam Treutlen was elected by a handsome majority. Grievous was Gwinnett's disappointment. McIntosh did not hesitate to openly avow his gratification at the result. In fact, he publicly and in the presence of the members of the Executive Council denounced Gwinnett as a scoundrel. The quarrel between these gentlemen culminated on the 15th of May, when Gwinnett challenged McIntosh to mortal combat. The challenge was promptly accepted. They met the next morning at a spot within the present limits of the city of Savannah. Pistol shots were exchanged at the short distance of four paces. Both were wounded in the thigh: McIntosh dangerously, Gwinnett mortally. The former was confined to his couch for some time, and the latter, after lingering for twelve days, died of his hurt.

Intense excitement ensued. Dr. Lyman Hall, one of Gwinnett's execu-



tors and a warm personal friend of the deceased, and Mr. Joseph Wood brought the matter to the notice of the Legislature, and charged the judicial officers with a neglect of duty in not arresting McIntosh and binding him over to answer an indictment for murder. Informed of these proceedings, so soon as his wound permitted, the general surrendered himself to Judge Glen, and entered into bonds for his appearance. He was indicted, tried, and acquitted. Even this determination of the matter did not allay the malevolent feelings of the Gwinnett party, who, incensed at the loss of their leader, used every exertion to impair the influence of McIntosh and to fetter his efforts in the public service. Moved by these untoward circumstances, and yielding to the suggestion of his friends, Colonels George Walton and Henry Laurens, the general consented to leave Georgia for the time being, and repaired to General Washington's headquarters for assignment to duty with the Continental army. Nearly two years elapsed before he returned to the State. During that time he rendered valuable service in the common cause.

The tradition lingers that Button Gwinnett was interred in the old cemetery in Savannah. So far as our information extends, no stone marks his grave, and the precise spot of his sepulture has faded from the recollection of succeeding generations. When the monument which rises in front of the City Hall in Augusta perpetuating the memory of the signers from Georgia of the Declaration of Independence was erected, the hope of its patriotic builders was that it would cover the dust of all three of them. The mortal remains of Dr. Lyman Hall and of Chief-Justice George Walton were readily found, and were then committed to the guardian care of this memorial shaft. After careful search, no trace could be discovered of the last resting-place of Gwinnett, and he still sleeps in a grave which will probably never be identified.

Specimens of the chirography of this signer are very rare. He evidently wrote but little. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, and his public life extended through only a few years. We have looked upon his original will. It still exists. It is a holograph. The following is a literal copy of it :

"Savannah, March 15th, 1777.

"Im sound in Body and Mind for which I am under the highest obligations to the Supreme Being. How long I shall remain so God only knoweth : I therefore Dispose of my Property both real and Personal in the Following manner.

"First. Let all my Just Debts be Discharged, then One half of my Real and Personal Estate remaining be divided between my Wife and Daughter in equal Shares.—

"The other Half of my Estate both real and Personal shall belong to and appertain unto

the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Tho<sup>s</sup> Bosomworth his Heirs and Assigns forever, he the said Tho<sup>s</sup> Bosomworth first giving a rec<sup>t</sup> in full of all other Demands. —

“ This is my last Will and Testament and I hereby revoke all other Wills and Codicils.

“ The above is only intended to convey my Estate in America.

“ I hereby appoint Tho<sup>s</sup> Savage and Lyman Hall Esq<sup>r</sup> as Executors to this my last Will and Testament.

“ Button Gwinnett [wafer].

“ Witness

“ Ja<sup>s</sup> Foley.

“ W<sup>m</sup> Hornby.

“ Thom<sup>s</sup> Hovenden.”

The foregoing will was admitted to probate by James Whitefield, “ Register of Probates,” on the 30th of May, 1777. On the same day Lyman Hall qualified as Executor.

It would appear by the affidavits of William Hornby and Thomas Hovenden,—two of the subscribing witnesses,—that while this will bears date on the 15th of March, 1777, it was actually published and witnessed on the 16th of May, 1777. Hornby's affidavit reads as follows :

“ Christ Church Parish } Court of Registry  
& County of Chatham } of Probates.

“ William Hornby of Savannah & State aforesaid Gentl<sup>e</sup> personally appeared & being sworn, maketh Oath that the within named Button Gwinnett Esq<sup>r</sup> did, on or about friday the 16th day of this inst May, deliver the paper to this deponent, now produced, purporting to be his will, and said to this deponent in words following, viz<sup>t</sup> “ this is my Will, sign as a witness thereto, and keep it, and if anything happens to me, read it & you'll know what to do with it ; ” and this deponent further saith He verily believes He, the said Button Gwinnett, the Testator, was, at that time of sound and disposing mind and memory, and that at the time He signed the same as a witness, He saw Ja<sup>s</sup> Foley's name also subscribed thereto as a witness, & further saith not.

“ Sworn the 30th

“ Wm. Hornby.

“ May 1777 Before

“ Jam<sup>s</sup> Whitefield

“ Reg<sup>r</sup> of Probates.”

Thomas Hovenden, in his affidavit, corroborates the statement made by Mr. Hornby. We extract the following from his oath made before the Register of Probates on the 30th of May, 1777: “ The within named Button Gwinnett Esq<sup>r</sup> dec<sup>d</sup> did, on or about the 16th day of this ins<sup>t</sup> May, deliver the paper now produced, in his presence, to M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Hornby, a subscribing Witness thereto, saying at the same time ‘ that it was His Will,’ or words to that purpose, and asked this deponent to sign the same ; and this deponent says that He did sign his Name thereto as a Witness, & further saith that He is well acquainted with the Hand writing of the said Button

Gwinnett Esq<sup>r</sup> dec<sup>d</sup>, and that he verily believes that the said paper now produced as his will is in the Hand writing of the said Button Gwinnett," etc., etc.

The period was hazardous, and life peculiarly uncertain. We conclude that Gwinnett drew his will at the time the instrument bears date in anticipation of leading his projected expedition against East Florida, and then signed it, but failed to have it witnessed. In this state the instrument remained in his hands until, warned by the impending duel with McIntosh, and upon the eve of that unfortunate affair, he completed its publication and committed it to the care of Mr. William Hornby, one of the subscribing witnesses, with an injunction which denotes at least some apprehension on his part of the possibility of his encountering a mortal hurt in the approaching combat.

Brief but brilliant was the career of Button Gwinnett. Rising like a meteor, he shot athwart the zenith of the young commonwealth concentrating the gaze of all, and, in a short moment, was seen no more. Within the compass of a very few years are his brilliant aspirations, triumphs, and reverses compressed. Without the accident of birth or the assistance of fortune, he was advanced, and that most rapidly, to the highest positions within the gift of his countrymen. Inseparably associated is his name with the charter of American Independence. Of his intelligence, force of character, ability to command success, courage, indomitable will, tenacity of purpose, patriotism, love of liberty, and devotion to the cause of American freedom, he gave proof most abundant. But he was ambitious, covetous of power, strong in his prejudices, intolerant of opposition, and violent in his hate.

Of this signer we believe no authentic portrait exists. His name dignified a county in Georgia, but we know of none among the living in this State in whose veins courses a drop of blood inherited from, or kindred with that of, Button Gwinnett.

*Charles C. Jones, Jr.*

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA.

## CALIFORNIA'S GOLDEN PRIME OF FORTY-NINE

History and literature are alike interested in that brilliant episode, that organization of society on the Pacific Coast and in the Sierra foothills, from which the present State of California has developed. Only four years before the famous "gold rush," there were but five hundred Americans in California; only four years after that event the population of the new State was 300,000, and its miners had taken more than \$260,000,000 from the auriferous gravel and quartz veins of the region. By common consent, the year 1849 is taken as that most typical of the entire era. The following account of some of its more important features is partly from studies made in the ancient mining camps during 1879, partly from letters of pioneers and evidence of travelers.

First, as regards the "rush" to California. Dr. Stillman, in his "Seeking the Golden Fleece," says that at the close of January, 1849, "Sixty vessels had sailed from Atlantic seaports, carrying 8,000 men, and seventy more vessels were up for passage." Bayard Taylor, speaking more particularly of the land journey, said that "it more than equaled the great military expeditions of the Middle Ages, in magnitude, peril, and adventure." John S. Hittell writes, "From Maine to Texas there was a universal frenzy." One of the "pilgrims" wrote a song, soon heard on every street-corner from Boston to New Orleans, in which he declared:

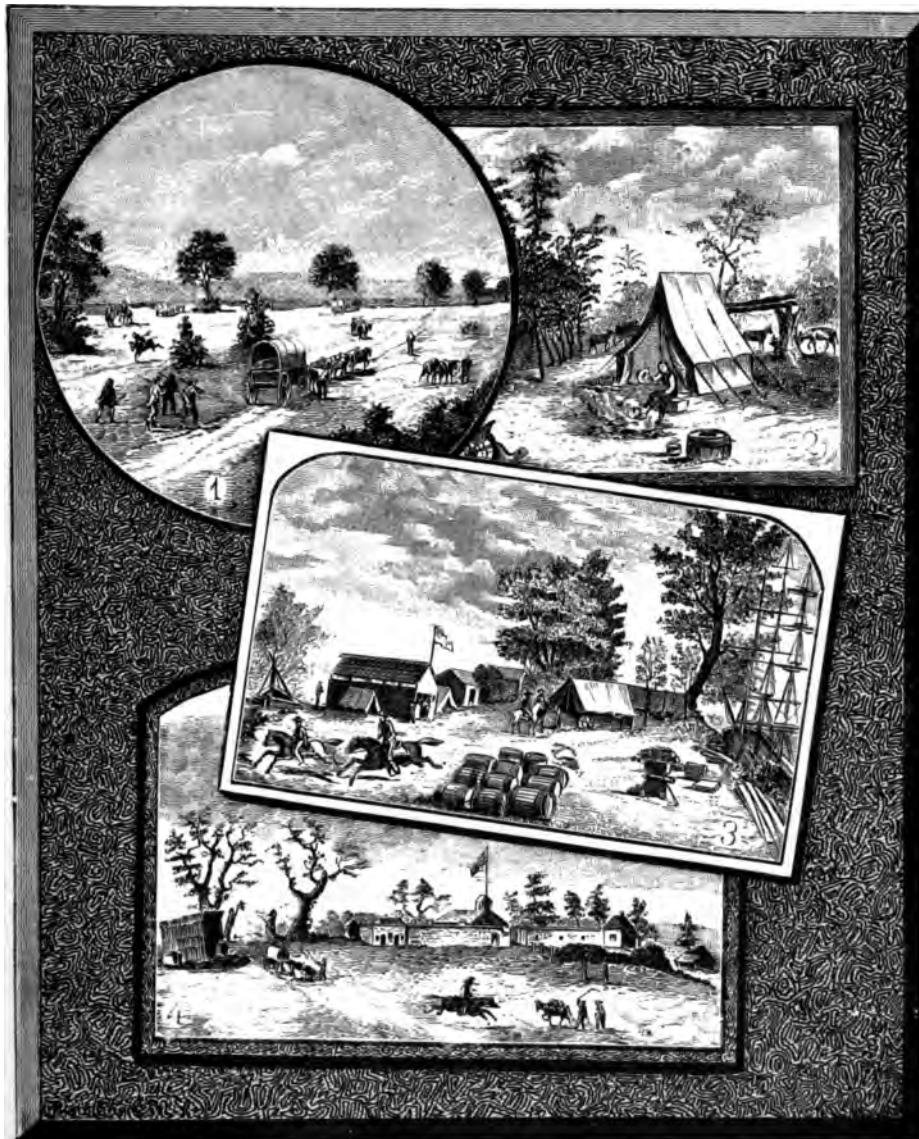
"O, California, that's the land for me;  
I'm bound for the Sacramento,  
With the wash-bowl on my knee."

There were many interesting features about the great onset, all the world seeming to be in haste to occupy this hitherto neglected region. Armies of emigrants were attracted by the magic of its name, and toiled wearily, in wavering lines across the continent. Many a mountain valley was thus settled long before it could have been reached in the natural course of agricultural progress, and the frontier line of the West was borne rapidly forward—the immemorial race impulse of the Aryan had reawakened with all its ancient force. In vain the elders of lonely Deseret tried to roll back or turn aside this dreaded and hated advance of American civilization. Some of the "latter-day saints" joined the current, but most of them were faithful to their shrine. Piercing the passes of the Rockies,

crossing the deserts of sage-brush, sand and alkali, the resistless human torrent surged on its way to the Pacific.

The mining camps, whose white tents and rude cabins rose so rapidly beside the rivers of "New Colchis" in early "Forty-Nine," have found a place in literature; the Argonaut himself has become one of the heroic figures of the past, and is likely to become as strong a type in the romance of American history as Viking or Crusader are in that of Europe. But it is the place held by the Argonaut as an organizer of society that is of greatest historical importance. Literature has too often depicted him as a dialect-speaking rowdy, savagely picturesque, rudely turbulent; in reality he was a plain American citizen, cut loose from the authority, freed from the restraints and protections of law, and forced to make the defense and organization of society a part of his daily business. In its best estate the mining camp of California was a manifestation of the inherent capacities of the race for self-government. Here, in a new land, under new conditions, were associated bodies of freemen, bound together for a time by common interests, ruled by equal laws, and owning allegiance to no higher authority than their own sense of right and wrong. They held meetings, chose officers, decided disputes, meted out a stern and swift punishment to offenders, and managed their local affairs with entire success.

The gateway to the mines was San Francisco. In January, 1849, when Rev. Dwight Hunt, who had for several months preached to the returned miners thronging the streets, organized the "First Congregational Church," the population of the city was less than 1,500. A little later immigrants began to arrive, and by the close of the year the city had 15,000 inhabitants. A pioneer of "49" writes that, before the rowdy organization known as "The Hounds" began to operate, "gold-dust, provisions and tools were safe without police." When "The Hounds" became a public nuisance, the law-abiding citizens organized July 16, 1849, and suppressed them. The San Francisco harbor soon became crowded with ships of every nation. When Richard H. Dana, in 1835, had visited Yerba Buena harbor, while the Mexican eagle and nopal flag yet drooped from the presidio staff, there was not a single vessel in the harbor, not a single boat on the broad bay, and but one house where San Francisco now stands; the summer of 1849 saw no less than 549 sea-going vessels in the port, and a month later 400 were swinging idly at anchor, deserted by their crews, who had fallen victims to the "gold-fever." During the year 35,000 men came by sea, and 42,000 by land, nearly all proceeding to the mines, but many returning to the coast to engage in business. Society was masculine, and most of the men were under forty. Men often traveled miles to



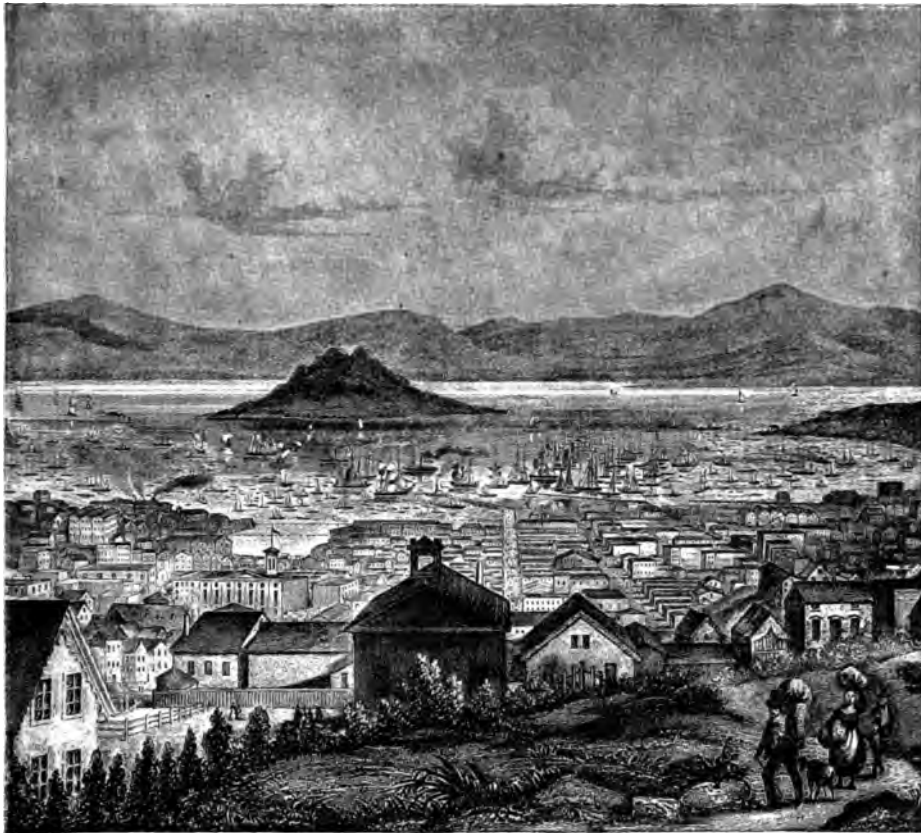
1. ON THE WAY TO THE MINES IN 1849.
2. A SCENE IN CAMP.
3. LANDING, THREE MILES BELOW SACRAMENTO CITY
4. SUTTER'S FAMOUS ADOBE FORT, IN 1849.



welcome the first "real lady" in a camp. A New England youth of seventeen once rode thirty-five miles, after a week's hard work in his father's claim, to see a miner's wife who had arrived in an adjoining district, "because," he said, "I wanted to see a home-like lady; and, father, do you know, she sewed a button on for me, and told me not to gamble, and not to drink. It sounded just like mother."

New towns were laid out in the valleys to supply the mountain camps, and those already established grew with astonishing rapidity. Stockton, for instance, increased in three months from a solitary ranch-house to a canvas city of 1,000 inhabitants. For a small frame building in Sacramento \$30,000 a year in rent was paid; the Parker House in San Francisco cost \$30,000 to build, and rented for \$15,000 per month. Speculation in promising town sites soon reached as extravagant heights as it ever did in the Mississippi valley. Each cross-road, river-landing, and ferry had its mushroom metropolis, its paper population, its "corner-lot speculators." In the tule marshes between the Sacramento and the San Joaquin rivers the "New York of the Pacific" was situated; at the mouth of Bear River was the town of Oro, and along the lowlands were Linda, Kearney, Featherton, and dozens of other "cities" of from one to five houses apiece.

The conditions under which business had to be conducted in San Francisco and the interior towns were extremely trying and difficult. The only supply-markets were so remote that the greatest fluctuations in the stock of goods on hand were constantly occurring, against which no human foresight could guard. New York was 19,000 miles distant by sea-route, and about six months was required to send an order from San Francisco, and have the goods delivered. Oregon's few thousand pioneers had as yet little to sell; China sent rice and sugar; Australia and Chili furnished some flour. Everything else came from the Atlantic sea-ports. Tobacco, one month worth two dollars a pound, was tossed in the streets as worthless a few weeks later. Saleratus fluctuated in price between twenty-five cents and fifteen dollars per pound. The entire community was dependent for its food and clothing upon other communities thousands of miles distant. The commercial annals of the world afford few more exciting episodes than those which occurred in San Francisco under these conditions, when a few days' delay in expected cargoes, or a miscalculation of the amount required for the market, might cause a tenfold rise in the price of any article, and when the ordinary rate of interest was ten per cent. per month. The very boot-blacks have been known to try "corners" on some promising item in the drug, or grocery, or dry-goods line. By the time



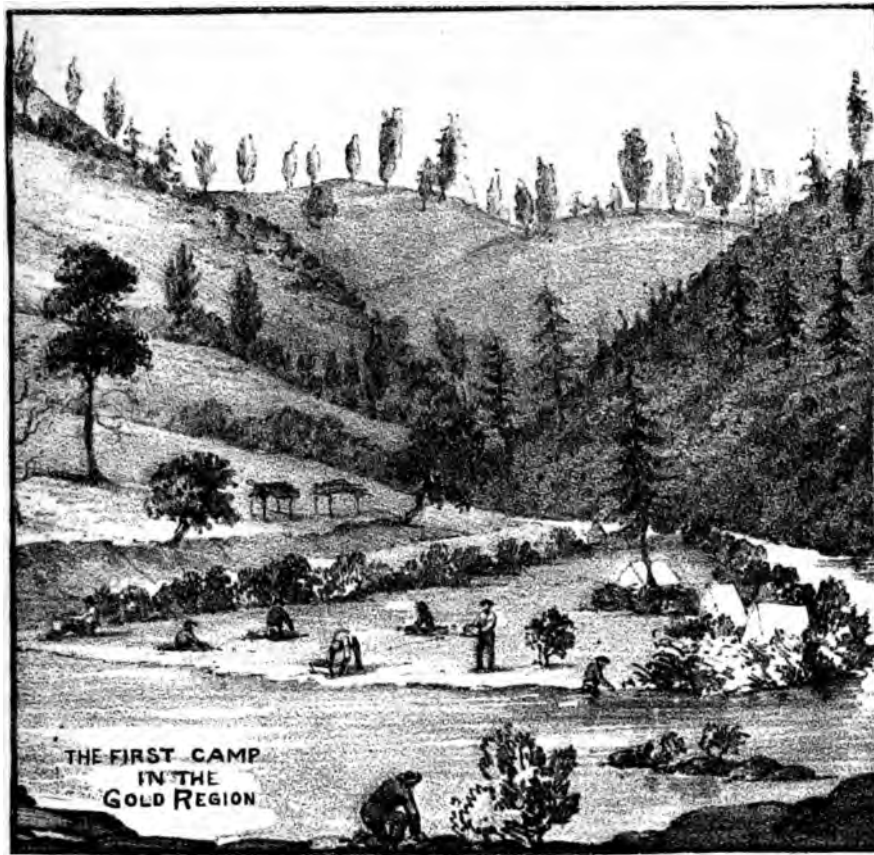
SAN FRANCISCO.  
(*Early in the Mining Era, 1850-1851.*)

that goods reached the mountain camps, their cost was so enormous that most of the miners' gains went for the necessities of life. Those who had been very fortunate often indulged in curious and expensive whims and extravagances, feeling sure that their claims would continue to yield handsomely. They bought the costliest broadcloth, drank the finest wines, and smoked the best brands of cigars. A "wasteful, dissipated set of men" is what one of the Forty-niners calls his old comrades. Men who had been brought up to keep sober, and earn \$16 per month, and save half of it, went to California, found rich claims, earned several hundred dollars a month, of which they might have saved three-fourths, but spent every cent in riotous living. Men who had been New York hod-carriers, spent ten dollars a day for canned fruits and potted meats. But only a

few years later, when the surface placers were all exhausted, these same unkempt Sybarites returned to beans and pork, strapped up their blankets and made prospect tours to better regions, taking their reverses more placidly than one could have thought possible.

To many cheerful, impetuous, and intelligent men the ups and downs of mining life seemed full of wild fascination; to be there was to be a part of a scene that each thoughtful miner knew in his heart was as evanescent as it was brilliant—an episode whose intensity corresponded accurately to its briefness. Reports filled each camp, almost every week, telling of "new diggings, where from \$100 to \$1,000 might easily be collected in a day." Down came the tent-ropes, the claims were abandoned; the epidemic gold-rush fever had seized each Argonaut in the camp. They went to Gold Lake, Gold Bluffs, and a hundred other as loudly trumpeted regions, till the habit of following with swift feet each new excitement became as much a part of the Argonaut's nature as the habit of running after a fire is a part of the nature of a healthy boy. The Argonaut was well enough aware that the blaze is very apt to be only a bonfire, or else to be over long before he arrives, but he could not bear to stand by, and see others run and hurrah, so off he started, at the best of his speed, to come back a few months later "dead broke" financially, but wealthy in experience. Kern River, in 1855, took 5,000 miners to a region where most of them failed to pay expenses. Fraser River, in 1858, took 18,000 men from California, and San Francisco real estate lost from 25 to 75 per cent. of its value. Two years later came the Washoe excitement, then White Pine, then Bodie, and others, almost yearly, till last spring old California prospectors were among the pilgrims to the much praised placers of the savage Cœur D'Alene region.

Fortunately, there were some, even from the first, who had "come to California to remain and make homes," who recognized vast resources other than mineral, and by whose unswerving fidelity to justice the best elements of camp life were evolved. A fine example of this was afforded in what were called the Southern Mines, the camps of Tuolumne. The several hundred dwellers in and about the Mexican, or "Sonoranian" Camp, were reinforced as early as July, 1849, by about 15,000 foreigners, chiefly from Sonora, Chili, and the Isthmus. Some of them were outlaws and desperadoes, and they speedily made the country unsafe. The camp in which they most congregated became notorious for its bull-fights and fandangoes. Opposed to them was a little camp of Americans, who had elected their own "alcalde," or chief officer of the camp, the previous autumn. By the united action of the Americans the foreign invasion, for



it can hardly be called less, as many of the Mexicans came in armed bands, was held in check, controlled, and finally conquered and partially dispersed before the close of the eventful year of "Forty-nine." In some of the American camps, "good and true men" were at once chosen alcaldes; in some the direct intervention of "Miners' Courts" was preferred; in camps of a third class, committee government was resorted to. But government of an efficient and judicious sort, the Americans in the invaded region secured for and of themselves.

The mountain land over which mining became for years the chief industry of men was a region fitted by nature to attract and firmly hold the affections of a hardy and energetic race. Its physical features are most inspiring even now, when the valleys and foothills are subdued to agricultural purposes. But when the miners of Forty-nine began to pitch

their tents in the wilderness it was unfenced, unclaimed, and almost unexplored. Everywhere the land had a charm for men that no language can describe; all the letters, journals and books of the time strive vainly to express the beauty of the rushing rivers and emerald valleys nestled under Alpine snows. Flowers of new species and wonderful beauty, now naturalized citizens of the world's gardens, bloomed on slope and crag; trees of hitherto unimagined grandeur stood in the forests; the climate of the Sierra foothills was the climate of Italy. From the sea-like valley of the Sacramento eastward through rolling, oak-clad hills, to the broad plateaus and granite heights, and pointed peaks piercing the brilliant azure skies with their everlasting whiteness, the ardent miners reached every gulch, ravine, "basin," "cañon," "flat," and "bench," traced every stream to its source, and in four or five years of reckless, eager toil did the exploring and subduing work that has usually taken a generation's labor to accomplish in other communities. They spread out in every direction from Mormon Bar and the Sacramento and Feather River region, hunting for gold southward to the desert sands and borax deposits of Mojave, northward to the lava beds of Modoc, westward into the wildest recesses of the coast range, eastward to where the sage-brush plains of Nevada begin. They established Redding Springs, rifled the Trinity placers of their riches, discovered the deposits of Klamath, Siskiyou and Northern Oregon. They even went waist-deep into the ocean, and brought back tales of beaches gold-spangled by

"all the storms

That hurled their ancient weary white-topped waves  
On California since the world began."

I have visited the mining region, the realm once conquered by the "Argonauts of Forty-nine." Titans have been at work there, the land for miles is like a battle-field where primal forces and giant passions have wrestled. Rivers have been turned aside; mountains hurled into chasms, or stripped to "bed-rock" in naked disarray. I have seen wild and deep ravines where each square rod once had its miner; where stores, theaters and banks once stood in the Flat, and gold dust ran in the streets, and every man carried his pistol, and a day of life contained more of healthy out-door existence and passionate energy than any half-year of common existence. In those ravines, once so populous, a few old and trembling men, worn out before their time, and pitiful to look upon, creep down from their cabins to pick and moil among the crevices for the little gold left by the gallant Forty-niners, and creep back to brood over memories, while year after year they watch with doubtful approval the approach of the new



SACRAMENTO CITY IN CALIFORNIA.  
[As it was in the year 1850.]

empire of gardens, vineyards, orchards, slowly resubduing, in far more durable manner, the lost conquests of the Argonauts.

Even to-day the smallest of these decaying camps is worth patient study. In the hollows, grown over with blossoming vines, are acres upon acres of bowlders and débris, moved, sifted and piled up by the hands of pioneers; on the hill's sunny slope are grass-covered mounds where some of them rest after their toil. Once this was "Red Dog Camp," or "Mad Mule Gulch," or "Murderer's Bar;" now it is only a nameless cañon, the counterpart of hundreds of others scattered over a region five hundred miles long by fifty wide, and each one of them all was once full to the brim and overflowing with noisy, beating, rushing, roaring masculine life. Go down and talk with those ghost-like inhabitants of the ancient camps, and they will set your blood tingling with tales of the past. Twenty years! Thirty years ago! Why, it is centuries!

The saddest of all possible sights in the old mining region is when there are not even half a dozen miners to keep each other company, but where, solitary and in desolation, the last miner clings to his former haunts. He cooks his lonesome meals in the wrecked and rotting hotel, where, a quarter of a century before, then young, gay, prosperous, and, like the camp, in his prime, he had tossed the reins of his livery team to the obsequious servant, and played billiards with "the boys," and passed the hat for a collection to help build the first church; he sharpens his battered pick at a little forge under the tree on which he had helped to hang "the Mexican who had stabbed Sailor Bill;" he looks down in the cañon where vines and trees hide all but the crumbling chimney of the house where the "Rose of the Camp" lived, sweetening their lives with her girlish grace and purity as she tripped over the long bridge to the little school-house, and waved her hand to her friends toiling waist-deep in their claims on the hillside or by the river. But that was long ago, and the bridge has fallen into the torrent, and the snow-storms have shattered the school-house, and he has not seen her for years and years.

Not one of all the thousands of men who hurried into the "Camps of Forty-nine" ever paused to consider how these camps would look if deserted, nor imagined themselves old and lonely pioneers sitting over the ashes of departed fires. The work they did is sufficiently shown by the facts of the gold yield. In 1849, by official record, the miners took out \$23,000,000; in 1850 this yield was more than doubled. It is certain that a large percentage, perhaps one-fourth part or even one-half, of the gold taken from these early placers was never reported to express company or custom-house. The typical camp of the "Golden Prime of Forty-Nine" was flush, lively, reckless, flourishing, and vigorous of speech and action. Saloons and gambling-houses abounded. Every man went around, and felt fully able to protect himself. Gold dust was currency at a dollar a pinch. In the camp, gathered as of one household, under no law but that of their own making, were men from North, South, East and West, and from nearly every country in Europe, Asia, North America. They mined, traded, gambled, bought, discussed camp affairs; they paid fifty cents a drink for their whisky, and fifty dollars a barrel for their flour, and thirty dollars apiece, at times, for butcher-knives with which to pick out the gold from the rock crevices. They talked, as one who knew them well has written, "a language half English and half Mexican," and he might have added, wholly their own. Even Bret Harte has failed to reproduce it; the dialect of his miners leans too far toward the Missourian. These lawless, brave pioneers, risked their lives for each other, made and lost fortunes,

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went on lonely prospect tours, died lonely deaths or perished by violence ; some, wiser or more fortunate, than these, became farmers when the mining era closed, sowed wheat-fields, planted fruitful orchards.

There were times in almost every camp when the rowdy element came near ruling, and only the powerful and hereditary organizing instincts of the Americans ever brought order out of chaos. In every such crisis there were men of the right stamp at hand to say the brave word and do the brave act ; to appeal to Saxon love of fair play ; to seize the murderer, or to defy the mob. Side by side in the same gulch, working on claims of eight paces square, were, perhaps, fishermen from Cape Ann, loggers from Penobscot, farmers from the Genesee Valley, physicians from the prairies of Iowa, lawyers from Maryland and Louisiana, college graduates from Yale, Harvard and the University of Virginia. From so variously mingled elements came that terribly exacting mining-camp society which tested with pitiless tests each man's individual manhood, discovering his intrinsic worth or worthlessness with almost superhuman precision, until, in the end, the ablest and best men became leaders in the free and self-governed camps of the Sierra.

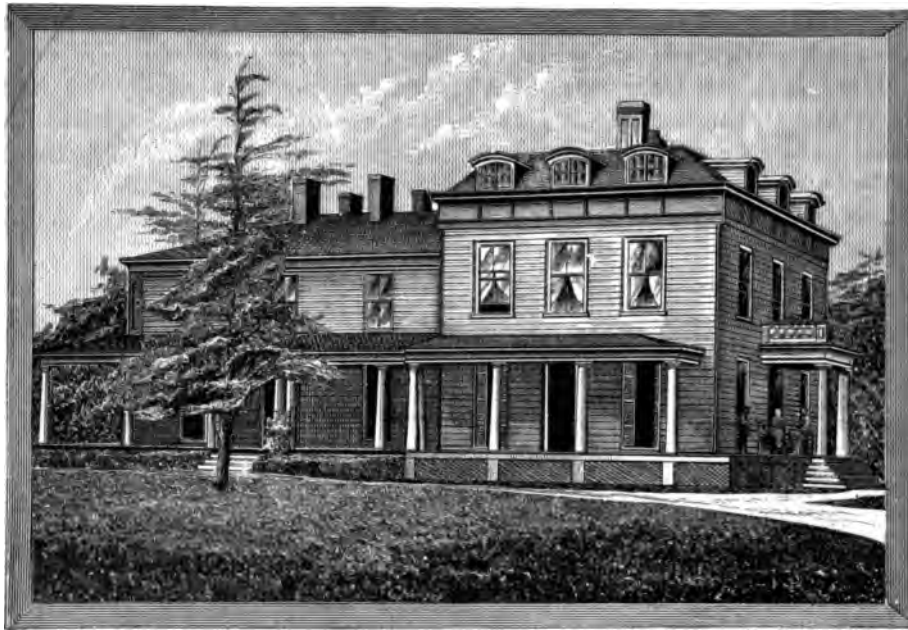
*Charles Howard Shinn.*



## HISTORIC HOMES

### OCHRE POINT, AND WILLIAM BEACH LAWRENCE

The disciple of Albert Gallatin intimately knew all the great brain-workers of his time, when in the pale dawn of his own public career he twinkled with those planets in the political sky, gradually rising to the full brilliancy of intellectual light, until he himself shone a beacon to guide



OCHRE POINT  
(Home of William Beach Lawrence).

the "Rights of Nations" over the uncertain sea of arbitration, and to claim for America the honor of giving to the world the text-book of diplomacy.

Well does the writer of this article recall a cosy breakfast party given to Mr. Lawrence in the college rooms of a Professor of International Law, at Oxford, when a question came up in reference to a point of law. "Let us see what Lawrence's Wheaton says about it," said one of the guests, as he spoke taking from the book-case the volume in question. "Let us have an unadulterated opinion from Lawrence himself," remarked the host: "I

would rather consult him than any book, not even excepting his own." Some years after, this same gentleman dined at Ochre Point, when he received from his host a copy of the first volume of his "*Commentaire sur les Éléments du droit international et sur l'histoire des progrès du droit des gens de Henry Wheaton*," which had just been published by Brockhaus, in Leipzig.

The following letter shows the estimation in which this work is held by the highest authority in France :

Institut Impérial de France, Académie des Sciences, Morales et Politiques.

PARIS, le 19 Avril, 1869.

Le Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie à Monsieur William Beach Lawrence, Ministre Américain des États-Unis à Londres, etc.

MONSIEUR : L'Académie a reçu par l'entremise de M. Giraud l'exemplaire que vous avez bien voulu lui offrir de votre *Commentaire sur les éléments du droit international et sur l'histoire des progrès du droit des gens de Henry Wheaton*.

Elle me charge de vous adresser ses remerciements. Ce savant ouvrage, dont M. Giraud a fait l'objet d'un rapport verbal à l'Académie, a été déposé dans la bibliothèque de l'Institut.

Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

MIGNET.

When Mr. Lawrence visited Berlin, in the winter of 1869, he had several interviews with Prince Bismarck, who said to him : " I find your book very useful ; I consult it continually."

A trunk which was unfortunately lost by Mr. Lawrence in one of his journeys from Washington to Newport, contained a Japanese translation of this work. It had been presented to the distinguished jurist by M. Mori, the then Minister from Japan to this country.

This extract from a letter from his devoted friend and admirer, M. P. Pradier Fodéré, shortly after the appearance of the third volume of Mr. Lawrence's last work, will be found interesting :

" Monsieur et bien honoré ami :

J'ai reçu pour vous des compliments, des félicitations. Il faut que vous veniez à Paris au mois d'Octobre. Il n'y a pas à hésiter. M. de Parieu, M. Michel-Chevalier, M. Giraud, MM. Cauchy, Drouyn de Lhuys, Franck, Caro, Valette, tous ceux que nous connaissons, M. Guizot aussi, que j'ai beaucoup vu cet hiver et à qui j'ai présenté votre livre en votre nom, tous s'étonnent de votre éloignement de notre Paris, qui est toujours le centre de la science. Vous avez, depuis votre départ d'Europe, fait de beaux travaux de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique ; il faut venir les faire valoir à Paris.

Il est absolument nécessaire que votre cours, que vos notes, vos discours, vos consultations soient publiés, et cela à Paris, etc., etc.

Toujours à vous de cœur,

P. PRADIER-FODÉRÉ.

The following notice of this last and most exhaustive of Mr. Law-

rence's works is from the *Providence Journal*: "We have *heretofore* noticed, as they appeared, the volumes of this Commentary on International Law of Hon. W. B. Lawrence, of Newport. It promises to be the most extensive and valuable work on the subject that has yet appeared, and our only fear is that his plan is so extensive that he will never live to complete it. There is no man in the country whose mind and memory



WILLIAM BEACH LAWRENCE.

are so well stored with all the knowledge to be derived from history and from text books, and we have here the results in profession." The words of the *Journal* were prophetic; Mr. Lawrence did not live to complete the work his active brain had planned, and which he strove anxiously to accomplish, struggling the while with the fatal malady to which, for the last eight years of his life, he was a victim, yet with a valor inherited from his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Beach, a brave soldier of Christ, who, preaching in his church at New Brunswick, New Jersey, during the

Revolutionary war, continued his sermon, undisturbed by a ball which entering the church passed close by his head and struck the wall beyond ; so the undaunted jurist, in spite of the progress of Bright's disease, continued the work to which he had devoted his life. But for the presence of this disease, endowed as he was by nature with a fine constitution, there is good reason to believe he might have celebrated several more birthdays in the golden October, on the cliffs of Newport, the breeze wafting greeting between him and his neighbor, Hon. George Bancroft, as the measure of their years agreed in the same beautiful month. But for this he might have given to the world another volume of his great work, and have also finished his tribute to the memory of Albert Gallatin, upon which he was engaged when the approach of the stern messenger of death forced him to drop his pen. This unfinished address was read at a recent meeting of the New York Historical Society, of which Mr. Lawrence was one of the members. In connection with this, it is interesting to read what Mr. Wheaton wrote Mr. Lawrence in 1841 from Berlin, where the former was then Minister : " Since my last, I have received your review of Mr. Gallatin's pamphlet. It is excellent. I lent it to Baron Humboldt, who last evening spoke to me of it. I assure you he was no niggard of his praise."

In 1831 Mr. Wheaton writes to Mr. Lawrence from London : " I have read with much pleasure your bank article ; it does you great credit.

" I saw your friend the Marquis de Barbé-Marbois in Paris (Mr. Lawrence had translated into English Marbois' Louisiana). He retains a lively recollection of you."

Here is a portion of a letter written to Mr. Lawrence by Mr. Wheaton, from Copenhagen, in 1828, which probably refers to the former's approaching return to the United States :

" MY DEAR LAWRENCE : I received a letter in Havre, giving me the same intelligence contained in yours of the 9th inst. So much for their tariff. I regret it very much as it stops you in your career for a time. You had entered upon it under such advantageous circumstances, that it must be really annoying to you. But do not be discouraged, the country must have occasion for talent and experience similar to yours, and will sooner or later put them in requisition.

" I am glad you have an opportunity to hear Guizot & Co. I have read with the deepest interest the 'cours' they delivered last season, and should be happy to have a seat alongside of you to catch the living voices of such great men. Ils sont dans la bonne voie.

" What do you hear from home ? If Calhoun is Vice-President, and Van Buren Governor of New York, neither of them can be Secretary of State. Does Mr. Gallatin go to Brussels ? I remain always,

" Your sincere and obliged friend,

H. WHEATON."

This letter from the Secretary of State confirms Mr. Wheaton's flattering opinion of the young Chargé d'affaires :

" ASHLAND, 9th October, 1829.

" MY DEAR SIR : I duly received your letter of the 31st August. That of mine of the 1st November but conveyed only a just sense the late President and myself have of the meritorious manner in which you had discharged your diplomatic duties to our common country. I should be happy to hear of you being employed in the Senate of your State (as intended), or in any other public station, being fully persuaded that in any, you would render good public service. Whether you remain in a private, or be promoted to a public situation, I pray you be assured of the constant regard and esteem of

" Your faithful servant, H. CLAY."

This letter from Mr. Madison will also be read with interest :

" MONTPELLIER, June 5th, 1832.

" James Madison has received the copy of the Historical Documents for which he is indebted to the politeness of Mr. Lawrence. The subject of it was well chosen and has been well handled. Mr. Lawrence will please to accept the thanks due for the pleasure afforded by the perusal."

Perhaps no man, throughout a long life, ever evinced more perseverance, industry and love of study to the absorption of his whole attention, than did the owner of Ochre Point. His contributions to the various law journals and newspapers in this country and Europe, in addition to his correspondence and his voluminous works, kept him busy with his pen at all hours, without regard to meals or sleep. He would frequently rise at five in the morning, and while writing an article for the press, would suddenly order his carriage, and after a hasty breakfast set off for Boston or New York. On one of these occasions, going into his library in quest of some papers, Mr. Lawrence discovered his housemaid, an old servant, on her knees before a pile of books which she was eagerly examining in the early morning light. "What are you doing?" he asked. "Looking for Wheaton, sir," was the reply, as with an Eureka expression of countenance she held up the familiar volume; "you know I always pack up 'Wheaton' with your shirts." There was a great deal of interesting matter crowded into the few years of Mr. Lawrence's official career in London—questions which then arose gave him subjects of inquiry for many succeeding years: The Northeastern Boundary Question, those connected with the Treaty of Ghent, and the perpetually vexed subject between the United States and England, the Fishery Question, all came up while Mr. Lawrence was in London with Mr. Gallatin. It was exceedingly flattering to the young Secretary of twenty-eight to be considered by this Gamaliel of diplomacy worthy to be left in charge of the legation while such important negotiations were pending.

"Scarce was the April of his life begun,  
When, anxious to immortalize his name,  
Pleasure and soft repose he learnt to shun,  
And laboring upward sought the mounts of fame.

He was but twenty-six years of age, when, in the same year in which Jefferson died, when Calhoun was in the Senate, John Quincy Adams President of the United States, and Henry Clay Secretary of State, the latter transmitted to Mr. Lawrence his appointment of Secretary of Legation to the Court of London, to which Mr. Gallatin was Minister. Mr. Lawrence succeeded Mr. John A. King, to whom by a singular coincidence, he bore a strong resemblance, which likeness increased with years. As Gov. Lawrence lay in his sick bed, many of his visitors remarked how much he looked like the late Gov. King.

The year 1826, when Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence left their native shore for a residence in London, was an important era in other worlds besides that of politics. Mme. Malibran had just then risen in the operatic horizon in New York. Mrs. Lawrence, who was as passionately fond of music as her husband was indifferent to it, had the delight of assisting at the début of the great singer, and also of hearing Mme. Malibran the first time she appeared in London.

When Mr. Lawrence arrived in London, D'Israeli had made his mark as a novelist, and "Vivian Grey" was attracting general attention. Little did the American diplomatist imagine that the young author of this, many think his best book, was destined later as Premier of England to sway its destinies. Although Mr. Lawrence rarely cared for novels, he took much interest in Lord Beaconsfield's last work, recognizing in the characters of "Endymion" many personages he had known in Europe.

It is to be deplored that Mr. Lawrence had not appointed a literary executor to take charge of his valued correspondence extending through nearly half a century, and including autograph letters from leading American and European statesmen and authors. The advice of the prophet Isaiah is too often neglected until too late: "Set thy house in order, for thou must die." Considering the value that Mr. Lawrence attached to his papers and how the servants at Ochre Point were at all times charged to respect the literary confusion which reigned in the rooms in which the author worked, "never to touch a paper," it would seem doubly strange that no provision should have been made for the preservation of the immense mass of valuable manuscript left at Ochre Point.

Mr. Lawrence was married early in life to a daughter of Archibald Gracie, "that grand old man," as the late Dr. Francis calls him in his

"Old Merchants of New York." Mrs. Lawrence's mother was a daughter of Moses Rogers, of New York, whose wife was a daughter of Thomas Fitch, Chief Justice of Connecticut, and Governor of that State from 1754 to 1766. Gov. Fitch's grandfather, Thomas Fitch, a son of Wm. Fitch, M.P., came from Kent County, England, to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1639, and removed in 1651 to Norwalk, Connecticut, where the family continued to reside for several generations. Mr. Lawrence's ancestors founded Newtown, Long Island, about the time that the first Thomas Fitch came to Connecticut. As Mr. Lawrence often remarked, "Only American blood had flowed in the veins of his ancestors for two hundred years." The great jurist has also another claim to be considered essentially American; he was born in the same year that Congress sat for the first time in Washington, and during the administration of the father of the President who appointed him Secretary of Legation, so that his life is closely connected with that of the two Adams'.

Mr. Lawrence was graduated at an early age from Columbia College, New York, and from thence went to the Law School at Litchfield, but his health giving way from too close application to study, he was sent by his parents to travel through the South in his own carriage. Though enjoying the hospitality of the rich planters, going from one plantation to another, made much of in society, the studious youth of nineteen writes to his mother from a house full of company: "I am getting stronger every day; I want to get back to Litchfield as soon as possible."

Mr. Lawrence, however, always retained an agreeable impression of this southern journey, where, yet in his teens, he visited Mr. Calhoun, Poinsett, Pinckney and other noted men of the day. A year later he was in Washington listening to Pinckney's speech on the Missouri Compromise bill, preparing himself for his future career. A good picture of Mr. Lawrence was taken about this time. It hung in the library at Ochre Point.


At the time of his second visit to Rome, very many years after the first, Mr. Lawrence's friends urged him to sit to Story or Rogers for a bust. It was pity that the distinguished jurist should have neglected this opportunity to allow his features to be retained worthily in marble.

For several years there hung in one of the rooms at Ochre Point a large picture by Trumbull, which represented a handsome child of four years of age, playing with a dog, around which she has thrown one dimpled arm. Her India muslin, short-waisted frock, leaves the white, blue-veined shoulders bare, the cheeks are bright with health and exercise, the little red morocco-shod feet are firmly planted on the ground, and the dark eyes look up sweetly from under a wealth of brown hair. This is

little Miss Gracie (afterwards Mrs. Lawrence) in her childhood's summer home near Hell Gate, all traces of which, as well as of the family mansion at the Battery, are fast disappearing in the march of time and of city improvements. In like manner the rapid changes in Newport will no doubt smooth away the natural features of the Cliffs as well as its old associations.

As the absence of one sense increases the acuteness of others, Mr. Lawrence, possessing no ear for music, little taste for art, found no distraction from the study to which he devoted himself through life. While the soft spring breezes and the delicious odor of violets drew most of the visitors in Rome to the lovely grounds of the Villa Borghese, Mr. Lawrence was sitting daily in one of the chapels of a great cathedral, patiently listening to one dull sermon after another for the sole purpose of perfecting himself in Italian. While the angelic strains of the Miserere were penetrating the inmost recesses of other hearers' hearts, and leaving in them an echo which even through the long aisles of Time, the mention of the Sistine Chapel will cause to vibrate, Mr. Lawrence was thinking of his approaching interview with Cardinal Antonelli, or recalling to mind a recent conversation with Pio Nono, when that amiable pontiff hoped the great jurist had enjoyed the recent carnival, which that year had been particularly brilliant. "You saw no signs of discontent, no confusion among my people?" he eagerly asked. "No," replied the American diplomatist, "everything was perfectly tranquil." In speaking afterwards of this conversation to his guests at Ochre Point, Mr. Lawrence said: "I did not say to His Holiness that this tranquillity on the part of the Romans was due to the fact that French soldiers were at the corners of all the streets." France had just driven out the Austrians, and Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi had not yet united Italy and limited the power of the Vatican.

Mr. Lawrence was wont laughingly to remark: "That he might in his youth have made a dancer, as he rather liked the exercise, but for the music, which always put him out." It put him out very much one evening in Paris, an occasion to which in conversation with his friends at Ochre Point, he often referred. A dilettante friend of the jurist had invited him to meet such an incongruous assemblage of authors, artists, and celebrities of all kinds, that, as at the Hotel Cluny, a catalogue would have been desirable. There were men and women of all parties and countries, an Irish agitator, Southern States rights men, a bi-metallic currency pamphleteer, a would-be founder of an International Mining Co. There was the successful competitor for the last Prix de Rome, and a "hope deferred" heart-sick genius, who had finally succeeded in getting a picture into the





Salon; there was a brilliant young American prima donna just then the rage in Paris; there were poets, men of letters; in fact, a rare collection of noted names in all departments. M. Thiers was there, Littré, Drouin de Lhuys, Michel Chevalier, M. Dupin, Ex-president Pierce, Mr. Motley with his daughter, now the wife of Sir Vernon Harcourt. There was Mr. Preston with his handsome wife, and a host of others more or less distinguished for talent or beauty. While Mr. Lawrence in a group of "kindred souls" was "living over" the past, recalling the weighty business of state which had fallen upon his shoulders, when, upon the return to the United States of Mr. Gallatin, the young Secretary was left Chargé d'Affaires in London; in the midst of a particularly interesting conversation, the notes of an exquisite voice drew the attention of some of those around Mr. Lawrence, who, unlike himself, happened to have "music in their souls," and the agreeable evening was quite spoilt for the jurist and statesman by the breaking up of the literary *recueil choisi* to listen to the rare music which, to him, was only an annoyance.\*

Going over to England, Mr. Lawrence was presented to Queen Victoria. He was present at an interesting debate in Parliament where some of the members in the "heat of argument" practically carried out Lord Palmerston's remark, that "man is by nature a quarrelsome animal," and often forgot the *suaviter in modo* quite as much as do our own legislators. He there renewed his old friendship with Sir John Bowring, who had been one of his associates at the Political Economy Club when Mr. Lawrence resided in London.

Mr. Lawrence had also the pleasure of again seeing Sir Henry Holland, the Queen's physician, who had attended the youthful Secretary of Legation when too close attention to the duties of his office had brought on a severe illness.

Some dozen years later, Mr. Lawrence again visited Europe for the purpose of making arrangements for the publication in Leipzig of his late work. It was at this time, his mind being occupied with the question of what constitutes the validity of a foreign marriage, that he assisted at the marriage in Paris of his young countrywoman, a New York heiress, with an Italian nobleman, and gave the contracting parties the benefit of his advice in the all-important question. He was also consulted by the grandfather of the bride as to the disposition by will, of a large estate. Mr. Lawrence told the American millionaire that he ought most unquestionably to divide his property equally between his two chil-

\* The French Court was then in all its brilliancy. Mr. Lawrence was much struck with the grace and majesty of the Empress.

dren, and thus avoid any possible chance for unpleasant feeling between them or of bitter memories of their father after his death; that having seen and deplored the evils resulting from family estrangement, he thought in the interest of all parties a parent would do wisely to treat his sons and daughters *exactly* alike, and thus endeavor to secure family harmony beyond all peradventure.

In alluding to the happy result of this conversation, the granddaughter of the testator, in a letter to the writer of this article, adds: "We cannot sufficiently thank Gov. Lawrence for his kindness and excellent advice," etc.

An interesting volume might have been made of the guests at Ochre Point if each visitor had been requested to write his or her name in a book, with an original sentence or apt quotation. Mr. Lawrence rarely dined without one or more guests in addition to the members of his own family. His hospitality was like his reputation, international; he liked to collect the best talkers, to partake of the best wines and the best cuisine.

Believing that an artist should never be interfered with in any way, Mr. Lawrence allowed his chef *carte blanche*, and the "crumbs which fell from the rich man's table" were converted into pretty substantial "loaves and fishes" by the kitchen cabinet of the jurist.

It was a curious coincidence that, in the same year, and within a few months of the death of Mr. Lawrence, his opponents in the two suits which have become famous in legal annals should have also passed away: Richard Dana, who helped himself to the jurist's learning, without giving the author credit for the same, and Richard Staigg, the artist, with whom the eminent author disputed for years the possession of a lot at Ochre Point, which was alternately assigned now to the plaintiff, now to the defendant.

Another noted person who has died recently and who was a frequent guest at Ochre Point, was that lion of the law, Judge Stoughton. Now that his splendid head is bowed in the dust, and his persuasive eloquence is stilled forever, both come back forcibly to the mind of one who assisted at a dinner, when also the bright, winning smile of Christine Nilsson was an attractive feature.

It would seem singular, in view of Mr. Lawrence's dislike for music, that the "queen of song" should ever have been one of the guests at Ochre Point. She was invited in compliment to Judge and Mrs. Stoughton, with whom she was then staying; and when she came, her charming manner and conversation made even the great singer forgotten in the attractive woman of the world.

Mr. Lawrence had met at the house of Sir Stafford Northcote, in Bristol, England, Miss Carpenter, the English prison reformer, and when this lady came to Newport, a charming lunch party was given in her honor at Ochre Point, at which were present Charlotte Cushman, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. and Miss Parnell, mother and sister of the agitator; Professor and Mrs. Botta, etc. A few days after this, Miss Carpenter, introduced by the Rev. Charles T. Brooks, gave an address on her specialty in the Unitarian church at Newport. The matter was extremely interesting, but the manner was, like that of most English speeches, marred by hesitancy of speech. Mr. Lawrence, who was present, remarked to a friend, that this defect is especially noticeable to an American attending the Parliamentary sessions in London.

With his old friend and neighbor, Mr. Charles Lyman, of Boston, Mr. Lawrence enjoyed talking over their early reminiscences of Rome, they having been there together at a time when Americans were much fewer in the Eternal City than they are now.

When Mr. Lyman was about to leave Newport for his winter home, as he bade farewell to the jurist of Ochre Point, the latter pressing his old friend's hand, said, sadly: "It is for the last time." They never met again. Mr. Lawrence died the following March, and Mr. Lyman only survived him a few weeks.

Now while these lines are being penned, the bell of "Old Trinity" is tolling for the death of one of Newport's most honored citizens—the universally esteemed Dr. David King is no more. For many years he was the family physician at Ochre Point, and highly valued there socially as well as professionally.

With Mr. Elbert J. Anderson, like himself for many years past a resident of Newport, Mr. Lawrence enjoyed talking over their early years in New York, where both were born in the same year and in the same street. Their politics and associations were the same, their families had been intimate, and their tastes being in many respects congenial, made each find much pleasure in the society of the other.

As the old homestead is passing from the ground to make room for the palatial residence of the present owner of Ochre Point, another homestead is darkened by the death of the truest friend of the jurist of the Cliff, the honored guest of Ochre Point, whose name was a household word there—Hon. Elisha R. Potter. "Honorable" he was in the fullest sense—his pure, useful life, in its bright example, was more eloquent than any sermon. He was followed to the grave by sincere mourners from all parts of the State; men and women of every station, from the highest function-

ary down to the most obscure member of the community, mingled their tears for the loss of this good man. In his beautiful, refined home, loving hands keep with tender care each object which has grown sacred to them by his use. His study remains just as he left it.


"There sat he—yet those chairs no sense retain—  
And busy recollection smarts in vain ;  
The place that knew him, knows his form no more,  
Not *one* dear footstep *tunes* the unconscious floor."

And yet with that vague feeling with which survivors try to cheat themselves into a belief that all is but a dream, they wish to believe that "he is coming home." Home indeed he comes often to the hearts where his memory is enshrined.

The name of Potter is an historic one; the father of Judge Potter was for many years a prominent representative of his State in Congress. When Daniel Webster was asked, on one occasion, if he knew anything of the town of Kingstown, in Rhode Island, he replied: "Of course I know Kingstown, Elisha R. Potter comes from there." The Elisha R. Potter who died April 10th, 1882, in Kingston (as it is now called) at the age of seventy-one, was well known as a scholar and man of letters, but still more so as a judge. He served his State well on the Supreme Bench, to which he was elected in 1856, and retained the office until he died.

For more than thirty years Judge Potter was the intimate friend of Gov. Lawrence, who would be quite indignant if the judge ever stayed anywhere but at Ochre Point when the court sat in Newport. It was unfortunate that his own illness kept this disinterested, true friend from the bedside of the dying jurist. Almost the last words of Mr. Lawrence were those of an affectionate message he sent to Judge Potter.

Visits from President Welling of Columbia College, Washington, from Mr. Justice Field and Mrs. Field, from Senator Stevenson, from the Hon. John E. Ward and Mrs. Ward, and from Professor Wharton, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, were among the pleasures to which Gov. Lawrence looked forward each summer. General Warren—"ce brave Warren," as the Comte de Paris calls him in his history of the War of the Rebellion—was also a frequent visitor of Gov. Lawrence; so also was General Crawford, who knew the old homestead well in its days of sadness and bereavement as in its festive hours. Ex-Minister Washburn and the Hon. Wickham Hoffman gave at Mr. Lawrence's dinner table graphic accounts of the exciting events they witnessed in their official careers in Paris. Eugene Schuyler, the polyglot diplomatist, who writes a clever book and learns a language



in each country to which he is accredited, was, with his wife, a visitor at Ochre Point during the late days of its hospitality. Mr. Schuyler married a daughter of Mr. Lawrence's old friend and connection by marriage, the late Charles King. At many a dinner party of the jurist, Senator Anthony's handsome face was seen and his pleasant tones mingled with those of men of all parties and from every part of the Union, interspersed with those of members of the diplomatic corps. Besides these there flit across the kaleidoscopic glass of memory, faces and forms of the world's honored ones, now gathered to their fathers: Charles Sumner, Jared Sparks, Caleb Cushing, Robert Walsh, Chief Justices Redfield, Clifford, Burgess, Generals Burnside and Sherman. Another of Newport's distinguished sons, often a guest at Ochre Point, was the late Capt. Kidder Randolph Breese, an ornament to his profession, the pride and joy of his family. With the subsequent commandants of the Torpedo Station, Mr. Lawrence was also in the habit of exchanging hospitalities. He frequently remarked upon the great addition to the society of Newport which this branch of the service has brought here, and upon the discrimination of the "powers that be" in Washington in sending to this station officers so admirably fitted for the position.

The Marquis de Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette, and the author of "*Le Pouvoir exécutif aux États-Unis, Étude de droit constitutionnel*," passed many hours in the library at Ochre Point every summer, talking with the jurist on topics of mutual interest. The Marquis de Noailles, when French Minister at Washington, spent his summers in Newport, and often found his way to Ochre Point. One morning when Mr. Lawrence was deeply engaged in the preparation of his great argument in the Circassian case, which reversed a decision of the Supreme Court and procured him compliments from the late Judge Nelson—with the more practicable result in the fee of \$40,000 in gold—in the midst of extreme literary confusion, when tables and every chair were covered with books and papers, Count Corti and Marquis de Noailles entered unexpectedly. Mr. Lawrence, a little confused, was about to make apologies for the state of the apartment, when the Marquis de Noailles interrupted him with the apt quotation of the French poet:

"Souvent d'un beau désordre, l'art est le seul auteur."

It is worthy of comment that Gen. McClellan and Hon. George H. Pendleton, though so closely connected in politics, never actually met until they dined together at Ochre Point. Mr. Lawrence often gallantly remarked to the accomplished wife of his brother Democrat, that he had

sold her a portion of Ochre Point at a bargain, for the sake of having such a delightful neighbor.

The great rise in real estate at Newport of late years makes it seem almost incredible to present purchasers that Mr. Lawrence should have paid the absurdly small sum of \$12,000 for his original sixty-nine acres, which once made a part of the Taylor farm. Mr. Lawrence bought his land of John Wilbur, who had purchased it of Nicholas Taylor, who inherited it from his father, Robert Taylor. Robert Taylor bought it from Godfrey Malbone, the grandfather of the famous miniature painter, whose exquisite pictures of "The Hours" is the pride of the Athenæum at Providence, Rhode Island. This land made part of the original grant assigned in 1640 to one Brassie. It was supposed at one time that a gold mine existed on Ochre Point. When Mr. Lawrence purchased his estate, he called it Ochre Point, out of compliment to the ochre which forms the distinctive feature of that part of the Cliffs.

It was a grief to the owner of Ochre Point, that he was not permitted to breathe his last in his own house. When he left home, ill as he was, he did not expect to die in a hotel. To the last he longed for his library and his large airy apartments. Within a few weeks of his death, he said repeatedly to his faithful nurse: "Powers, do you think you could get me back to Newport?" Alas, it was not to be!

Although the home of the American jurist, like himself, is no more; though its Lares and Penates have been scattered by the auctioneer's hammer and *Quæro in vento*, is now the reading of the family motto of "*Quæro Invenio*," so well suited to the man who in his busy life might have asked with General Hoche, "*Trouvez-moi contre la fatigue un remède que ne soit pas le repos*," although the very name as well as the character of Ochre Point may change with the tastes of its new occupants, yet like Cicero's Tusculum, even though it may bear its old name no longer, Ochre Point must ever be associated with the fame of the author who lived and worked there. In future years the sad sea waves will continue to moan a requiem over the departed glory of the jurist's home, the foaming billow perchance dashing an angry protest against the *new sea-wall*, while washing the mighty rock, in the bosom of which sparkle like gems the sun-kissed mica, will send on the wild wind many a wail for the death of one who was always too busy with his own works for time or inclination to interfere with the works of nature, or pretend to control the limits of mighty ocean. "*Tout casse, tout lasse, tout passe*"—homes are broken up, great men pass away; only nature remains firm in its indestructible position, working out its own great laws. The brush of the wing

of the destroying angel overturns the inkstands of brilliant authors, but the ocean remains ever full, and the great "Author of the universe" continues to write upon his rocks with his waves, the mysterious characters from which science would read the record of earth's existence. Nature furnishes monuments to the memory of her gifted sons; roseate granite inclosures in the House of the Lord (where the sun of heaven looks in mellowed light through the stained glass window), sweet and reverent thoughts of Channing, the man who, while on earth, continually "Looked from nature up to nature's God." "Hanging Rock" recalls Berkeley, and his name and verses are reëchoed in Newport's Paradise, while

"Westward the course of empire takes its way."

Even so the rocks at Ochre Point, overlooking that ocean which bore the great jurist's works from the New World to the Old, will recall the name of Wm. B. Lawrence, the American jurist. Perchance, a future Kent, smoking his cigar upon the Newport Cliffs and meditating over the germ of a commentary which he fondly hopes may prove to the world that talent is sometimes hereditary, as he gazes over the villa-dotted expanse of Ochre Point, may draw inspiration from the path so often trod by the author of the "Law of Nations."

Ere the winds of time and change shall have completely scattered all traces of the old homestead; ere its memory shall have become to the world in general as "the baseless fabric of a dream," these leaves of recollection are gathered from Ochre Point and tied with golden threads of memory of another life which is also closely connected with the same spot; connected with the flowers and trees he planted, with the grounds he beautified, while the jurist was increasing the treasures of his library and adding to his literary fame. Memories of one who contributed to the reputation of the great jurist, his father, by relieving him of the cares of life, and thus allowing the author to devote his time and attention to literary pursuits. Like his father, Wm. B. Lawrence, Jr., graduated with distinction at an early age from Columbia College. He then read law in the office of the late James W. Gerard, for whom he always cherished a warm regard and admiration. While his father filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Rhode Island, Wm. B. Lawrence, Jr., was attached to the Governor's staff. He afterwards visited Europe, was presented at the several Courts, and availed himself of the many advantages which he enjoyed as the son of the American jurist. He also, like his father, turned from the path of pleasure in his early manhood and plunged into the serious business of life. His fine legal abilities were of great assistance

to Gov. Lawrence in the numerous lawsuits in which the latter was continually engaged.

It was the sad fate of this unselfish, true-hearted man, to die quite alone. He had risen from a sick bed to go to Newport for the purpose of attending to some matters in Ochre Point, the family being in Europe. Hastening back to New York, where business called him, he was overtaken on the way by death. A man of refined tastes and cultivated mind, he spent his ample means in surrounding himself with books and in contributing to the pleasure and improvement of those around him.

It seems surprising to many that Wm. Beach Lawrence, a New Yorker by birth and education, a life-long Democrat, should have abandoned his native State, with which his political principles were in accordance, to take up his residence in a State so obstinately Republican as Rhode Island, so conservative in its tendencies and prerogatives that a citizenship of more than a quarter of a century hardly prevented the jurist of Ochre Point from being considered a "new comer" in Rhode Island.

It will be remembered that Mr. Lawrence's "Disabilities of American Women Married Abroad" caused the Legislature of New York to alter the property law of the State. Mr. Lawrence tried in vain to persuade the Rhode Island Legislature to permit married women to act as executors of a will; but although his eloquence was powerless with that body, though its politics were adverse to him, he clung to the State of his adoption. He died a resident of Rhode Island. His last public act was to vote the Democratic ticket in Newport the day he left Ochre Point forever.

With its limits this sketch simply pictures the jurist as host and author seated among his books, or with his guests in his dining room regaling them with his reminiscences, some of which are collected in these pages. Mr. Lawrence was urged a few years ago by a friend to purchase a very excellent picture of the Point in front of the house, painted by Key, the artist. After looking at the picture, Mr. Lawrence said: "It does not look natural, the house is not there." Those who knew Ochre Point during the life of its hospitable owner, as they stand to-day on the familiar spot, missing the "ancient landmark," and realizing that Wm. Beach Lawrence and his home have passed away forever, will quote the jurist's words: "It does not look natural, the house is not there."

*Edith Grace Lawrence Thorne*





## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### FOUR INTERESTING UNPUBLISHED LETTERS.

*Contributed from the collection of Mr. I. J. Austin, Newport Rhode Island.*

*John Hancock to Elbridge Gerry.*

Philadelphia June 29. 1775

Dear Sir

The bearer, Mr Park, a gentleman of reputation here and firmly attached to the American cause, desirous of evidencing that attachment, has come to a determination to proceed to the camp at Cambridge and afford his aid in putting a period to the career of Gage's mermidons

I sincerely recommend him to your notice and beg you would promote everything that may tend to advance his comfort during his abode with you, and beg you would introduce him to the connection of our friends ; you know who I mean. I shall reply to your two letters by Tessenden.

I cant add but that I am very truly my d' Sir

Yours affectionately

John Hancock

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*Timothy Pickering to Elbridge Gerry.*

Camp at Whitpain Township, Nov 2 1777.

Dear Sir

With the General's despatches you will receive a Return of the Continental army in Pennsylvania, disposed in the order of the States in which the battalions were raised. If before the dispatches are sent off, I can find time to do it, I will send a Return of the troops as formed in the brigades. I knew not whether his Excellency transmitted a Return of the killed and wounded at the battle of Brandywine which I delivered to him about a fortnight afterwards, till which time I had not been able to procure all the brigade returns. Such delays in the brigade returns have been one cause of my not making regular returns to Congress. These delays have arisen partly from the peculiar situation of this army for the two last

months, and partly from the want of Brigade Majors in many of the brigades, whose duty of course was undertaken by officers in diverse instances unacquainted with their duty. Till the last week I have received but one complete set of returns since my last return to Congress; that was between the 20<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of September.

The want of time and opportunity has also been a standing cause of my omissions. Since the battle of Brandywine we have been in a constant state of hurry and bustle, marching or countermarching, preparing for action, advancing or retreating. I was never counted indolent, but never in my life was I so crowded with business as during this period. From morning to night I have had no other intermission than was just sufficient to eat my breakfast and dinner. Frequently too, and indeed for the most part, Head quarters have been at houses which gave me no room to do such sort of business without exposing the returns to every comer, and many times I have been under the necessity of writing wholly on my knee. Col Smith was with me during the month of September, but before and since I have been destitute of an assistant. He is now dead in consequence of the wound he received at Germantown, and much is he to be lamented. His place will probably soon be filled by a young gentleman who is strongly recommended to me. And henceforward I trust I shall be able to make returns with all wished for regularity.

I have sir given you this detail because I know not whether Congress may not have judged me negligent. But gentlemen of the family who have known my real situation I trust deem me very excusable.

I am dear Sir your most obd<sup>t</sup> servant

Tim Pickering.

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*Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington to Elbridge Gerry.*

4 miles from Potsgrove Sep 26. 1777

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

I was this morning favoured with your letter of the 24<sup>th</sup>. When I wrote Congress I was informed that there were several arms in Lancaster belonging to the public. These with their accoutrements I wished to be collected and put into the hands of the militia coming from Virginia, but I did not mean that any the property of individuals should be taken, because I did not conceive myself authorized, nor do I at this time, to order such a measure. I dont know how the inhabitants would relish such an exercise of power. I rather think it would give great uneasiness. The army is much distressed for blankets and shoes, and I wish the most vigorous exertions could be pursued to make a collection; the speediest possible where you are, and in the neighborhood. I am satisfied if proper steps were taken, money might be procured. I have been, and am, doing all I can to make a collection, but what will be obtained, will be totally inadequate to the demand.

We are now in motion and advancing to form a junction with Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal. I expect to be joined in a day or two by Gen<sup>l</sup> Forman with fourteen or fifteen hundred Jersey militia.

The main body of the enemy are also advancing towards Philadelphia and were below Germantown from my last advices, which also mentioned that a thousand Infantry with about a hundred Dragoons had filed off towards Hill. I fear they are pushing for Bristol after our stores, which I am apprehensive are not entirely removed, though I gave orders for it the moment I heard they were there.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your most obe<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

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*Letter from Dr. Franklin and John Adams to*

The Hon<sup>bl</sup> Council of Mass Bay.

Passi, September 9. 1778.

Honorable Gentlemen

The inclosed Letter was delivered to us by the person intrusted with it, for inspection. He did not think it proper that a letter should go through our hands to America from Mr Hutchinson without examination. We accordingly broke the seal and found the two powers of Attorney and the letter inclosed, of which letter we have taken a copy. We think it proper to send it to you rather than Dr Lloyd. You will judge what is proper to do with it. It requires no comments of ours, who

have the honor to be with great consideration your most obedient humble servants,

B. Franklin  
John Adams

Copy of Mr. Hutchinson's letter, dated

London Sackville St Aug 10. 1778

Dear Sir

My sister Grizell Sanford when Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe removed his troops from Boston, removed also much against her inclination, if the family in which she lived would have continued there. She has been very desirous of returning but has never been able to meet with any person on whom she could depend to take a proper care of her.

She left an estate on one of Elizabeth's Islands called Slocum's Island in the township of Dartmouth under lease to Richard Sanford of Dartmouth & John Robinson of Dorchester at eighty pounds lawful money a year, the former since dead.

She has now executed a power of Attorney to enable you to receive what rent is due upon the lease, which in her behalf I desire you to do. She does not recollect any payment after I left the Province June 1 1774 but Mr Robinson's receipts, who I always found an honest man, will show the state of it. The lease was for seven years from April —71 to April —78 and as it is now expired, if Mr Robinson occupies it the present year by law he will have a right to pay no more than the rent in her lease, and will be held to pay as much.

She desires also that you will agree for the year 1779 as you shall find most for her interest, either with the last Tenant or any other person. I don't know how any thing can be remitted hither though she is in want, having never received or applied for anything from Government here for her relief but has depended on the assistance of friends for her support.

I have taken the same opportunity to enclose my own letter of Attorney. I left New England upon an order of leave from the King before any hostilities began, and when I sincerely wished they never might begin. I made my son my Attorney, who left the country also at the same time with my sister. My moveable estate in my house and on my farm at Milton was more than a thousand pounds sterling in value. My estate there and at Dorchester is well known. I have one mortgage upon an estate in Middleborough, recorded in the County of Plimouth amounting to more than £1500 sterling; and my houses, warehouses, wharves &c are well known in the town of Boston. The utter uncertainty of the state of the Colony disables me from being more particular than to desire you to make such use of the letters of Attorney as shall be for my interest and within your power. I am Sir your most obedient humble servant

Thomas Hutchinson

Mr Fitch is now at my house, desires his and family's best regards to you and family and would have wrote, but did not know of this opportunity and I am about to send my letter away.

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*Letter from Lafayette to Elbridge Gerry.*

New York December 1784.

Dear Sir

Before I embark for Europe, give me leave once more to present my respects to you and your colleagues in the Delegation. It is a circumstance truly distressing to me that I cannot this time pay a second visit to my friends in Boston. The pleasure of hearing from you will be received with gratitude and with my best wishes for your continental, state, and private welfare I have the honour to be very respectfully and affectionately

Yours

Lafayette



## MINOR TOPICS

### THE PRE-REVOLUTION SURGEONS OF KINGS COUNTY

Until the close of the Indian war of 1643, the colonists on Long Island were dependent for medical treatment either on the surgeons that accompanied the ships of the Dutch West India Company or on the willing but ignorant Zieckentroosters, who essayed to heal both the bodies and souls of their charges; that war brought to the aid of the Province a company of soldiers from Curaçoa, and with the troops came Surgeon Paulus Van der Beeck, who was destined to become the first practitioner in Kings County.

Early in 1636 settlers began to people the western end of Long Island. Among those who started homes in the present Kings County was Willem Adriansen Bennet, who bought 930 acres of land in Gowanus, and erected a house at about the present 28th st. and 3d avenue, Brooklyn. At the close of the war with the savages, it was found that Bennet had been killed, his buildings burned and his farm devastated. His widow, who had been a widow previous to her marriage with him, took for her third husband Surgeon Van der Beeck, and the two, moving back upon the deserted farm, rebuilt a home and began to reclaim the soil.

In a sparsely populated country, among colonists who from the nature of their task must have been robust and rugged, there could have been, there was but little demand for medical skill; no one pursued one business to the exclusion of others, and as all alike had to sustain life from a common source—the earth—all followed agriculture to a greater or less extent. Thus Van der Beeck is mentioned as Mr. Paulus, surgeon and farmer. He was a pushing man. When women were few and far between he married a rich widow; with apparently no fear, he moved far from the protecting guns of the fort. Entering into public affairs in 1656, he was collector and farmer of revenues; in 1661 he farmed out Excise and Tenths on Long Island and was ferry master; while holding this latter position he drew upon himself a severe reprimand from the Provincial Council for keeping would-be passengers waiting half the day or night before he would carry them across the river. Surgeon Van der Beeck prospered and grew rich; in 1675 he was assessed “2 polls, 2 horses, 4 cows, 3 ditto of three years, 1 ditto of one year, and 20 morgens of land and valley, £133, sh, 10,” and the next year he was rated at £140, land, passing at £1 an acre wampum value. The date of the first surgeon's death is not recorded, but the much-widowed woman whom he had married was again a widow, and as such conveying lands in her name in 1679.

A year after the arrival of Paulus Van der Beeck, Wilhelmus Beekman from Hessel, Overijssel, came to New Amsterdam. He seems to have been a man much respected by his fellow colonists and was given many places of trust and honor.

He was Schepen for a long period, was a Burgomaster for nine years, Alderman and Mayor under the English rule, Governor of the Dutch colony on the Delaware, and Sheriff at Esopus.

Among his children was Gerardus Willemse Beekman, who was born in 1653. This son chose medicine as his study, and after obtaining his diploma he married Magdalena Abeel of Albany in 1677 and settled in Flatbush. Surgeon Van der Beeck had selected agriculture as a means of success, Surgeon Beekman entered the field of politics, and followed close upon the footsteps of his father. In 1685 he was Lieut.-Colonel of the militia and a Justice of the Peace.

James II. had abandoned his throne, had tossed the great seal of his kingdom into the Thames and was a fugitive. William and Mary reigned in his stead. Strong as was the partisan feeling in the mother country, it lacked the personal rancor that rendered the revolution in New York so bitter, so tragic. The Governor of the Colony was not in the province, the Lieut.-Governor was strongly suspected of favoring the exiled Stuart and of connivance with the French in Canada for the surrender of New York to their government, the officers of the city were adherents to the lost cause, and gloom rested upon this nascent colony. At this period a man of action was required, and that man appeared in Jacob Leisler.

In the events that followed each other with startling rapidity after the assumption by Leisler of the government, the Justices of New York refused to administer the oath of allegiance to the new rulers to the people; then Leisler sent for Justice Beekman to perform this duty, and he complied cheerfully. In June, 1690, Surgeon Beekman was a member of Leisler's Council and a year later he was placed under arrest by the new Governor, Sloughter, and held for trial on a charge of treason. The result of that trial was the conviction of Leisler, Milborne, and six others, of whom was Beekman. Their sentence was death. For a brief period public opinion was with Sloughter and the government; but it was abruptly divided by the execution of Leisler and Milborne. The other members of the Council who were awaiting execution became objects of sympathy to a large party among the people. Gerardus Beekman had been a firm friend and supporter of Leisler prior to the last act of his administration—the resort to arms—from which he earnestly dissented and vainly endeavored to dissuade Leisler from performing; his sympathies otherwise were with Leisler's cause and he looked upon his execution as little less than judicial murder.

The sentence of death against Beekman and his coadjutors was not executed. The sudden death of Sloughter was followed by the appointment of Benjamin Fletcher as Governor of the Province and the pardon of the participants in Leisler's government.

For some years Surgeon Beekman's life seems to have been passed in quiet, and it was not till 1702 that he reappeared in politics. In that and the following years he was a member of Lord Cornbury's Council: in 1709 he was acting Governor of the Province between the administrations of Lieut.-Gov. Richard Ingoldsby

and Robt. Hunter, and in 1711 and 1715 he was a member of Governor Hunter's Council. From this time he seems to have abandoned all political offices and to have lived quietly till his decease in 1724.

One episode of his private life is preserved by a letter of Justice Henry Filkin to the Secretary of the Council. There was a dispute between the people of Brooklyn and Flatbush in regard to their pastor, and in the course of the conflict the law had been invoked, and Justice Beekman had decided against the Brooklyn party. A short time after his decision he and Justice Filkin met on the ferry-boat crossing to Brooklyn, and on landing stopped at the ferry-house to drink a glass of wine. How much wine was quaffed and how long the two remained at the hostelry is not recorded, ere they left, however, they had begun a dispute in regard to church matters, which passed on from bad to worse, till Beekman ended by calling Filkin "a pittiful fellow, dog, rogue, rascal, etc." This excited Justice Filkin's ire beyond control, and he adds, "which caused me, being overcome with passion, to tell him I had a good mind to knock him off his horse, we being both at that time getting upon our horses to goe home, but that I would not goe, I would fight him at any time with a sword." Probably a night's sleep placed this grievous quarrel in a different light, for a duel was not the result.

The next physician in chronological order was Dr. John Nerbury, who lived at the Ferry in 1710, and in that year had indentured to him a Palatine child. A bill of his against the County amounting to 4 shillings 6 pence for taking care of a "sick poor man" in Flatbush was recorded by the Supervisors in 1732. A year later he gave a deed of a wood lot in Flatbush to Johannes De Witt, and in 1746 he was a resident on Staten Island.

The records of the Supervisors contain bills for the treatment of poor people from the following physicians: 1740, Dr. Van der Voort. 1759-'67, Dr. John Lodewick, who in the latter year rendered a bill of £9, 5sh, 6 pence for attendance on a sick person for three months. 1766-'69, Dr. Harry Van de Water. 1754-'65-'70-'72, Dr. Henry Van Beuren. Of these, but two call for further mention, Drs. Van Beuren and Van de Water. The former has given us a picture of the practice of medicine in his time in a long and caustic letter against medical charlatans which he published in the "Weekly Postboy" in 1754, over the name of "Dr. Hendrick." After the battle of Long Island many of the inhabitants of Kings County hastened to renew their allegiance to the king; among these was Dr. Van Beuren, who renewed his oath to the English government in November, 1776, and who afterward became a leader among the loyal refugees. The further record of Dr. Harry Van de Water states that he died in 1776 "from a disease contracted on a prison ship."

FRANK B. GREEN.

## NOTES

A CURIOSITY OF THE EMBARGO.—The following intricate arrangement was circulated in the Republican press during the spring of 1803. The editors assured their patient readers that *Embargo has saved us* could be read in two hundred and seventy ways, beginning with the center letter E. Will some subscriber to this Magazine try it :

s u d e v a s s a h a s s a v e d u s  
u d e v a s s a h o h a s s a v e d u  
d e v a s s a h o g o h a s s a v e d  
e v a s s a h o g r g o h a s s a v e  
v a s s a h o g r a r g o h a s s a v  
a s s a h o g r a b a r g o h a s s a  
s s a h o g r a b m b a r g o h a s s  
s a h o g r a b m E m b a r g o h a s  
s s a h o g r a b m b a r g o h a s s  
a s s a h o g r a b a r g o h a s s a  
v a s s a h o g r a r g o h a s s a v  
e v a s s a h o g r g o h a s s a v e  
d e v a s s a h o g o h a s s a v e d  
u d e v a s s a h o h a s s a v e d u  
s u d e v a s s a h a s s a v e d u s

PETERSFIELD

MRS. GEORGE W. CULLUM, the granddaughter of the patriot, financier, and statesman, Alexander Hamilton, who died recently at her Newport villa, was a lady of marked ability, of exceptional culture, of great personal loveliness of character, of social distinction, and a philanthropist in its best and broadest sense. She was at the head of, and a large contributor of her means to, many of the excellent charities of New York City—the mere catalogue of which would fill our entire space. She devoted her influence emphatically for the good of others ; and in nothing is this more apparent than in her endowment of the new Cancer Hospital in Eighth Avenue near One hundred and Sixth Street, to which she gave \$50,000—and also left

for it bequests in her Will amounting to nearly or quite as much more. The touching scene at the laying of the corner stone of this institution in June last will never be forgotten by those present. The expression of mingled thankfulness and devotion which illuminated Mrs. Cullum's beautiful features as she participated in the impressive ceremonies, told more eloquently than words how deeply her whole soul had been enlisted in an achievement due largely to her own personal efforts. The great-grandfather of Mrs. Cullum was General Philip Schuyler of Revolutionary fame. She was twice married, her first husband having been Maj.-Gen. Henry Wager Hallock, at one time commander-in-chief of the Northern Army in the late Civil War. Her second husband, who survives her, is the distinguished General George W. Cullum, colonel of engineers, retired, the scholar and writer, so well known through his valuable contributions to the readers of this Magazine.

LAKE BOMOSEEN—This lake is situated in the towns of Castleton and Hubbardton, Vermont. What is its etymology? What should be its authography? In Wm. Blodgett's map of 1789 it is called L-a-k-e B-o-m-b-a-z-o-n. (Page 38, *An account of the celebration of the fourth of July, 1881, at Mason's Point, Lake Bomoseen*). In "A History of the Indian Wars in New England, Montpelier, 1812," page 170, it is spelled B-o-m-b-a-z-e-e-n. In the "Gazetteer of the State of Vermont," by Zadock Thompson, 1824, it is called B-o-m-b-a-z-i-n-e.



In "Hemenway's Vermont Historical Gazetteer," Vol. III., 1877, it is spelled B-o-m-o-s-e-e-n, but says it was formerly called B-o-m-b-a-z-i-n-e. On deeds and surveys in the records of the town of Castleton, it is called T-h-e P-o-n-d, and C-a-s-t-l-e-t-o-n P-o-n-d.

About 1865 a Mr. Copeland, who owned a farm in the western part of Castleton, and who much admired the lake, began to study the origin of the name B-o-m-b-a-z-i-n-e. A few years latter he wrote several letters for the *Rutland Herald*, in which he claimed that the name was taken from the famous Norridgewock chief, Bomazeen, who was killed near Taconnet (Me.) in 1724. He claimed that a locality in Maine was called B-o-m-b-a-z-i-n-e, named from this chief, and that the name of the lake in Castleton was derived from the same source. From Mr. Copeland's efforts to have the name changed to B-o-m-o-s-e-e-n it has now come into general use, no one having questioned his authority.

Another theory as to the origin of the name of the lake is given by the older inhabitants living in this vicinity, viz. : Soon after the town commenced to be settled a peddler crossed the lake on the ice, having several webs of the cloth called bombazine on his sled : one web got unfolded and trailed along on the ice unobserved nearly the whole distance across the lake, which ruined the piece. The peddler named the lake B-o-m-b-a-z-i-n-e.

Another theory may be wholly conjectural, yet not without some probability of being true. It may be stated as follows : When Champlain made his expedition to the lake which now bears his

name, might he not have followed up Poultney River—then Castleton River—and over into the valley, when he beheld for the first time, the beautiful green foliage surrounding the lake reflected from all parts of the surface ? B-o-m-b-a-z-i-n-e was first suggested to his mind, and the lake was then and there, named and christened. B-o-m-b-a-z-o-n is nearly the French pronunciation of the word, and from his records would the name be taken from which to construct maps and write books ; such was the manner of spelling the name by the early writer, but the early settlers had little learning, and knew little about the origin of the name, and may never have known it ; hence they used such terms as C-a-s-t-l-e-t-o-n P-o-n-d or T-h-e P-o-n-d. This, however, is merely conjecture.

JOHN M. CURRIER  
CASTLETON, VT., October 13, 1884

FLORIDA DISCOVERED IN 1513—This is the true date, as shown by Oscar Peschel, in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, 1858, page 5, 521, note. He says : Herrera (Dec. I. Lib. IX. Cap. 10) is the only writer who gives the exact date of Ponce's discovery, and he must have had a ship's journal before him. From this it appears that his Calendar reckoning does not agree with the year 1512, in which Easter-day happened on the 11th of April, nor to 1511, when it fell on the 20th of the same, but to 1513 ; which is correctly given by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, in his "Florida, Lib. I, Cap. 2, 1723."

The city of St. Augustine in Florida, is to celebrate the landing of Ponce de Leon on the 27th of March, which is

right, but the year of the discovery is 1513.

J. C. BREVOORT

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THE TWO PLUM PUDDINGS—In the recently published "Letters and Times of the 'Tylers,'" appears the following amusing anecdote : Jefferson was to dine with Governor Tyler on a certain occasion, and the Governor summoned his *major domo* before him and gave general instructions for a good dinner. The personage holding that responsible position of *major domo* happened to be his youthful son John, afterwards President of the United States. When the hour and the guests came for the banquet, the first courses passed off most delightfully ; the dishes were taken away, and the gentlemen present awaited the dessert. Suddenly a door flew open, and a negro servant appeared bearing, with both hands raised high above his head, a smoking dish of plum pudding, which he deposited, with a flourish, before Governor Tyler. Scarcely had he withdrawn before another door flew open, and an attendant dressed exactly like the first entered bearing another plum pudding, equally hot, which, at a grave nod from John, he placed before Mr. Jefferson. The Governor, who expected a little more variety, turned to his son, and exclaimed in accents of astonishment, "*Two* plum puddings, John ; *two* plum puddings ! Why, this is rather extraordinary !" "Yes, sir," said the enterprising *major domo*, "*it is* extraordinary ; but" (and here he rose and bowed deferentially to Mr. Jefferson) "*it is an extraordinary occasion.*"

GENERAL GATES' WILL—The following letter, written in 1879 by a relative of Gen. Gates' wife, contains facts hitherto not publicly known in regard to the General's marriage. W: L. S.

To Wm. L. Stone, Esq.,

Not many persons know that there are living several of General Gates's wife's descendants and legatees named in her will ; some of them in Philadelphia and some in New York. Of the old stock there are three left, Thomas and James Singleton of the first, and Mrs. Isabel Clark, wife of Abraham Clark, of the last named city. I have a copy of the will of Gen. Gates, and of that of his wife, Mary Gates, which have been in my possession a number of years.

Mrs. Mary Gates was the only child of Mr. Valence of Liverpool, England, and at her father's death emigrated to America—before the Revolutionary War—bringing with her \$450,000. The General was a comparatively poor man when he married our cousin, Mary Valence ; and before the marriage he promised that he never would diminish her estate but add to it. In the great struggle, however, for independence, nearly the whole of the money was used by Gates, except about \$90,000, which she left by her will. Mary Gates's money was freely used, and many of the Revolutionary heroes were participants of her hospitality, particularly Count Kosciusko, who, when wounded, lay six months at her house. Mary Gates was cousin to both my father and mother, they having been first cousins to each other. THOS. SINGLETON

THE ACADIANS BEFORE THEIR REMOVAL—When, in 1748, the war ended, the French officials prophesied some signal acts of vengeance on the part of the British against the offending Acadians. On the contrary, they showed great forbearance, and only insisted that all the adult male population should take an oath of allegiance, without any reserve or restriction whatever.

This they would have done if they had been let alone; but they were not let alone. Another war was plainly at hand, and France meditated the reconquest of Acadia. To this end the Acadians must be kept French at heart, and ready, at a signal given, to rise against the English. France had acknowledged them as British subjects, but this did not prevent the agents of Louis XV. from seeking by incessant intrigue to stir them into bitter hostility against the British government. Before me are two large volumes of papers, about a thousand pages in all, copied from the archives of the Colonial Department at Paris. They relate to these French efforts to rouse the Acadians to revolt; and they consist of the journals, dispatches, reports, and letters of officers, military, civil, and ecclesiastical, from the Governor of Canada to a captain of bushrangers, and from the Bishop of Quebec to the curé of Cobequid. They show, by the evidence of the actors themselves, the scope and methods of the machination, to which the King himself appears, in his languid way, as an accessory. The priests of Acadia were the chief agents employed. They taught their parishioners that fidelity to King Louis was inseparable from fidelity to God, and that to swear allegiance to

the British crown would be eternal perdition. Foremost among these apostles of revolt was Le Loutre, missionary to the Micmac Indians, and the Vicar-General for Acadia under the Bishop of Quebec. His fanatical hatred of the English and the natural violence of his character impelled him to extremes which alarmed his employers, and drew upon him frequent exhortations to caution. He threatened the Acadians with excommunication if they obeyed the King of England. In connection with French officers across the line, he encouraged them to put on the disguise of Indians and join his Micmacs in pillaging and killing English settlers on the outskirts of Halifax when the two nations were at peace. He drew on one occasion from a French official 1,800 livres to pay his Indians for English scalps. With a reckless disregard of the welfare of the unhappy people under his charge, he spared no means to embroil them with the government under which, but for him and his fellow-conspirators, they would have lived in peace and contentment.—DR. FRANCIS PARKMAN, in *Harper's Magazine for November*.

A GENTLE REMINDER — To the *Centinel's* patrons residing at a distance, who may happen to be in town. Gentlemen, permit the *Centinel* to remind you, as you pass, of what the cares of business too frequently occasion your forgetting, that by calling at his convenient *post*, in State Street, you can very readily obtain the *watch words* of *from* and *to*, the *parole* of *received payment*, and the *countersign* of your very humble servant, THE EDITOR *Columbian Centinel*, printed by Benjamin Russell, Boston, Nov. 26, 1794. PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

**WILLIAM MOULTRIE**—Information is desired of William Moultrie, described in American biography as a Revolutionary major-general of distinction in South Carolina, during the War of American Independence, though circumstances appear to have prevented his obtaining that place in American history attained by some of his contemporaries. His conduct at the defense of Charleston appears to rank with any exploit performed by Americans during the war.

Have any monuments been erected to his memory other than naming the fort after him at Charleston? Was he married, and to whom? and has he left descendants?

J. V. MOUTRAY

HAYMARKET P. O.,  
SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES

**BUCHANAN** — William Mitchell, his wife, and son William came from Glasgow, Scotland, to Chester, Connecticut, in 1755. His elder brother, James, father of Chief-Justice Stephen Mix Mitchell, had settled in Wethersfield, Connecticut, about twenty-five years before. William Mitchell died within the year after his arrival. His wife was Agnes Buchanan, a woman of great strength of mind, and elevation of Christian character. Her son, William Mitchell (2d), remained with his mother and survived her many years.

Mrs. Lamb's "History of the City of New York," and Barrett's "Old Merchants of New York," speak of Thomas Buchanan, of *Glasgow*, a merchant of high standing in New York from about 1763 to 1815, who was associated in

business with *Walter* Buchanan. Thomas Buchanan seems to have been born about 1744. His birth-place was the same as that of these Mitchells. He was a cotemporary of William Mitchell (2d), born in 1735, who died in 1816, and of Chief-Justice Stephen Mix Mitchell, born 1743, who died 1835. Mrs. Agnes (Buchanan) Mitchell died in 1785 at the age of eighty-five; she was consequently a cotemporary of Thomas Buchanan for thirty years in this country. From these facts a relationship between them may be fairly conjectured. If any kinship existed, he would probably have been more or less associated with her family, and that of her husband's brother, James Mitchell. The coincidence may be mentioned, that Chief-Justice Stephen Mix Mitchell had a son *Walter*.

The only son of Thomas Buchanan died unmarried. His daughters married Peter P. Goelet, Robert R. Goelet, Thomas Hicks, Samuel Gifford, Thomas C. Pearsall.

This statement is made in the hope that the descendants of Thomas Buchanan may have his pedigree. If so, does it mention an Agnes Buchanan, who might be the person referred to above?

Kindly address

MRS. EDWARD ELBRIDGE SALISBURY,  
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

**PAGE, REV. BERNARD**—Can any one give any account of this clergyman after 1776? Previous to this time he preached in the Wyoming region of Pennsylvania, is named in the letters of Rev. Dr. Wm. Smith, and in "Bolton's Westchester, N. Y.," as late as 1775; but after

that it has so far been impossible to trace him.

H. E. H.

GREYCOURT—Can any reader of the Magazine throw light on the origin of this name—that of a hamlet in Orange County, New York? Eager's "History of Orange County" (pp. 518, 519) gives a very dubious etymology. The descendants of Robert Ludlow, who settled in Orange County, have, however, quite another derivation. Robert Ludlow, of Newburgh, it should be said, was the grandson of that Charles Crommeline who purchased an interest in the patent known as the "Wawayanda Patent," embracing Greycourt. Mr. Eager, the historian, says, "Daniel *Cromline*" was the purchaser of the interest, but this must be an error, for Daniel Crommeline was a son of Charles Crommeline, and only two years of age at the date of the Greycourt settlement (A.D. 1716). Besides, this very Daniel, early in life, appears to have gone to Holland, where he founded a famous banking house, until lately existing, and which at one time

was the correspondent of Messrs. Brown and Ives, of Providence, and of many other old American East India merchants.

Charles Crommeline, not Daniel, as Mr. Eager states, built the Greycourt house in 1716, and the son of his daughter, Elizabeth (married to the second American Gabriel Ludlow) subsequently went up to the Wawayanda Patent and settled there, marrying Elizabeth Conkling, of Orange County.

Now, the descendants of Charles Crommeline and Robert Ludlow have a fixed tradition that it was Charles Crommeline who named "Greycourt," and that he so named it after a village in the circle of Grey, in upper Saône, France, from near which the Crommelines, who were Huguenots, originally came. Whether this family tradition is well-founded or not, it has found its way into print, and perhaps some of your readers may readily furnish the facts? Either Mr. Eager's history, or the Orange County Ludlows are wrong?

HISTORICUS

## REPLIES

ARCHIBALD MCPHEADRIS, merchant, of Portsmouth [iii. 379]—In reply to a call in your valuable Magazine for information concerning a family who intermarried with the Livingstons of New York, I submit the following paper:

Archibald McPheadris married in 1718 Sarah, dau. of Lieutenant Gov. John Wentworth and sister of the later Gov. Benning Wentworth. He built the brick mansion, now known as the Warner, house in Portsmouth, in 1716–1718, afterwards owned by Jonathan Warner, whose second wife was the daughter of McPhea-

dris. He was one of the most enterprising merchants of his day, and besides his vast commercial interests, was an extensive land owner. He received at Portsmouth large consignments of foreign products and manufactured goods, the which (after supplying Portsmouth and its vicinity) were sent to Boston and distributed in other directions for a market. He formed a company, of which he was the life, for the making of iron on Lamprey River, a branch of the Piscataqua, and encouraged the immigration of skilled workmen for the smelting, etc.,

and also of farmers who would make useful citizens, to whom he offered good inducements to settle on his out-lands around Casco Bay.

By his Will, dated 18th May, 1728, and probated Mar. 24, 1729, he gives to his wife one third of his estate, bequeaths land to his son Gilbert—and 200 acres of land to his brother Gilbert; makes bequests to each of the two daughters of his brother John and also to his sister's son, Phillip Read.

Two thirds of the residue of the estate to son Gilbert and one third to daughter Mary.

Archibald's brother Gilbert McPheadris, died in 1735—he was drowned going in a boat from the island of St. Kitts to Nevis, W. I., and left his property by will to Mary McPheadris (Archibald's daughter), Susanna McPheadris (living in the State of New York) and Mr. Phillip Read, to be equally divided between them. If Susanna should not be living, then her portion of the estate to go to Mary, who afterwards married (1) John Osborn and (2) Jonathan Warner, and had one daughter, Polly Warner, who became the wife of Col. Samuel Sherburne.

Mary's first payments from her uncle's estate came to her in the shape of 4 hhd. of Rum. Mr. Read "tho't it might be wanted, 'till affairs be better settled."

We do not learn whether or not the 4 hhd. held out until a final settlement was made.

Archibald's son Gilbert, probably was not living at that time, 1735.

P. W. PENHALLOW

BOSTON, MASS.

WEBSTER'S CHOWDER, [xi. 360, 458, 550; xii. 90].—Your correspondents who have given their statements of "the Daniel Webster Chowder," have not told of the bright conclusion which Mr. Webster was accustomed to make at the end of his famous recipe. After dilating with just gastronomic particularity over the various elements of the savory dish—as he ended he would say—

"And then—and then send for GEORGE ASHMUN and me"—

Mr. ASHMUN was a distinguished statesman of Massachusetts, who presided at the National Convention of 1860 that nominated Mr. Lincoln.

W. H. B.

DID THE ROMANS COLONIZE AMERICA [xii. 354]—First line, page 360, should read—"that allows a terminal in the consonant m."

M. V. M.

SLAVERY IN THE COLONY AND STATE OF NEW YORK [xi. 408, 552; xii. 89]—In the will of Abraham Snedeker of Haverstraw, County of Orange, Province of New York, bearing date June 24, 1771, the following bequest appears: "Item: I give devise and bequeath unto Abraham Thew my Negro man Tone and the Negro woman named Suke and the two youngest of their children Harry and Sara and the young Wench named Nan unto the said Abraham Thew his heirs and assigns forever."

The following bill of sale explains itself: "Know all men by these presents that I Isaac Onderdonk of the Town of Orange in Rockland County and State of New York for the sum of Two hundred and fifty dollars in hand paid or

secured to be paid. Have bargained and sold and hereby do bargain and sell to John Green of the Town aforesaid his executors, administrators and assigns, one certain Negro man, named Jack aged nineteen years on the first day of May next or thereabout—To have and to hold to him, his executors, administrators and assigns forever, which said Negro man I deliver to him the said John Green at the sealing of these presents and I the said Isaac Onderdonk for myself my heirs executors and administrators do warrant and defend the said John Green in peaceable possession of the said Negro man against all persons whomsoever.

Witness my hand and seal the twenty-fifth day of March One thousand eight hundred and nine.

ISAAC ONDERDONK

Sealed and delivered in presence of us  
P. Taulman, David Clark.

FRANK B. GREEN

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

SCHOONER [xii. 378]—A Brooklyn correspondent gives as the origin of the word schooner "the work *skunard*, applied to two-masted vessels by nations sailing on the northern seas of Europe."

It would be an interesting investigation to inquire whether the fact is not precisely the opposite of the above statement. The German *schoner* or *schuner*, the Swedish and Danish *skoner*, and the Spanish *escuna*, as applied to vessels of this class, are all confessedly derived from the English.

The origin of the name is well established by current local tradition and abundant testimony in support thereof.

The first vessel of this style and rig was built in Gloucester, Mass., in 1713, by Capt. Andrew Robinson. Dr. Moses Prince, brother of the annalist, writing from Gloucester in Sept. 25, 1821, says,— "Went to see Capt. Robinson's lady, &c. &c. This gentleman was the first contriver of schooners, and built the first of the sort about eight years since." Nearly seventy years later Cotton Tufts writes, Sept. 8, 1790, "I was informed (and committed the same to writing) that the kind of vessels called 'schooners' derived their name from this circumstance—viz., Mr. Andrew Robinson of that place having constructed a vessel which he masted and rigged in the same manner as schooners are at this day, on her going off the stocks and passing into the water, a bystander cried out, '*Oh, how she scoons.*'" Robinson instantly replied '*A scooner let her be!*' From which time vessels thus masted and rigged have gone by the name of 'schooners'; before this, vessels of this description were not known in Europe nor America."

Thus it will be seen that the name was suggested by the peculiar gliding motion of the first vessel of the kind as she was launched, from the Scotch word *scon*, to make flat stones, etc., skip along the surface of the water, the word *scoon* being popularly used in some parts of New England to denote the same thing, and both words probably allied to the Icelandic *skunds*, *skynda*, and the Danish *skynde*, to make haste, to hurry, and the Anglo-Saxon *scuniar*, to avoid. No marine dictionary, commercial record or merchant's inventory prior to 1713, contains the word schooner, though it soon and frequently appears after that date.

## SOCIETIES

**NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—**  
The first of the autumn meetings was held October 7. The Librarian reported a long list of additions to the Library since the last meeting, and the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Lewis M. Rutherford and Mr. A. V. W. Van Vechten for valuable donations. The Librarian also reported an addition to the department of Art of a handsome and faithful bust of the late Louis Durr, founder of the Durr Gallery of Paintings, in the Society's possession.

The paper of the evening, which was listened to with great interest, was read by Rev. John H. Heywood, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. The lecturer graphically presented the salient incidents of the varied and romantic career of the pioneers, together with many other interesting facts connected with the early history of Kentucky, and in a keen, philosophical analysis, derived from the sturdy woodsman's deeds, from his physical and mental gifts, his early associations and training, and from the notable spirit of enterprise which was cherished in Devonshire, the home of his ancestors, his belief in his heroic mission, and his eminent fitness for it, as the standard-bearer of Anglo-Saxon civilization in its march to the great West.

Resolutions on the death of the late Royal Phelps, of the Executive Committee, were reported by that committee and adopted by the Society, and a memoir of Charles Fenno Hoffman was presented for the records.

**MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—**  
The first meeting of this Society after

the summer vacation was held on Monday evening, October 13. During the four months since the last meeting, the Committee on Publication has issued, in the beautiful style characteristic of all its publications, two papers possessing a special local interest, but which are a genuine contribution to the colonial history of the country. These are entitled, "Captain Richard Ingle, the Maryland 'Pirate and Rebel,'" a pamphlet of fifty-three pages, and "Sir George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore," a pamphlet of one hundred and seventy-two pages. Both evince careful research among original papers, in the true historic spirit—and throw light upon several disputed questions touching the early affairs of the province of Maryland.

The Committee having supervision of the publication of the Archives of the State, reported that the second volume had passed through the press, uniform in style with the first volume, which met with such favorable reception and high commendation, and would be given to the public within the next few days. It makes a handsome quarto volume of 600 pages, and gives the acts and proceedings of the provincial government from April 1666 to June 1676—possessing all the excellencies that characterized the first volume of the Archives.

**WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY** held its regular quarterly meeting at its rooms in Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, September 11, 1884, Hon. E. L. Dana, LL.D., in the chair. Col. Wm. L. Stone, the historian, was elected a corresponding member. Mr. Sheldon



Reynolds, the Treasurer, read a very interesting paper on Rev. Barnard Page, the first Church of England minister who officiated in Wyoming Valley, presenting much heretofore unpublished matter, with several original letters from Rev. Mr. Page.

Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden also read a paper, entitled, "A brief account of various silver and copper medals presented to the American Indians by the sovereigns of England, France and Spain, 1600-1800, and especially of four Indian peace medals of George I. of Great Britain, now in the possession of the Society and its members." These four medals were displayed.

Both papers were referred to the publication committee.

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The quarterly meeting was held on Tuesday evening, October 7, the President, Prof. Wm. Gammell, in the chair. Among other interesting features of the meeting was the reading of a letter from Charles H. Dennison, upon the importance of preserving early local records. The secretary reported additions to the library since the last meeting of ninety-five bound volumes, and seven hundred and eighty-eight pamphlets.

The President read a communication from the Buffalo Historical Society, inviting representatives of the Rhode Island Society to attend the ceremonies at the interment of the Indian orator and statesman, Red Jacket, and other distinguished chiefs of the six nations, at Forest Lawn Cemetery on Thursday, October 9.

The Secretary, Mr. Amos Perry, then read an interesting paper on New Eng-

land almanacs, their early use, and the almanacs published in New England outside of Rhode Island. The paper touched upon the number of books of this character in the possession of the Society, and also stated the number of volumes necessary to complete the different sets.

After a few words on the importance and benefit of the study of history, and the progress now being made, the meeting adjourned.

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NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting at the Society's house, 18 Somerset Street, Boston, on Wednesday, October 1, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, LL.D., the President, in the chair. Resolutions of respect were reported by Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford, to the memory of two deceased members, Hon. William A. Whitehead of Newark, and Hon. Stephen Salisbury of Worcester, which, after appreciative remarks by Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, Rev. Edmund F. Slater, and Col. Albert H. Hoyt, were unanimously adopted. A large number of valuable donations to the Society since its last meeting were reported.

Hon. Horatio King, of Washington, D. C., read an interesting paper, the result of careful research, on the battle of Bladensburg, and capture of Washington, August 24, 1814.

President Wilder stated that Rev. Samuel F. Smith, D.D., author of the patriotic hymn "America," was present, and called upon him to address the meeting. Dr. Smith responded in a felicitous manner, and praised the work of the Society in collecting the materials of American history.

## BOOK NOTICES

**SIR GEORGE CALVERT, BARON OF BALTIMORE.** A paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, April 14, 1884. By LEWIS W. WILHELM, A. B., Fellow in History, Johns Hopkins University. 8vo, pp. 172, pamphlet, 1884, Baltimore. Maryland Historical Society Fund publication.

Sir George Calvert, the Privy Counselor and Minister of State to King James, the colonist of Avalon, where he spent £30,000, and the true founder of the Commonwealth of Maryland, is a strong and important character in the life of his time. Mr. Wilhelm has given us a piece of work carefully wrought out, well arranged, and finely expressed. The style possesses the great merit of clearness, and shows the grasp of a mature and well trained mind. The volume necessarily deals with English and Continental politics, and the dangers of irrelevant detail and lack of proportion must have been great; but the author has kept steadily in view his object, to study Calvert's influence "on the economic and institutional development of the people of the American Colonies." It is perhaps in reference to the Colony of Avalon that Mr. Wilhelm's original investigations have borne the most fruit, and his access to the manuscripts and records of the society under whose auspices his work appears, has enabled him to give his monograph a permanent value. If the time has come for an authoritative history of all the Calverts and their part in American life, Mr. Wilhelm is evidently well equipped for the undertaking, and we hope he will next study the career of Cecilion Calvert, lord proprietor of Maryland for nearly fifty years. The only fault we can find with this publication, and it is a very serious one, is that through some strange neglect, there is no index whatever. Five pages of well-arranged cross-index would double the value of Mr. Wilhelm's painstaking work for every student and library in the land. Pamphlet publications do not always need indexes; in fact often have little to index at all, but this life of the first Lord Baltimore certainly does need a good index.

**CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY, OR MEN OF BUSINESS WHO DID SOMETHING BESIDES MAKING MONEY.** A book for young Americans. By JAMES PARTON, 16mo, pp. 399. Boston, 1884. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A more appropriate title has rarely if ever been chosen for a delightful book. Mr. Parton presents in these pages examples of men who shed luster upon ordinary pursuits, either by the superior manner in which they conducted them or

by the noble use they made of the leisure which success in them usually gives. It is a volume ripe with suggestion for the young mind. "I can tell you, boys," says Mr. Parton, "that a great number of the most important and famous business men of the United States struck down roots where they were first planted, and where no one supposed there was room or chance for any large thing to grow." From David Maydole, who made the best hammer in use, to the inventor of the steam engine, we have in this work not less than forty-five industrial characters sketched by the skilled hand of an author entirely at home with his subjects, and in full sympathy with eager and appreciative boy readers. Not all mechanics were these captains of industry. James Gordon Bennett, who achieved the largest income ever recorded from journalism in the United States, founded the New York Herald in a veritable cellar—the furniture of which was as follows: "one wooden chair, two empty flour barrels with a wide dirty pine board laid upon them, to serve as desk and table. End of the inventory." The two barrels stood about four feet apart, and one end of the board was pretty close to the steps, so that passers by could see the pile of "Heralds" placed upon it every morning for sale. Scissors, pens, inkstand, and pencil were at the other end, leaving space in the middle for an editorial desk. Bennett was probably no more persistent in his line of effort, than were Myron Holley, John Bright, Peter Cooper, Horace Greeley, Robert Owen, and a score of others, in theirs. We wonder how many of the present generation of boys could tell us (without referring to any printed book) what the men above named really have done of importance to the world in the great realm of business? These sketches represent no insignificant amount of labor and research, and in their present readable form will have an influence for good not easily estimated. We commend the book to every household in the country. There is no better book to place before the rising generation, and its charm will not decrease as the years roll on.

**THE LETTERS AND TIMES OF THE TYLERS.** By LYON G. TYLER. In two volumes. Vol. 1, 8vo, pp. 633. Richmond, Virginia, 1884. Whittet & Shepperson.

This elegantly printed volume gives evidence of the most conscientious care, and exceptional skill and taste in its preparation, and while its title might lead to the conclusion that it is a mere family record, the reader need only glance through its table of contents to become aware that it presents a panorama of American History, from the Revolution to the beginning of the



Civil War in 1861. It is ably written, clear, concise, and readable, and the author is to be congratulated on the success he has achieved in bringing such a mass of valuable information within reach of the intelligent public in a form so attractive. The space given to the genealogy of the Tyler family is small. Judge John Tyler, the father of President Tyler, was in close association with all the great public characters of his time in Virginia. During the period of his governorship the continent of Europe was convulsed with the throes of Napoleon's gigantic wars, and America was in a condition of indescribable turmoil. The picture of Virginia affairs (taking in also those of the whole country) is admirably painted. And the book is brightened with a variety of captivating side-lights, turned upon the dinner table, after dinner speeches, the personal characteristics of many great men, together with illustrative anecdotes. The administration of President Tyler is reviewed with discrimination, although from a son's standpoint; and the Missouri compromise, the compromise of 1833, and the issues in the canvass of 1840 receive an interesting exposition. It is a work that all libraries, whether public or private, should possess.

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**A HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.** By EDWARD STANWOOD. 12mo, pp. 407. Boston, 1884: James R. Osgood and Company.

This timely production issued by the enterprising Boston publishers, James R. Osgood and Company, is a collection of facts and incidents concerning the entire catalogue of Presidential elections in this country. It has been prepared with painstaking care, and while it professes to be little more than a hand-book of useful information, it contains documents of importance not easily accessible in any other form, and references to the chief events in American History of surpassing value to students and writers. It is a work destined for the study table, and is so well constructed that it will commend itself to all book buyers.

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**ALLAN DARE AND ROBERT LE DIABLE.** A Romance. By ADMIRAL PORTER. To be completed in Nine Fortnightly Parts. Parts I. and II. 1884: New York, D. Appleton & Co.

A romance of extraordinary length, with an extraordinary title, published in an unusual manner, and coming from a source never hitherto suspected of literary leanings, are facts in themselves sufficiently novel to attract attention and pique the curiosity of the world. And when the scope and nature of the romance come to be known the public interest is likely to be greatly

increased, for this book is almost an embodiment of everything that is picturesque, romantic, startling and mysterious in the domain of literature. One reads a little and he recalls some of the wonders of "Monte Christo," a little further and he recalls Sue's "Mysteries of Paris," and other books of the romantic school occur to him; not that Admiral Porter has imitated any of these books, but his story is planned on a similar scale, and is equally startling and romantic in the vicissitudes which his characters undergo.

The story opens eighty years ago, in Manchester, on the eastern shore of Massachusetts, where we are presented with a vivid picture of the place and the period, and a really grand portrait of an old retired sea captain. We do not recall a more striking figure in fiction than this of Captain Samson Goliath, nor anything more pathetic than his long search for his stolen grandchildren—two twin boys of seven years—and his death, heart-broken at their loss. There is in this portion of the book a description of a long race between two ships sailing from Canton on the same day, that is as vivid and dramatic as anything in Cooper's sea tales. Nothing in its way has been better done. There is a gap of twenty years, and the story reopens in Newport city, in 1820, where we encounter the heroes, Allan Dare and Robert le Diable, these being the two stolen boys, now developed into men of splendid physique and Herculean strength. The brothers are unknown to each other, but opposed in two lines of remarkable action—one of them being a detective and the other under suspicion of being at the head of a gang of robbers. In the second part we have told the history of one of the boys after his abduction, and certainly the lover of romance and strange adventure could not wish for anything more piquant and stirring. If the two parts so far published are a fair sample of the story, we shall have in the whole book an immense variety of intrigue, mystery and adventure, and see life in a vast variety of forms.

Admiral Porter is clearly a natural writer of romance. He believes in romance, and he does not stop half-way either for lack of invention or in doubt of the soundness of his theory. His incidents are sometimes extravagant, but the situations come naturally. His style lacks some of the minor graces of literary art, but it is very clear and correct, and fully serves his purpose. He has the art of telling a story, the art of portraying character, and supremely the art of being interesting, which in romance writing is an accomplishment that outweighs all others; and if the reader is not entertained by the wonderful doings of his people, he is at least sure of being amused by them.

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**A GENEALOGICAL MEMOIR OF THE LATHROP FAMILY IN THIS COUNTRY,**

embracing the descendants, as far as known, of the Rev. John Lothrop, of Scituate and Barnstable, Mass., and Mark Lothrop, of Salem and Bridgewater, Mass., and the first generation of descendants of other names. By the Rev. E. B. HUNTINGTON, A.M. 8vo, pp. 457. 1884: Mrs. Julia M. Huntington, Ridgefield, Conn.

This handsome and ample volume brings down the history of the Lathrops to our own time. The pioneer of the name in America, Rev. John Lothrop (according to his orthography), was a deserter from the Church of England, who took up his abode in Massachusetts, in 1634. He was an interesting character, and the worthy founder of a large and notable family. The list of eminent men in the several generations includes clergymen, educators, soldiers, publishers, artists, lawyers, doctors and missionaries, many of whom are of national fame. The celebrated John Lothrop Motley, historian and statesman, was one of the descendants. Mr. Huntington, the author of this admirable genealogical work, died before it went to press, and it devolved upon a member of the family, who modestly withholds his name, to assist under many difficulties in editing the manuscript for publication. The record is one in which all who bear the family name or possess the blood may justly take pride.

The book is printed from clear type on heavy laid paper, with broad margins and uncut edges. It is finely illustrated, containing sixteen steel portraits of prominent representatives of the family. Also a very realistic view of the Old Lowthorpe Church, in the East riding of Yorkshire (dating from the time of Edward III.), showing with minute accuracy the building as it now appears, with the restored nave buttressed by the quaint and ruinous medieval tower. It is a publication that will prove a treasure to all genealogical investigators and scholars.

**STEPHEN HOPKINS**, a Rhode Island Statesman. A Study in Political History of the Eighteenth Century. By WILLIAM E. FOSTER. Two parts in one. 8vo, pp. 196 and 289. Providence: Sidney S. Rider, 1884. (Rhode Island Historical Tracts.)

The instructive and interesting career of Stephen Hopkins, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a career identified with the whole political development of the century in which he lived, is admirably presented in the pages of this volume. He was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1706, and died full of years and honors in 1785. He left behind him at his death an invaluable collection

of papers and discussions, not merely in the form of correspondence, but in documents bearing upon such obscure historical subjects as the Stamp-Act discussions, the Albany Congress, and the various plans of uniting the Colonies, which men talked over long years before the Revolution. Chapter VI., entitled "The Statesmanship of the Albany Congress," can be profitably studied by all lovers of history. Hopkins returned to his home in Rhode Island, and with the most persistent industry and the aid of every agency of tongue, pen, type, and personal influence, during the next twenty years, worked for the development of a public sentiment which should sustain and heartily approve the measures to be undertaken. His public services culminated in the Act of Independence. The chapter which dwells upon that portion of his life in which he as a citizen of Providence was identified with every measure of public improvement, is most entertaining. Stephen Hopkins was never idle. "The careful study of such lives as his must always be an inspiring and elevating influence in the development of American citizenship."

**FIFTY YEARS' OBSERVATIONS OF MEN AND EVENTS**, Civil and Military. By E. D. KEYES, Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. Army; late Major-General U. S. Volunteers, commanding the Fourth Corps. 12mo. pp. 515. 1884. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This work opens with a graphic description of General Winfield Scott, when he was president of the Board of Visitors at the West Point Military Academy in 1831. The reader is carried along with a pleasant-flowing current of words, and introduced to many of the great men of the five decades which the work covers. The author says, in relation to the three illustrious statesmen whose names were heard every day all over the Union for nearly a quarter of a century, that the order in which they were mentioned "was in accord with the estimation in which they were held in the different sections; thus, in the East and North it was Webster, Clay, and Calhoun; in the West it was Clay, Calhoun, and Webster; and in the South it was Calhoun, Clay, and Webster." Anecdotes of Jackson, of General Brown, of Benton, and particularly of General Scott and his numerous associates, are interspersed freely, illuminating the pages of the volume and adding to its attractions. The author was the military secretary of General Scott, and consequently brought in contact with the actors in the exciting events of 1860 and 1861. "I find by my journal," he writes, "that I was in Washington with General Scott from May 1 to May 19, 1860, and that we lived at Wormley's, where we had our private table. In his company I attended a series of splendid din-



ner parties. At President Buchanan's the company was composed of sixteen gentlemen and sixteen ladies. At that dinner I had a lady on one side and Senator Zach Chandler on the other side. The Senator was full of war and blood, though he lowered his voice to a whisper in speaking to me, saying: 'Before the rebels get to Washington they will have to kill Western men enough to cover up the dome of the Capitol with their dead bodies.' The book possesses decided merit despite a somewhat rambling style, and cannot fail to have a wide and appreciative audience.

**THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JOHN FILSON**, the First Historian of Kentucky. By REUBEN T. DURRETT. Filson Club Publications. Number One. Large quarto, pp. 132. 1884. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

This is the first of a series of publications to be made by the Filson Club, of Louisville, Kentucky, an association whose chief object is to collect and preserve original historic material relating to the early history of the central West. The work before us is an elaborate account of the life and writings of John Filson, who lost his life while laying the foundation of Cincinnati, it is illustrated with his lately discovered portrait, and is issued in a large quarto, with broad margins and uncut pages, and printed on heavy paper in the most elegant manner known to the art. One of its special attractions is a *fac-simile* of Filson's original map of Kentucky, in 1784, the existence of which has so long and by so many been a matter of doubt. Mr. Durrett, President of the Club, is the able author, and has enriched the volume with paragraphs of history and romance, poetry and anecdote, pathos and humor, and the reader will find it exceedingly entertaining as well as profitable. To scholars and historians it is priceless. We know of no work of its compass extant which can equal it in the production of original historic matter; and, touching as it does the heart of the great center of the continent, it will be eagerly sought. We understand but a very limited number of copies will be placed on sale.

**THE EVOLUTION OF A LIFE**, described in the Memoirs of MAJOR SETH EYLAND, Late of the Mounted Rifles. 12mo. pp. 336. 1884. New York: S. W. Green's Son, Publisher.

This book is one of the most intensely interesting of any we have seen of its character. It is the story of a varied and romantic career, bright, gossipy, and alive with vivid pictures of scouting and cavalry raids during the late Civil War. It holds the reader's attention from the

first page to the last. Major Eyland commanded the First New York Mounted Rifles in the conflict, and his personal experiences in field and camp—as Captain, Provost Marshal, and Judge-Advocate—are invested with all the trappings of fiction. The book contains amusing anecdotes of Lincoln, Grant, McClellan, Scott, Butler, Joe Johnston, Stonewall Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Horatio Seymour, President Arthur, and other noted Americans.

**THE THREE PROPHETS: CHINESE GORDON, MOHAMMED—AHMED (EL MAAHDI), ARABI PASHA.** By COLONEL C. CHAILLÉ LONG, Ex-chief of Staff to Gordon in Africa, Ex-United States Consular Agent in Alexandria, etc., etc. 16mo, pp. 235. 1884. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Events of the past two years, the insurrection of Arabi, the massacres, the bombardment and burning of Alexandria, the Maahdi, and Chinese Gordon, have aroused an unusual interest the world over in the affairs of Egypt. Thus a book fresh from the pen of a participant in the terrible and exciting scenes is most welcome. Colonel Long was for many years an officer in the Egyptian army, and a close and intelligent observer. At the time of the bombardment he was the commandant of a *forlorn hope* left for the common defense. His description of the destruction of Alexandria is graphic in the extreme, covering thirty-five pages of the interesting volume. Colonel Long writes in a clear, concise, and engaging style, and the reader will obtain from his book a much greater amount of authentic information upon the whole subject embraced in the title than is accessible in any other form.

**AN APPEAL TO CÆSAR.** By ALBION W. TOURGEE. 1884. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

A singular title and a most extraordinary book. It is not a novel, as might be supposed; it aims to disclose to the thoughtful public an imminent and unsuspected peril. It opens with a sketch of President Garfield, describing an interview with him by the author, and a promise made to the late President in fulfillment of which the book has been written. It treats of subjects in which every citizen is interested; and presents an array of statistics that will startle and astonish even political philosophers. It is irresistibly readable.

**ANNOUNCEMENT.**—The Magazine will publish in its December number the second and concluding paper on the "Unsuccessful Candidates for the Presidency of the Nation"—with portraits.





*Dear Mother*

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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NATION.

### II.

**D**URING no other ten years of American progress did the character of the country change so rapidly and materially as in the decade from 1847 to 1857. The West was the great disturber of the public repose in its sudden leap into settlement and consequence. The political mind became bewildered with the situation. It was obvious that the demands of civilization must be honored. But problems as well as interests multiplied. And the process of settling the chief question at issue, whether slavery should or should not be introduced into the new Territories, was neither swift nor satisfactory. Prosperity and population advanced with a celerity unparalleled, while men's opinions were not sufficiently nimble to keep abreast in the race. Party lines were quite rubbed out by slavery disputations, and political belief unsettled. Even Daniel Webster, to whose fame the Presidency could add nothing, and whose masterly eloquence depressed the Anti-slavery movement, and commenced the work of demoralization of the Whig party, was by no means at his ease. He preached the gospel of harmony—the doctrine of nationality—pleading with the American people to hold sacred and intact their vast and glorious country with all its wonderful possibilities; but his faith was pinned loosely to the subsequent effects of compromise measures. "Law is uncertain and politics utterly vain," he remarked to Professor Silliman in May, 1852. Mr. Webster's personality was marvelous; when he died in October, only a few days before the election, men paused, with a sense of helplessness, as if one of the pillars of State had fallen. He had for upward of thirty years been at the head of the bar and the Senate of the nation, the foremost lawyer and the foremost statesman, and twice premier. He had filled so large a space in public affairs that with many it was a genuine source of wonder how the country would get on without him.

President Pierce began his administration with a firm resolve to resist all attempts to agitate the subject of slavery. Yet in a few months the excitement over the organization of Kansas and Nebraska had reached



white heat. Then came the great struggle of 1854 for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. "Is it not hard," asked Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, during the discussion of the bill, "if I should choose to emigrate to Kansas that I should be forbidden to take my old mammy [slave nurse] along with me?" "The Senator entirely mistakes our position," responded Mr. Wade, of Ohio. "We have not the least objection, and would oppose no obstacle to the Senator's migrating to Kansas and taking his 'old mammy' along with him. We only insist that he shall not be empowered to *sell* her after taking her there." As late as half-past eleven o'clock on the evening of March 3, Stephen A. Douglass rose in the Senate to answer his adversaries, close the debate, and demand a final vote. He talked until the somber dawn of the morning of March 4, and his words were well fitted to his thought. The great crowd that hung upon his accents forgetful of fatigue, saw that he was animated by a purpose not only clear to himself but convincing in its presentation. When he ceased speaking and the audience rose to depart, the guns of the Navy Yard proclaimed the triumph of the principle of popular sovereignty.

A net-work of complications followed almost immediately. The people were to do as they pleased in the new States and Territories respecting the introduction or exclusion of slavery. But the picturesque wilds known as Kansas and Nebraska were as yet sparsely populated, and society wholly unformed. The opponents of the bill hurried off parties of settlers from the Northern and Eastern States with all possible dispatch to plant homes, found families, and vote against slavery; and the Missourians crossed the border in crowds to vote down and remove the abolitionists. Thus the fierce conflict was inaugurated that raged with varying degrees of violence for six successive years. The political condition of the country at this particular epoch is a curious study; it might be likened to the "witches' caldron" out of which proceeded spirits black and spirits white, spirits red and spirits blue, spirits gray and yellow and green, and spirits without color, followed by a magical transformation scene, bringing into strong light two substantial and well-defined figures, with several shadowy companions of lesser magnitude. There was, in truth, a fusion of the political elements, and the "Old Line Whigs" disappeared. The Republican party was formed in the summer of 1854 for the sole purpose of grappling with the monster, slavery, and its ingredients were Whigs, Free Soilers, a liberal mixture of Democrats, and a slight coloring of other forces. It was a gigantic infant, and even in its swaddling clothes gave promise of uncommon future strength. The Democratic party made up for its contribution to the Republicans with Whig reinforcements, and prepared to withstand the common enemy.

The "American" or "Know Nothing" party, in taking a new lease of life about the same time spread itself all over the country. Its policy was war upon the influence of foreign-born voters and politicians. All its operations were in secret, and it had an elaborate code of signals and pass-words.



JOHN C. FREMONT.

It was a torment to the Republicans, and in no sense a delight to the Democrats. It had a flourishing existence for some three or more years, and nominated its own President months before the other parties took the field. Millard Fillmore was its unsuccessful candidate.

The Republicans chose John C. Fremont as their first candidate. He

was fifty-three years of age, a man of fine presence, and many personal attractions, and exceedingly popular among the people at large, who remembered his exploits and perils as a "Pathfinder," and that his name was identified with the passes and defiles of the Rocky Mountains, and the great interests of the Pacific coast. The leaders of the new party were jubilant; it was meeting with extraordinary success, and the accessions it received from the various organizations and factions inspired hopes, which it was thought might be realized—if every available shoulder was put to the wheel. The canvass was remarkable in every respect. The Democrats were seriously divided in sentiment; in Cincinnati Stephen A. Douglas, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan were prominent before the convention. Great excitement prevailed, particularly when two sets of delegates, the "hards" and the "softs," appeared from New York, and two sets from Missouri. The latter in knocking for admission knocked down the doorkeeper, and created so much riotous confusion that they were excluded altogether. The New Yorkers were, after some delay, admitted—both opposing delegations—each delegate to have half a vote. There was no little bitterness manifested in the convention. It was not until the seventeenth ballot that Buchanan was nominated, with John C. Breckinridge for Vice-President.

The whole North henceforward was a stirring scene of marches and parades, bonfires and torch-lights, immense public meetings, eloquent speeches, songs and catch-words, and all sorts of minor proceedings and demonstrations during the campaign. The conspicuous morality, and the clearly understood policy of the Republicans contributed greatly to their advantage. Slavery was the all-absorbing topic, except with the "Know Nothings." The curious electioneering processes at this time, particularly at the West, would form an interesting chapter. In Northern Ohio, for instance, the "Know Nothings" held their meetings in barns and in all sorts of out-of-the-way buildings, never twice in the same place. The mystery hanging about them made them appear more formidable than they really were. In the South-west, a long way this side of Kansas, candidates for local and other offices went from house to house soliciting votes. A story is told of two opposing candidates who spent a night together in a cabin. One thought to make himself interesting (and thus secure the vote from the cabin) by offering to bring the housewife a bucket of water from a distant spring: the other took immediate occasion to court the baby, and succeeded so happily that the man with the water-bucket set it down upon his return in despair. A member of Congress from this region, who became chairman of Ways and Means, and was

Speaker of the House through two Congresses, from 1851 to 1855, in his early electioneering journeys always carried his fiddle with him, and played for the people to dance at night wherever he happened to stop. He had very little education, no knowledge of English grammar at the beginning of his career, and his speeches were exceedingly crude. But his fiddling and dancing, fine personal appearance, and wonderful tact in mingling with the people, through which he won their personal admiration and favor, enabled him to secure his re-election for every successive term during three entire decades. He was beaten at last by a younger and more vigorous man, who rode a fleeter horse in John Gilpin fashion, and reached more remote towns, and made more convincing speeches which no energetic opponent was on the ground to answer, than any other candidate before him had thought of doing. At the South this Presidential election was very quietly conducted. No one in that section thought of voting for Fremont. Buchanan was opposed only in a mild way by Fillmore.\* Fremont almost failed, however, of being "unsuccessful" through the enthusiasm of Northern voters, and to the surprise of the world received one hundred and fourteen electoral votes, only sixty less than Buchanan, who became President. Fillmore received eight electoral votes—all from the State of Maryland.

The next four years was a period in American history of intense intellectual activity. The solution of the slavery problem, so far as its extension into new States and Territories was concerned, was uppermost in the public mind. Good men and true were horrified at each other's opinions. There were two ways—or more—to interpret every political measure; like the ingenious sign-board which approached from one direction read one thing, and from the opposite direction read quite another. Darkening storm-clouds, changeful and appalling in their general aspect, danced through the skies, and settled in threatening and consolidated columns at the North and at the South. Peacemakers were busy, but their efforts were as ineffectual as the barricade erected to stay the progress of a cyclone.

The unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency, Stephen A. Douglas, displayed his giant abilities at this crisis. He led the party that occupied the line, or middle ground, between the two great antagonizing forces. He was a whole-souled Democrat, and the indefatigable advocate of western interests and development. He was a native of Vermont, and when defeated for the Presidency was forty-seven years of age. In 1833, then only twenty, he traveled West to seek his fortune; and near Jacksonville, Illi-

\* This Magazine, in March, 1884 (XI. 191), published the portrait of President Fillmore.



nois, taught school, and studied law. The next year he was admitted to the bar, and entered upon the practice of his profession. Prior to 1835 his genius had attracted marked attention, and he was elected Attorney-general of the State. The next year he was sent to the legislature; and in one more year was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress. He was beaten by only five votes in a poll of 36,000. He had traversed Illinois when it was almost roadless. A gentleman who saw him come in from that canvass at Chicago, said his horse, his clothes, his boots, and his hat were all worn out. He had to use a rope for a bridle, and his saddlebags looked as if they had seen the wars of a century. In 1840 he traveled seven months, and addressed two hundred and seven meetings in the interest of Van Buren, who carried Illinois, although Harrison was elected President. He was appointed secretary of state for Illinois the same year; and shortly after was made Judge of the Supreme Court by the Illinois legislature. He was at this time a bright, sparkling, impulsive young man of only twenty-seven. In 1843, at thirty, he was sent to Congress, was twice re-elected to the House, and in 1847 took his seat in the United States Senate for the full term of six years. He was twice re-elected to the Senate, in which he remained until his death, thus serving eighteen years in the legislative councils of the nation. He was great intellectually, great in original resource. He was a short, stout man, with an exceedingly large head, and an earnest, impressive face.

He struck out a path for himself, and his personal magnetism, wonderful energy, quick intelligence, and calmness in reasoning placed him among the foremost of statesmen. He was not a product of the time, but he attempted to reconstruct the time. His famous bill of 1854 will ever be a point to date from in American history, as it was the prelude to the fearful strife in Kansas, which was the prelude to open civil war. His position in regard to popular rights he boldly maintained, and in resisting the Lecompton (fraudulent) Constitution became involved in a controversy with President Buchanan. His re-election to the Senate over Abraham Lincoln in 1858 was notable from the fact that these two eminent candidates conducted the canvass in person, holding joint discussions in many places. When Douglas first heard who was to be his adversary, he exclaimed, "I shall have my hands full; he is the strong man of his party—full of rich facts, dates, and the best stump-speaker, with his droll ways and dry jokes, in the West; he is as honest as he is shrewd, and if I beat him, my victory will be hardly won."

Congress and the whole country were in feverish excitement as the time drew near for the nineteenth Presidential election. Angry threats,



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

and hard, contemptuous and vindictive responses among the national legislators, dismayed all classes. The Democrats met in convention at Charleston in April, 1860, with full delegations from every State in the Union. But it was a many-minded assemblage and began wrangling on the start. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, presided. It was found impossible to agree upon a "platform," and after much angry disputation fifty delegates withdrew. The remainder balloted fifty-seven times for





a candidate, and Douglas received the highest number of votes, but not sufficient for his nomination. The convention finally adjourned in despair to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June. The Charleston seceders arranged to meet at the same time and place, hoping to effect a reconciliation. An overture was made by the South to the New York Delegation—who held the situation—to heal all difficulties by the nomination of Governor Horatio Seymour, an overture which was rejected. The original body proceeded to confirm the nomination of Mr. Douglas. The seceding convention then nominated for Vice-President John C. Breckinridge, who represented the slave-holding interests of the South. In the mean time another party, called the "Constitutional Union," met in convention and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. This party was a combination of conservative elements, temporarily brought together, and its expressed purpose was the preservation of the Union.

To accommodate the nominating convention of the Republicans, an immense Wigwam was constructed in Chicago. On the morning of the 16th of May it was crowded to overflowing with delegates and their friends from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, the District of Columbia, Kansas, and Nebraska, and from all the free States. The importance of the occasion was fully understood. Governor Morgan, of New York, called the assembly to order, and George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, was made permanent chairman. Two days were spent in organizing, and on the third the balloting began. New York presented her distinguished son, William H. Seward, for the nomination, and several of the States voted for him, but Mr. Lincoln gained in the second ballot, and in the third received the majority vote. During this never-to-be-forgotten day scenes of the wildest excitement occurred. Every inch of space within the Wigwam was filled, and tens of thousands who could not enter thronged the streets, the balconies, and the house tops; ladies in groups were seated in chairs upon the sidewalks, or stood in uncomfortable places through the long hours. Men stationed on the roof of the Wigwam communicated what was going on within to the anxious and waiting audience without. The announcement that Lincoln was nominated elicited thunders of applause, one hundred guns joining in the general uproar. A large portrait of Lincoln sprang as if by magic to the platform, and as soon as his voice could be heard above the cheering, William M. Evarts, in behalf of New York, moved that the nomination be made unanimous, and the motion was seconded by Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, and Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, and carried in a frenzy of enthusiasm.

The canvass thus opened was distinguished from all that had preceded it by the serious character of the issues, and the sharpness with which they were defined by three of the contestants. Douglas, with great spirit and tireless energy, addressed the people of nearly every State in the Union.



JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.

In Illinois he frequently alternated with Lincoln in the occupancy of public halls, both candidates attracting enormous crowds. The country was once more alive with mass-meetings and torch-light parades, and party tactics were very much animated by the performances of the youthful "Wide Awakes" and "Little Giants," in uniformed companies, who seemed



in their activity on a perpetual march with flags and banners, the one shouting for Lincoln the other for Douglas. But the division among the Democrats on the question of principle—a question deemed on either side of overwhelming consequence—turned the scale in favor of the Republicans.

Of the three unsuccessful candidates, Breckinridge received the larger electoral vote. He was a native of Kentucky, born near Lexington in 1821, thus only forty-one years of age. He was well educated, a graduate from Centre College, Kentucky, and an able lawyer. He served as a major during the Mexican war, and distinguished himself as the counsel of General Pillow during the famous court-martial. From 1851 to 1855 he was a member of Congress; and from 1857 to 1861 Vice-President, and then was sent to succeed John J. Crittenden in the United States Senate. With the breaking out of the civil war he went into the Southern army, and was subsequently Secretary of War at Richmond.

John Bell was sixty-four years of age, an eminent lawyer and statesman, who had been for nearly a quarter of a century in the councils at Washington; at one time Speaker of the House, and on many occasions serving as chairman of important committees in the Senate. He was greatly respected for his nationality of sentiment, and it was believed that he would stand by the Constitution at all hazards.


Next to Lincoln, Douglas received the largest popular vote. But the electoral votes stood as follows: one hundred and eighty for Lincoln, twelve for Douglas, seventy-two for Breckinridge, and thirty-nine for Bell. Douglas lifted his voice emphatically for the maintenance of the government when the crisis came. On his death-bed in June, just three months after the inauguration of his rival, his legacy of advice to his children was: "Tell them to support the Constitution and the laws."

With the events of the next four years we are all painfully familiar. As the time drew near for the twentieth Presidential election, the government was still warring for its life. It was a trying ordeal for the people of a great Republic to be compelled to vote for an Executive head in the midst of the horrors of civil warfare. But it was a national duty that could not be evaded. The magnitude of the interests involved, the conviction that was gaining on the public mind that no one political party was strong enough to conquer the South, and the sacrifices of treasure and blood—unparalleled in the history of wars and of nations—which had already distinguished the conflict, made it overwhelmingly apparent that the wisest and most sagacious of statesmen were as necessary for the country's good as the greatest generals in the field. Opinions clashed as to the propri-

ety of renominating Mr. Lincoln. His administration was sharply criticised. Taxes were increasing, and the public debt was becoming larger every day. The cry for peace, on humiliating terms, was aggravating and protracting the war; and regiments returning home, worn, weary, maimed and depleted, were filling the towns and cities with demoralized inhabitants. "We are beset by dangers, foremost of which is the Presidential canvass," wrote Thurlow Weed to Mr. Parks, in London, on April 17, 1864.

The radical wing of the party who had placed Mr. Lincoln in the Presidential chair, and who thought him too slow and indecisive in his war measures, called a convention at Cleveland on the 31st of May for the purpose of nominating some other citizen for the difficult and responsible position. Three hundred and fifty delegates, from fifteen States, met accordingly, and Gen. John Cochrane, of New York, was made chairman. After the adoption of a platform, John C. Fremont was nominated for President, and Gen. John Cochrane for Vice-President. The general convention of Republicans met in Baltimore on the 7th of June—the following week—over which Governor Dennison, of Ohio, presided. Five hundred delegates were present, Tennessee, Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas being represented. On the first ballot Mr. Lincoln received all the votes except those from Missouri, which were cast for Gen. Grant in accordance with previous instructions. The nomination was then made unanimous. Before the time came for election in the autumn, both General Fremont and General Cochrane withdrew from the contest in favor of the union of the Republicans in support of their regular candidates.

The choice of the Democratic party for President was George B. McClellan, and for Vice-President George H. Pendleton. The convention was held at Chicago in August, Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, in the chair. General McClellan was then but thirty-eight years of age, the youngest man ever nominated for the high office. He was five years younger than De Witt Clinton at the time of his candidacy. He was in high favor with the Democratic leaders, who had for months premeditated elevating him to the Presidency of the nation. His career had been full of action. He was the son of Dr. George McClellan, one of the founders, in 1825, of the Jefferson Medical College, in Philadelphia. Sent early to the University of Pennsylvania, he was prepared to enter the Military Academy at West Point at sixteen, from which he was graduated with honors at twenty. This was in 1846, and he was immediately sent to Mexico as Lieutenant of Engineers, where he participated in many of the important battles, and for gallantry and meritorious services was



rapidly promoted. At the close of the Mexican war he returned to West Point as instructor of bayonet exercise, and translated from the French a "Manual," which became the text-book of the service. We next hear of him on an exploring expedition to the Red River; then surveying the rivers and harbors of Texas; presently examining the western part of the proposed route for a Pacific Railroad, his report forming the first volume of "Pacific Railroad Surveys" published by the government. He was sent on a secret mission to San Domingo; and in 1855 to Europe to study the organization of European armies, and observe the war in the Crimea. All this before he was thirty. He published a number of important military works; and his varied and interesting experiences, as well as his natural aptitudes, fitted him for the important military positions he occupied during the war. Prior to 1861, for some three or four years, he had been successively Vice-President and general superintendent of the Illinois Central Railroad, and president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad; and being called into the service of the Union, he rose from a Major-General in the regular army, to the highest place—succeeding General Scott as General-in-Chief—and was himself succeeded by General Halleck. In his letter of acceptance of the nomination for the Presidency, he dissented from the platform of the convention, not believing that the war was a failure, or that peace was desirable irrespective of conditions. His views, clearly expressed, were not altogether welcome to the radical wing of the Democracy—though they won the respect of the world. Many Republicans voted for him. But, on the other hand, many war Democrats supported Mr. Lincoln, in the full faith that a change of rulers at such a crisis would be disastrous. The election was quiet and orderly, although the canvass had been prosecuted with spirit, and the results gave Lincoln two hundred and twelve electoral votes, and McClellan twenty-one.

From this critical hour important events followed each other for four years with a swiftness that kept the whole country in a continual ferment. The agitation consequent upon the assassination of President Lincoln, and the administration of President Johnson, prepared the way for an enthusiastic nomination for the next Presidency, by the dominant party, of General Grant, who had never been an active partisan in politics. The Democrats convened in New York on the 4th of July, 1868, Governor Horatio Seymour presiding. For nearly a week they balloted in vain for a candidate. The delegates were worn out with the continued strain, excitement and intense heat. The twenty-second ballot was reached, when the convention was electrified by General McCook, chairman of the Ohio delegation, who in a speech of ringing eloquence cast the whole twenty-one



GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

votes of his State for Governor Seymour. Cheer after cheer rent the air, and notwithstanding the vehement refusal of Seymour to accept the candidacy, the balloting went on, and he was unanimously nominated, amid a tornado of applause. He was subsequently persuaded to accept, and by so doing made, as he still declares, the great mistake of his life.



Governor Seymour was the idol of the Democratic party, a man of elegant scholarship, broad culture, and varied accomplishments—equally familiar with books and with affairs—and ranked then, as now, among the foremost men of his time. He had been twice Governor of New York, from 1853 to 1855, and from 1863 to 1865. No man ever had greater faith in the future of the American Republic than he; in one of his private letters to President Lincoln in 1863 occurs this passage: "For the preservation of the Union I am ready to make any sacrifice of interest, passion, or prejudice." It is related of him that while dining with Lord Houghton, of England, that gentleman said, "Are you not sometimes sorry that Mother England let your States escape from under her wing?" "Well, no, my lord, not exactly," replied the Governor, "but I do sometimes think we should not have allowed you to leave us!" "What in the world do you mean?" asked Lord Houghton, smiling. "Oh, simply that it would be rather pleasant to have you in the family of States. Having 50,000,000 of people on our side, of course we could do most of the governing. Still, for the sake of old relationship, I have no doubt we could have afforded to allow you a few extra Congressmen and a Senator or two," was the Governor's humorous reply.

He was born in 1811, and educated for the law. His father was one of the powerful company of New York politicians known as the "Albany Regency"; thus he was bred in the atmosphere of politics, and to the opinion that love for party is a sentiment that can no more be eradicated than the belief in religion. He was much in the society of statesmen during his youth, both in Albany and at Washington. And in entering public life he was animated with the high purpose of taking an active and intelligent interest in whatever concerned the general welfare of his State and the country at large. The campaign in which he was defeated for the Presidency was one of the most interesting, in some of its features, in the whole catalogue of Presidential campaigns. General Grant, the victorious soldier, could not, however, be beaten. He received two hundred and fourteen electoral votes, while Governor Seymour's numbered only eighty. A few months afterward, when President Grant visited Utica, Governor Seymour was one of the first to congratulate him; and at a public reception remarked with charming grace that he was "a better soldier than the General, and for that reason was not able to run so well."\*

In the twenty-second Presidential election—1873—there were seven unsuccessful candidates. The multiplicity of perplexing questions that arose during Grant's first term severely tested the national sagacity. The

\* This Magazine published in August, 1884 [XII. 97], the portrait of Governor Seymour.

public acts of the President were subject to constant and merciless criticism. Opposition to the administration grew and strengthened; and a whole brood of wings and factions circled about the two great political bodies. The "Labor Reformers" convened at Columbus, Ohio, in February, 1872, and nominated Judge Davis, of Illinois, for their candidate. He declined, and Charles O'Connor, of New York, subsequently received the nomination. The "Prohibitionists" next met in convention, also at



CHARLES O'CONNOR.

Columbus, and made James Black, of Pennsylvania, their unsuccessful candidate. The "Liberal Republicans" assembled in Cincinnati, in May, attracting wide attention. They claimed that President Grant had shown himself deplorably unequal to the task imposed upon him by the necessities of the country, and culpably careless of the responsibilities of his high office. They invited into their realms all the dissatisfied, and it was thought that with an "available" candidate they could prevent the re-election of Grant. Many an uneducated voter clamored for a change in the government, thinking it would better his own private affairs. Like the Long Island fisherman who, when asked if he was a Republican, replied,





"Well, yes; but the fact is, I haven't averaged more than half an eel to the pot this two months, and I guess we had better have a change; so I am going to vote the Democratic ticket this time."

The process of organizing the convention was embarrassing. From many States, including New York, came two antagonistic factions. Diversified elements poured in from the different sections of the country. One of the Arkansas delegates was an old negro preacher named Tabb Gross, the former slave of a Kentucky preacher, who had bought his own freedom and emigrated West. Among the delegates from Kentucky was the son of his former master, who asked Tabb to tell him "honestly" who they were going for down in his State? "Well, Mars' Alfred," was the reply, "dey is mos'ly goin' fo' offis." When the organization was finally accomplished, Carl Schurz was appointed to the chair. On the sixth ballot Horace Greeley was nominated for the Presidency. The Democratic convention met at Baltimore in July, and also adopted Mr. Greeley as their candidate. In the meantime the regular Republicans had convened at Philadelphia in June and nominated President Grant for re-election.

During this spirited and memorable campaign Horace Greeley performed an incredible amount of mental and physical labor. He had just passed his sixty-first year, but to all appearances was in robust health. He addressed numerous and eager audiences in every part of the country, frankly discussing the great questions at issue, and emphasizing his convictions with boldness and candor. No man ever canvassed for himself in this country whose speeches were more replete with specific and technical knowledge, more appropriate to the occasions which inspired them, or finer specimens of brilliant oratory. No work which Mr. Greeley ever did was so vividly indicative of his remarkable powers—it was as if he had concentrated the whole force and resources of a lifetime in the achievement of a cherished purpose. Having been so long before the public as a great editor, and, unsparing in his criticism of others, he naturally became the target not only for the political adversary, but for all who had any grievances to avenge. It would not be easy to forget the singularly youthful expression of his face at this time. His complexion was extremely fair; his head larger than the average; his forehead round and full, rising into a high and ample dome; his hair white, inclining to red at the ends, and thinly scattered; and a smile seemed ever playing upon his countenance. "Seated in company with his hat off," says his biographer, "he looked not unlike the 'Philosopher' he was often called; no one could take him for a common man."

The history of his earnest and busy career has been much written.

Every school-boy knows how he fashioned his own fortunes, and founded one of the great newspapers of the world. His ambition was to make the best daily journal that ever existed. His industry and his genius, his simple life and his careless habits, his independence of thought and his promptness in action, his skill in reading character, and his peculiar wit, were all



HORACE GREELEY.

matters of popular interest. He was a feature of the times. To many he was the *New York Tribune* in the flesh. He was, in short, Horace Greeley.

Many of the Democrats were greatly dissatisfied with the nomination of a Republican candidate, and the opposition to Mr. Greeley grew so strong that in September the discontents assembled in convention at Louisville, Kentucky, and nominated Charles O'Connor, the great lawyer, who had already received the nomination of the Labor Reformers. He declined by telegram, promptly. But not finding any other available candidate the convention left the ticket as originally arranged, and Mr. O'Connor received nearly thirty thousand popular votes. General Grant was elected by a larger majority than in his first election. The Union then



consisted of thirty-seven States, and every State on that occasion chose electors by a popular vote for the first time in the history of the Republic. Mr. Greeley sickened and died on the 29th of November, a few days after the election. Thus the Democratic electors cast their votes without regard to concentration. Grant received two hundred and eighty-six, Thomas A. Hendricks forty-two, B. Gratz Brown eighteen, Charles J. Jenkins two, and Judge Davis one.

An army of events swept the country during this administration, and paved the way for a season of unparalleled excitement over the choice of candidates for the Presidency of 1877. The money panic of 1873, which left its desolating effects upon institutions and industries of every character, Indian hostilities on the frontiers of civilization, and frauds of the first magnitude in high places, were not such aids to political harmony as wise leaders would naturally have chosen. An effort was made to give President Grant the nomination for a third term, and there was a strong, well-organized endeavor to make James G. Blaine a candidate. When the Republicans met in convention at Cincinnati in June, 1876, each of the three largest States had a candidate of its own to offer. New York presented the name of Roscoe Conkling, and Ohio that of Rutherford B. Hayes. On the first ballot Mr. Blaine received much the larger number of votes. On the seventh ballot, Mr. Hayes, who had been steadily gaining ground, received five more votes than the number necessary for his nomination, which was immediately made unanimous. Mr. Blaine from Washington congratulated Mr. Hayes by telegram on the result. The "Prohibitionists" had already, in May, convened in Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, for the Presidency; and an "Independent National Party" had also convened during the same month at Indianapolis, and nominated Peter Cooper\* of New York for the highest place in the gift of the nation. The Democratic Convention was held at St. Louis a few days after the Republicans adjourned at Cincinnati, and divided public attention with the great International Exhibition of the products of the industries of nations, at Philadelphia. There were several candidates presented by the different States, but New York's eminent son, Samuel J. Tilden, was nominated on the second ballot with frantic enthusiasm. For Vice-President, Governor Hendricks, one of the unsuccessful candidates for nomination to the higher office, was unanimously chosen.

The Democrats were delighted with the outlook, and proud of their candidate. The text of their platform was "reform." The Republicans had been in power sixteen years, it was said, and the time had come for

\* This Magazine published, in July, 1883 [X. 59], the portrait of Peter Cooper.



SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

a change of rulers and a change of measures. A new broom must be introduced into the national housekeeping, and new economies inaugurated. Samuel J. Tilden was a successful reformer. He had found time amid his multifarious duties at Albany as Governor of the State of New York to stop the stealing and reduce the taxes. There was the ring of the true metal for the voter's ear in the very mention of reduction of taxes. He had also won the public respect and gratitude by his overthrow of the famous Tweed "ring" some years prior to this date—the details of which would form a chapter more thrilling than any fiction. Tweed's opinion of



Tilden in 1869 was expressed in the following terse paragraph: "Sam Tilden wants to overthrow Tammany Hall. He wants to drive me out of politics. He wants to stop the pickings, starve out the boys, and run the government of the city as if 'twas a blanked little country store up in New Lebanon. He wants to bring the hay-loft and cheese-press down to the city, and crush out the machine. He wants to get a crowd of canting reformers in the Legislature, who will talk about the centrifugal force of the government, and cut down the tax levy below a living rate."

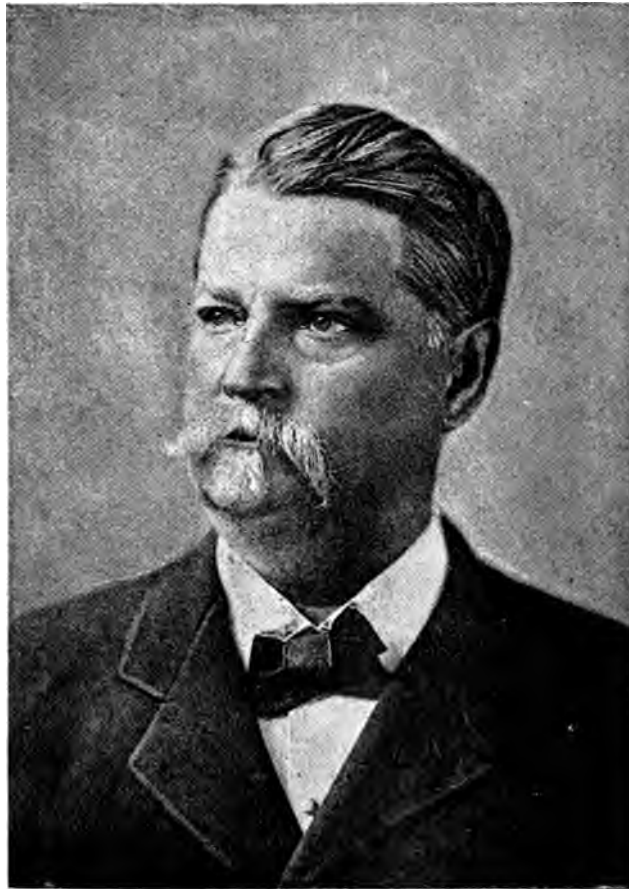
Governor Tilden was a born financier. In his heroic battle with the "Canal Ring," standing alone and resisting friends as well as foes, he saved the State millions. He was born in 1814, and was in the same class in Yale College with Chief Justice Waite, William M. Evarts, and Edwards Pierrepont. He rose to eminence as a lawyer at an early age, and was connected with some of the most important civil and criminal cases of his time. Though always a politician he was such from a high sense of duty as a citizen, losing sight of personal interests in his overmastering desire to benefit the masses through the machinery of government. He may justly be styled a political philosopher—one who could reduce statesmanship to an exact science.

The election was conducted in a more quiet manner than any of its predecessors. The immediate returns indicated victory for the Democrats. But when double returns, showing differing results, came in from four of the Southern States, and Louisiana was in anarchy with her two governors and two electoral colleges, the cry of fraud became so loud and so general that official investigation was imperative. All of the crooked cases were complicated in their incidents, and thus for months the result of the election was in actual doubt. To count the electoral votes a tribunal was established, called the Electoral Commission, as evenly divided politically as practicable. It was in session from the first day of February until four o'clock in the morning of the second of March, attracting the critical notice of the whole world. The result as then declared was one hundred and eighty-five votes for Hayes, and one hundred and eighty-four for Tilden. The decision was final, and Hayes was duly inaugurated two days afterward, although the Democrats claimed with caustic emphasis that Tilden was the rightful President.

Major-General Winfield S. Hancock had the honor to be the unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency of 1881. He was nominated on the second ballot of the Democratic Convention, that met at Cincinnati in June. Governor Tilden declined the nomination, as did also Governor Seymour. Senator Thomas F. Bayard was a favorite with many of the

Southern members, but the nomination of Hancock was made unanimous with great good feeling.

The Republicans had already, some three weeks before, convened at Chicago, and nominated James A. Garfield for President, and Chester A.



WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK.

Arthur for Vice-President. There had been numerous candidates in the field—General Grant, for a third term, the most prominent during the early balloting, and James G. Blaine close in his wake. On the thirty-fourth ballot Garfield had suddenly come into notice, and on the thirty-sixth ballot was chosen, to the intense satisfaction of the members. The “Independent National or Greenback Party” convened at Chicago on the 9th of

June, and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for the Presidency; and the Prohibitionists nominated General Neal Dow of Maine.

The canvass was illumined with dazzling fire-works, and every "trick of the trade" was brought into use in the battle. The two parties assailed each other with surprising vigor, without any very startling results. In each State, the appointment of electors was by popular vote, and every electoral vote was counted as cast. General Hancock had acquitted himself honorably as a soldier, first in the Mexican War, then in the campaign against the Seminoles, and he especially distinguished himself in many of the great battles of the late Civil War. He was born in 1824, and was graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1844. A devotee of the science of war, he became familiar with the best authorities and an accomplished tactician. In person, he was a fine example of physical manhood, high bred, well educated, polished in manners, and of sound judgment and well-known integrity of character. His heroic military achievements attracted the people, and secured for him the large popular vote of 4,442,033, while Garfield received a popular vote of 4,442,950.

The historical procession is still on the march. At this writing we are in the midst of the tumult attending the twenty-fifth Presidential election. The two chief candidates are James G. Blaine, of Maine, and Grover Cleveland, of New York. Mr. Blaine was nominated by the Republican convention which met at Chicago on the 3d day of June: Grover Cleveland was nominated by the Democratic convention at Chicago on the 8th of July. There were other conventions—the "Anti-Monopolists" met at Chicago in May and nominated General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts; the "Greenbackers" convened at Indianapolis during the same month and also nominated General Butler; and the "Prohibitionists" held a convention at Pittsburg, nominating John P. St. John, of Kansas.

The canvass has been exceptional in its principal features. The issues have conspicuously dwindled into personal butchery. In the violence of partisan vituperation and falsification, in journalistic malevolence, in the intensity of popular excitement, the display of campaign rockets and the racket of campaign doggerel, it has had no parallel in any former Presidential struggle. On the 4th of November the question was submitted to the vote of the American people, the result of which was so evenly divided that on the morning of the 5th both of the two great political parties claimed the victory: and as we go to press the final settlement of the important question is still in abeyance.

*Martha J Lamb*

## SIGNIFICANT BEGINNINGS OUT WEST

We of the United States are not yet far enough removed from the beginnings of the Republic to have national antiquities. Just time enough has run by to separate the leaders and founders from the multitude, and to throw a halo around those who did first things for a young country. Their labors and vicissitudes and heroism in planting are now far enough off to be measured, as mountains must be to be well seen. In speaking of the springs of American civilization, Parkman has a very just as well as beautiful remark: "Acting at the sources of life, instruments otherwise weak become mighty for good and evil, and men, lost elsewhere in the crowd, stand forth as agents of Destiny."\*

The life of Daniel Boone is an epitome of the era of the rifle and axe and log-cabin in the youth of the nation. The experiences in his life, as we trace them through the Cumberlands and prairies, and along the Indian trail, and the bridle path between blazed trees, create a marvel in our minds, that we of to-day are living so near to the era of ancient history in America, and yet so far advanced in our development and institutions. Our first things in the building of the nation seem so far away till we begin to lay chronology on them.

This ancient one among the pioneer fathers, and yet a man of yesterday, lived under the Second and Third Georges of old colony times and under the experimental and extempore republic of Transylvania, under the Shawanese, when captured and adopted into the wigwam of Blackfish, and then under the flag of the new republic. When his spirit, overcharged with the restlessness that has carried colonial outposts to the Pacific, took him over the Mississippi, he there lived under the government of Charles IV. of Spain, and then of Napoleon, till the American flag followed him over the great river. Under its protecting folds he spent his last days in quiet, clad in garments spun and woven and made in his own cabin by his ever-enduring pilgrim wife. With wild turkey, venison and buffalo, broiled over his cabin coals, he had no longings for the sumptuous courts under which he had lived; and on softest bed of wolf and bear and beaver skins, won by his inevitable rifle, he slept the sweet sleep of the pioneer. Once he was robbed of it by Audubon, as they run their stories of forest life almost to the gray of the next morning. It was so recently as in 1820 that

\* *Pioneers of France in the New World.* Introduction.





he left his last cabin, and the first legislature of Missouri, then in session, went into adjournment and mourning for that typical backwoodsman of the United States. His biography gives a graphic and well illustrated record of the varieties and vicissitudes and heroism and romance that have entered into the young America of history.

Boone is not solitary material for forest biography, but rather a sample of a large class, some of whom are yet, like him, doing first things for building broader the Republic. In that deep interior, that is, from Albany and Pittsburg and the Cumberland Gap to the Pacific, one fairly read in the history of this country can hardly go amiss of hallowed ground. Here and there he will identify the spots where daring men, and not less heroic women, made the first camp and cabin and furrow, and lifted the first psalm and prayer of the coming Christianity, and cast the first votes for one more State for the Union.

It is sadly true that many graves are leveled and obscured, yet not for reasons that urged at Burial Hill in the first Plymouth ; but an Old Mortality is now and then seen, and guarding them with the epitaph : " Siste, viator, heroam calcas." Patches of plowed fields, strown with arrow heads and human bones, are pointed out, showing how the fathers planted for the harvests of to-day. Localities, and not a few, thrill the traveler and the student of the West, as old colonial fields and houses and foundations do the more venerable scholars of the East.

First dwelling-houses are centers of much interest to the student of local histories. One crosses the mule alley between the church of San Miguel and a dingy, crouching adobe dwelling in Santa Fé. His reverence for antiquity becomes almost oppressive when he reflects that he has crossed over from not only the oldest known ecclesiastical house on the continent, but to a dwelling-house indefinitely older, since the Spaniards found it there, on their first visit to Santa Fé, about 1540. I found it in good repair, with two families, 340 years later. It was an ancient house ninety years before Mr. Blackstone built the first one in Boston.

The growth of Chicago is without parallel in ancient or modern history, whose first and for long time the only house was the rude hut of a negro, Jeane Baptiste Point au Sable, dating from 1796. He claimed the surrounding region as sole owner and occupant. Eighteen years before, Chicago was included in " the County of Illinois in the State of Virginia," which embraced a part of Wisconsin and of Michigan, and the entire States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Now Chicago is the fourth city in the Union, though the first steamer came into her port in 1832. When the first house was built in Yerba Buena, in 1835, the Spanish Mexicans then

in control had no idea that they were founding the magnificent San Francisco, with its quarter of a million of people. The eyes of history, as they have seen the growth of old world cities, must be confused, when, looking back less than half a century on the beginning of this great city, they discover but one lone house among those sand-hills. From its roof the American Flag was first flung to the breeze in California, and under it was born the first child of the coming San Francisco of 250,000.

In the balmy and bracing days of October, when the mountains take on colors and the drooping sky tints as rarely elsewhere in this world, General Larimer built the first house in Denver. It was a log and sod house with dirt roof. This was only so long ago as 1858. Twelve years later, in that same month so fascinating among mountains, the lone cabin saluted us with its growth of forty-seven hundred people. The city was a marvel to us, after a blank prairie ride of six hundred miles. With the coming day chasing us across the prairies, and the mountains before us all aglow in a sunrise that had passed over our heads, the new town lay nestled under the foot-hills. Five years later it received us with the dignity of redoubled numbers, and in 1880 with a population of 35,629. In the amplitude of its plot, occupied and prophetic, with its generous, air-lined streets, beautifully shaded, running toward the prairies and the mountains, and with its graces of architecture and lawns, Denver has few rivals east of the Mississippi. It had a rival, its first year, across the Creek, but its founders won the day, because their buildings "had more style about them in that they were generally of hewn logs." The first child of Denver was born in 1859 and of an Arapahoe mother, hinting of the new ingredients in our American blood, as it flows West over a twelve hundred mile border.

Some of the first failures in our new country are worthy of grateful mention—providences that preëmpted for a coming people, and that served writs of ejectment on intruders. Thus the Louisiana was rescued from the mediæval conservatism of France and Spain. The emigrant across the Mississippi from the States was required to declare himself *un bon Catholique*, and when Protestant clergymen would cross over to hold service, the commandant at St. Louis would say: "You must not put a notice upon your house or call it a church, but if any of your friends choose to meet at your house, sing, pray and talk about religion, you will not be molested, provided you continue, as I suppose you are, *un bon Catholique*.\*" Such influences were then struggling, blindly and vainly, to make that magnificent region up to the northern boundaries of Minnesota and Dakota as the Mexico of to-day.

\* *Adams: Life of Boone*, p. 343.

From an earlier date than this, by more than a century, and long continued, even to an era, the very birth of the Republic was endangered and prohibited. In 1626-7, Richelieu, that monarch who wore a crown by proxy on the head of Louis XIII., organized The One Hundred Associates. They were to found a New France, extending from Florida to the Arctic, and from Newfoundland to the head springs of the Great Lakes. "Every settler," says Parkman, in his "Pioneer of New France," "must be a Frenchman and a Catholic, and for every new settlement at least three ecclesiastics must be provided." The failure of the stupendous scheme of the Cardinal King was lamented by De Tocqueville two hundred years afterward in the usual and mournful refrain of France: "There was a time when we also might have created a French nation in the American wilds, to counterbalance the influence of the English upon the destinies of the New World. France formerly possessed a territory in North America scarcely less extensive than the whole of Europe. The three greatest rivers of that continent then flowed within her dominions. \* \* \* Louisburg, Montmorenci, Duquesne, St. Louis, Vincennes, New Orleans, are words dear to France, and familiar to our ears."\* In 1782, the English and French ambassadors were conferring on the independence of the United States, and Grenville proposed to the Count de Vergennes that they proceed to arrange a general peace between England, France, Spain and the United States on the basis of the independence of the latter and the treaty of 1763. That treaty it was that removed France from the mainland of North America. The Count remarked: "That treaty I can never read without a shudder."† Looking at it from a Republican standpoint, that pivot turning on the Plains of Abraham was a magnificent providence in the interests of improved civilization and the better government of men. It was a subversion and an escape worthy of grateful record among first things by Americans.

The retreat of the French from that magnificent valley was humiliating and pitiable, and draws from all generous hearts the sympathy that honorable feelings always pay to falling greatness. When hopelessly beset by the beleaguering English and their forest allies, the French burned Fort Duquesne in 1758, and retired from the upper Ohio to make the same

\* De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," Bowen's Ed., i. 551.

† Bancroft's Hist. United States, vol. x, p. 543. The same French refrain is expressed by the Vicomte D'Haussonville, representative of France at the Yorktown celebration, 1881. In his "Notes and Impressions," published Paris, 1883, after recalling the French names of many places in the United States, he falls away into a lament that the Empire of France was lost in the New World, and then exclaims: "O France! dear country, and so sadly loved—si douloureusement aimée—are you at length definitely conquered in the great struggle of the nations?"

temporary and futile stand in Fort Massae, forty miles above its mouth. This was the last fortification that France built in North America. At the same time the English rebuilt Fort Duquesne, which was their first military post beyond the Alleghanies, after expelling the French from the Valley. Only four years before, the English flag had crossed the mountains, and it was with great historical fitness that Washington, the almost beardless major of twenty-two years, had carried it over and planted it. By the treaty of 1763, even so soon, it waved supreme from the great lakes almost to the Gulf of Mexico.

But if these great and primitive facts in the origin of the Republic are all spread out in detail, we shall have a history of the United States instead of the proposed chapter of sketches. We must hasten over the field of first things on selected stepping-stones, suggesting rather than unfolding. The line of first facts, like kernels of seed grain in the drill and furrow, will show how we come by the grand Western harvests of to-day.

While the French had secured a position and made their first settlement in Texas by building Fort St. Louis there as early as 1685, they did not introduce cotton culture into their new France till 1750, nor the sugar-mill till eight years later. The sugar plantation of Dubreuil then covered what is now the lower portion of New Orleans, and there the first sugar mill in America was operated. In 1763, Laclede, a Frenchman, received authority at New Orleans to assume the monopoly of the fur trade on the Missouri, and to plant a fort for its protection. In February following he felled the first trees for his new town on the limestone bluff where St. Louis now stands. Then the only white settlement west of the Mississippi was St. Genevieve, sixty miles below. Meanwhile, between the time when his grant was made and the founding of the town, Louisiana was conveyed to the Spanish, and so St. Louis was founded in trespass, by a Frenchman, on Spanish soil, and it was a long time before the sale was known in the valley. In 1765 the first cargo of sugar was exported to France, and it was so poorly manufactured that one-half of it was lost by leakage on the voyage.

It will be remembered that at this time, and from 1763 to 1800, Louisiana belonged to Spain, and in 1769 the Spanish power was so far advanced that Spanish was made the official language for judicial records. This was done in a stormy time and in the turn of the tide from the French to the Spanish régime. The excitement and strong national feelings involved made the transfer of authority at New Orleans one of much peril, and only the presence of 4,500 Spanish troops and the retiring

French forces made the lowering of the French flag, till then delayed, an orderly proceeding. The population of the province at this time was 10,348, of whom almost half, 4,792, were African slaves; and the exports the same year were \$250,000.

In 1773 the first survey for white settlements was made on the Kentucky, and Boone led in his own and four other families. His wife and two daughters were the first American women to locate on "the dark and bloody ground." Seven years later, Gen. George Roger Clark, so renowned and honored in our frontier life, built a block house where Cincinnati now stands, and in 1788 the city was founded. This was the beginning of that city of 255,000 people in 1880.

English-speaking emigrants have been accustomed to carry with them the printing press, under the conviction of its immense worth for good interests. The founders of the Republic were not tardy in appreciating the power of the newspaper press, and Jefferson expressed the views of many of them when he said: "I would rather live in a country with newspapers, and without a government, than in a country with a government, but without newspapers." Napoleon pays the same tribute to their power in the remark attributed to him: "Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a hundred thousand bayonets." And before Napoleon's day, when printing began to give a free Bible, the ignorant and illiterate and dominating monks cried out against it, and the vicar of Croydon, in Surrey, then preaching at St. Paul's Cross, said: "We must root out printing, or printing will root us out."\*

We are not surprised, therefore, to find the first number of the *Pittsburg Gazette*, bearing the early date of July 29, 1786. This was the first newspaper published west of the Alleghanies.

"The circular, addressed to the militia companies in December, 1784, was in manuscript copies, as was also the address of the Convention to the people in August, 1785. \* \* \* Heretofore the whole western country on the Ohio, south of Pittsburg, could not boast a single newspaper or periodical."†

In 1792 Kentucky, into which, only nineteen years before, Boone had led the first five white families, was admitted as a State to the Union. In such close step did great events march along in those days, as they have ever since, "out West."

Back of telephones and telegraphs, and steamboats and locomotives, in

\* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i, p. 927.

† Monette, *His. Miss. Valley*, ii. 174.

that deep interior, what quiet must have reigned ! In the year 1800 and prior, eight or ten keel-boats, of about twenty-five tons each, performed all the carrying between Pittsburg and Cincinnati. The first steamer was not launched at the former city till 1811, nor on Lake Michigan till 1826.

Among first things stands pre-eminent the tour of Mackenzie from Montreal to the Pacific in 1793, as being the first made across the continent. Three years after this Chillicothe was founded, and the following passage from Monette concerning it suggests wonderful contrasts with the conditions of life now, as they were ninety years ago, in the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley : " The first town west of the mountains which was built in peace and quietude, and not requiring the protection of stockades and forts against Indian hostilities."\*

It is only a short time after, 1806, that the English follow up the explorations of the great fur trader, and Simon Frazer established a trading post on the lake bearing his name. This was the first post founded by the English west of the Rocky Mountains.

Two years after another of those great steps was taken which so mark the growth of a nation ; for the United States then ordered the English language to be the legal language in the Louisiana Territory. Therefore, the court records in New Orleans stand first in French, then in Spanish, and since 1808 in English. And soon, in a widely distant section, two events record the entrance of the nation for a habitation on the Pacific coast. In 1811, three years after English is ordered as the court language west of the Mississippi, timber is cut on the Columbia for Astoria, and the first schooner is built, and that by the irrepressible Americans, on the northwest coast. The first steamboat was launched the same year at Pittsburg.

It is not a record very creditable and honorable to humanity that the means of civilization are so generally accompanied with the means of destruction. Yet, as settlements have pressed the frontier westward, military occupation and defenses have kept pace, and the bridle path and Indian trail have early become the highways for the supplies of war.

In 1826, Mr. W. H. Ashley, of St. Louis, who had opened an Indian trade three years before on Green River, and the year before near Salt Lake, took out a six-pound cannon to the latter post. This is supposed to be the first ever taken over into the Great Basin. Wagons soon followed. In 1829, Messrs. Smith, Jackson & Sublette, fur traders, left St. Louis with wagons, which were taken as far as the traders' Grand Rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains. " This is the first time that wagons ever

\* Vol. ii., p. 315.



went to the Rocky Mountains, and the ease and safety with which it was done proved the facility of communicating overland with the Pacific Ocean."\*

So rapidly the cannon followed the rifle, and wheels the saddle, and then the locomotive, on the Oregon Trail.

The year 1832 is marked in the frontier annals for several first things. This year the first steamer went up as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone, on the Missouri. The American Fur Company had there a trading post, and this steamer was in their employ, and on its first trip carried so far toward their mountain home on the Upper Oregon the two Nez Percés Indians who had come the long trail to St. Louis for the white man's Book, to tell them of the white man's God. This steamer also carried Catlin, renowned for his Indian portraits and biographies. It will always be regretted that Congress, lavish of money in so many ways, did not make the Indian portrait gallery of this historic painter safe against fire. Its irreparable loss, however, is quite in keeping with the humiliating history of the American Indians. About this time Mr. Wyeth and company commenced Fort Hall on the Snake or Lewis branch of the Columbia, one hundred miles north of Salt Lake. As a rival in the Indian trade, and to ruin the American enterprise, the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort Boisé, farther down the stream, and where the Boisé or Read's River empties into the Snake. By underselling and forest plotting they ruined Mr. Wyeth and took Fort Hall, and held it quite successfully against American immigration as the gateway to Oregon, till Dr. Whitman opened a highway by it.

"About the time of Wyeth's expedition also took place the earliest emigrations from the United States to the territories of the Columbia, for the purpose of settlement, and without any special commercial objects." †

The first successful and permanent colony was planted 1834, in the Willamette Valley, and under the religious leading of the Methodists. Two years before, that country had begun to be called Oregon, and that important name had taken its place in history.

Other leading outposts of the coming West were taken in those fruitful years, and growth was marked at many points on the magnificent curve of our border. In June, 1833, the first Anglo-Americans settled Dubuque, and before the year closed the town numbered five hundred. It took its name from Julien Dubuque, the early proprietor of the "Spanish Mines" on the upper Mississippi, included in a tract of 103,680 acres on the west bank of that river, which he obtained from the Indians in 1788, and which

\* Oregon: Its History. By Rev. Gustavus Hines. 1851. Buffalo. p. 409.

† Greenhow. His. Oregon and California, p. 360.

was confirmed to him by Baron Carondelet and the seal of the King of Spain in 1796.

It was long after this pressure into the Northwest that the light of letters and the encroachment of American civilization began to show over our borders on the southwest. The first printing press was set up in New Mexico in 1835, and on the twenty-ninth of November in that year the first number of the first newspaper was issued in that territory—*El Crepuscula*, and of letter-cap size; Cura Martinez, of Taos, proprietor. It lived only four weeks. American trade, especially from St. Louis, had now been active many years as far as Santa Fé. The newspaper would seem to have been well called *The Dawn* under those dark and illiterate shadows, if one considers how light has flooded that region between 1833 and 1883—a marvelous half century for New Spain.

The first goods came overland to New Mexico from Kaskaskia, Illinois, in 1804, by Baptiste La Lande; in 1812 more came by another company, who were arrested as spies, and the goods confiscated. In 1822 trade to New Mexico from the Missouri became established; in 1825 the United States surveyed a route from Fort Osage, in Missouri, to Taos; in 1829 Bent's Fort was built on the Arkansas, and in 1832 Bent and St. Vrain, of St. Louis, established themselves as traders at Taos; in 1846 the "Adobe Palace" at Santa Fé was said to be the only house in New Mexico that had window-glass; and on the 18th of August in that year General Kearny took peaceable possession of it and of New Mexico for the United States, and February 9, 1880, the cars of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé road entered that city—the oldest on the continent known to Americans.

It was in 1839 that such a beacon light was set up on the northwest coast, and its first printing press was a gift back to America from our Christian missions in the Sandwich Islands—bread cast upon the Pacific waters, and returning after not many days.

In speaking of first things, the little item is sometimes as suggestive as the great, in showing beginnings, and in furnishing the waymarks of growth. To the thoughtful, therefore, the fact will be helpful, in marking the stages of progress westward, that the first family carriage beyond the Mississippi was that of General William Clark, of the Oregon Expedition of Lewis and Clark. He was Indian agent and brigadier-general in upper Louisiana, Governor of Missouri Territory till it became a State, and afterward Superintendent of Indian Affairs till he died, in 1838. In 1840 that first carriage in Louisiana was sold for a trifle at auction. So young are the United States, that our antiquities and historical relics are so recent as to be worthless.



But one more fact will be mentioned as showing the germs and beginnings of the incidental forces that have contributed to the development of the Republic, and that have marked off the eras of growth in different sections. In the very primeval and pre-organic days of Oregon, when the civil state was "without form and void," certain men formed the "Wolf Association," out of which came the first forms of civil government there. They also founded a circulating library for the education of the people, and still later the same gentlemen constituted the Oregon Printing Association. On the fifth of February, 1846, this association published, at Oregon City, the first newspaper ever issued on the Pacific Coast. The printing press had arrived six years before, and had been doing good work. It does not seem possible, when we consider the daily and weekly and quarterly publications of Oregon and California, and the scholarly and massive volumes written and published on the western coast, as Bancroft's "Native Races of the Pacific States," five volumes octavo, that it is only thirty-eight years since the first newspaper was issued west of the Rocky Mountains. The marvel grows on us as we group the first three newspapers—the first between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains in 1786; the first in New Mexico and our vast New West in 1835; the first beyond the Rocky Mountains in 1846. In 1880 Oregon had seventy-four periodicals, of which seven were dailies, fifty-nine were weeklies, and six were monthlies, with two unclassified. Only the three wheat grains of Cortez can afford an ample illustration of the growths from those three printing presses. His slave had found three kernels in the imported rice, and planted them. As the increase we have the thirty thousand wheat acres of Dalrymple, the 1,440,000 bushels as the product of the Dr. Glen farm in California in one year, the mill power of Minnesota to manufacture into flour 56,000,000 of bushels of wheat a year, the mill power of Minneapolis alone to produce 16,000 barrels of flour a day. These germs of the nation and this planting season of the Republic, still continued and with increasing activity, furnish a fascinating field for study for the intelligent American.



READING, MASS.



## ZAMBA'S PLOT

### A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF NEW ORLEANS

The years 1729 and 1730 were exciting periods in the history of the colony of Louisiana. The massacre of the French at Fort Rosalie by the Natchez Indians already had thrown the colonists into confusion, and in 1730 an additional source of alarm arose in the little city of New Orleans by the discovery of a plot among the slaves, which had for its purpose, as was shown by developments, the destruction of the French settlers and the occupation of their lands. At the head of this plot was a native African, who appears to have possessed more than the ordinary intelligence of his race, and to have figured in his own country as a leader and warrior of considerable repute. His name was Zamba, and he performed the duties of first *commandeur*, or overseer, at the *habitation du roi* or King's Plantation, formerly called the Company's Plantation, situated opposite New Orleans, where is now the town of Algiers. Zamba was, moreover, one in whom the manager of the plantation, M. Le Page du Pratz (from whose "Histoire de la Louisiane" the facts of this narrative are drawn) reposed great confidence.

A lull had occurred in the warfare against the Natchez Indians undertaken by M. Périer, the colonial governor, in consequence of the massacre at Fort Rosalie, and the authorities of the colony were awaiting the arrival from France of the reinforcements in troops which had been solicited by the India Company's agents in Louisiana. It was in this interval that Zamba conceived the idea of his plot, the discovery and frustration of which were simple enough in comparison with the perils involved. The active agent, the amateur detective, as it were, in this discovery, was M. Le Page himself.

Among the laborers in the brick-yard connected with the plantation was a negro woman. A soldier of the garrison in New Orleans having repeatedly endeavored to induce this woman to bring him fire wood, offering to remunerate her for her trouble, she as persistently refused. Finally becoming exasperated at her refusals, the soldier one day slapped her. Smarting under the blow, the woman exclaimed in her anger, speaking in the *patois* of her class—a *patois* which may still be heard every day in the streets of New Orleans—" *Hé, soldat ! To frappé mouin asteire ! Eh bien ! Français la-yé pas bat' neg'e long-temps non ! To tendé mouin, n'est-*

*ce-pas ?* " (Hey, soldier ! You strike me now ! But you Frenchmen won't beat the negroes long—no. You hear me, don't you ?)

This speech was overheard by several bystanders and led to the woman's arrest. The Governor, before whom she was taken, ordered her to be put in prison. She was visited there by the Criminal-Lieutenant, who questioned her, but without gaining any satisfactory replies to his interrogatories.

M. Le Page having been informed of the arrest, sought the Governor, who said to him that, no information having been obtained from the woman except that she uttered the objectionable words in anger, without any ulterior motive, nothing could be done with her.

"I am of the opinion, Monsieur le Gouverneur," replied M. Le Page philosophically, "that a man in his cups and an angry woman are more likely to tell the truth than a falsehood. I apprehend, therefore, that a plot is on foot, and that it cannot be carried out without some of the people on the King's Plantation being concerned in it." He then proposed to charge himself with the task of discovering it and nipping it in the bud, without causing any excitement in the city, already troubled by the agitation growing out of the Natchez war. The Governor and his advisers approved of the idea, and M. Le Page began that very night to put his plan into execution.

At an hour when he had reason to believe the plantation hands asleep, he sought their quarters, accompanied by a lad, one of his servants. They went quietly from cabin to cabin until they reached one in which a fire was burning. In this cabin was Zamba, with two companions, one of whom was the second overseer. The occupants of the cabin were conversing over the details of their projected enterprise, and were cautioning each other not to make their plans known to the other hands until within two or three days of the day of the contemplated rising.

Peering through the crevices of the door, M. Le Page inspected the conspirators as they sat in the light cast by the flickering flames of a pine-knot fire. The first remark he heard came from Zamba.

"Many of our people," he said, "like Mr. Le Page and these would not fail to betray us. I have spoken already to so-and-so"—naming two of the plantation hands—"on whom we can count with safety."

M. Le Page was astonished to hear his confidential overseer thus discourse ; but he controlled his feelings in order to hear what his second overseer, whose name was Guey, and who had begun to speak, had to say.

"I spoke to such-a-one," said Guey, "and I am sure of him. He told me that we must be careful about speaking too soon to the others."

Before the conference broke up M. Le Page had heard enough to know that eight of his men, including the three in the cabin, already were in the secret, and that they had determined to say nothing to the others until certain of the hands who were then up the river in the Illinois country, and who, it was thought could influence a great many of their friends to join in the plot, should return to the plantation. Of the eight engaged in the affair M. Le Page so far knew the names of only six.

When the plotters separated they bade each other good-night, with the promise to meet at the same place at the same hour on the next night.

The next morning M. Le Page wrote to M. Périer, informing him of his discovery and suggesting that the eight men be arrested promptly, and on the same day, so as to prevent the further spread of the agitation. The Governor replied to his note, saying that as soon as he should request assistance a detachment of soldiers would be sent to the plantation with such officers as M. Le Page might name.

The same night, about 10 o'clock, the watchful M. Le Page was again at his post. On this occasion the little cabin was quite crowded, as the entire eight were gathered there. The result of the meeting was that the plotters decided to limit the number of those admitted to a knowledge of what was in prospect to their own circle until the harvest season should be over, at which time they could obtain hundreds of recruits.

That night, before going to bed, M. Le Page arranged with his French overseer for the arrest, separately, on the next day, of the eight culprits. He instructed him to distribute the plantation hands in six different localities about the place, assigning to each detachment one of the plotters, whose name was given to the overseer, together with the gang to which he was to be assigned.

At daybreak he wrote to Governor Périer, informing him that he knew the names of the eight men concerned in the plot, and that he had taken steps to cause the arrest of each one of them without the knowledge of the others. "I do not need," he wrote further, "either troops or officers, but I should like to have the co-operation of the captain of the port, in whom we both have confidence. I beg you, in addition, to order the officers of the guard to be careful to station four strong and active soldiers in front of the prison, with instructions to make a pretence of wrestling and throwing each other about as if in play. As soon as these soldiers shall perceive the captain of the port pass by them, they are to seize, as if in sport, Zamba, who will be following this officer, and push him into the prison. After dark I will have the other prisoners brought over the river." On the receipt of this letter the Governor gave orders to the captain of the port,

a gentleman named Livandais, and to the officer of the guard, to carry out the requests of M. Le Page.

When M. Le Page's canoe had left the plantation for New Orleans with his letter to the Governor, he sent word to the blacksmith of the plantation, who already had prepared the manacles intended for the men whom it was intended to arrest, to meet him at the landing. When the blacksmith came in response to the summons, M. Le Page directed him to conceal himself in a store-house near the landing, wherein were kept axes, picks, and other implements of labor. He then despatched his young servant to where one of the gangs of laborers was at work, with orders to the plotter, who was with that special gang, to report at once at the landing. When the man came in obedience to the order, M. Le Page told him to go to the store-house and bring him an ax. As the man entered the building, the blacksmith, who knew what he had to do, stopped him, and at the same moment M. Le Page, appearing at the threshold of the door, with pistol in hand, ordered the blacksmith to put the manacles on his wrists. He was then taken to a retired spot.

The five other plotters were secured and ironed as the first one had been, and so quietly had all the proceedings been conducted that none of their companions was able to solve the mystery of their sudden disappearance. By ten o'clock all the preliminaries had been completed, and at eleven M. Livandais arrived from the city and joined M. Le Page at the plantation landing.

"What means the Governor?" asked M. Livandais as he greeted M. Le Page. "He has informed me that you purpose, with my assistance alone, to arrest eight men whom you suspect of being engaged in a plot to massacre and pillage."

"The Governor has told you the truth," replied M. Le Page. "We shall have no trouble in getting the plotters to prison. Six of them are secured already. The seventh I will attend to myself. I will only ask you to see to the arrest of Zamba, my first overseer and the ring-leader in the plot."

M. Le Page then proceeded to lay before M. Livandais the details of a plan that he had devised to secure Zamba's arrest without exciting any suspicion or raising an alarm. This plan was, in brief, that M. Livandais should return to New Orleans at four o'clock that afternoon, having Zamba in his canoe with him. On reaching New Orleans, and making a landing at the foot of the Rue du Gouvernement, M. Livandais was to manage so as to pass in front of the prison, followed by Zamba, whom the soldiers stationed there should playfully seize and hurry into the prison. The plan, as thus outlined, was carried out to the letter. Zamba was made a

prisoner without his knowing it, and what had seemed to him a playful freak of romping soldiers proved to be in the end his death-warrant. As to Guey, the eighth and last of the plotters, M. Le Page caused him to be put in irons in the course of the day; and after dark the seven prisoners were sent to New Orleans. They were met at the landing, at the foot of the Rue du Corps-de-Garde, by the officer of the guard and eight musketeers, and were conducted to prison. During these proceedings the Governor, the Criminal-Lieutenant and all the officers of the post were at the Government House, in readiness for any emergency. But so carefully had the details of the secret arrest of the leaders of the plot been carried out, that none of the population, either black or white, knew of what had happened, except the few who were aware of what was to be done.

The next day the prisoners were put to the torture of what was called the *mèches ardentes* to extort from them a confession. They would say nothing, however, to implicate themselves, notwithstanding the torture was applied to them several times.

While the prisoners were thus suffering at the hands of the authorities, M. Le Page was investigating the history of some of the plotters. In this way he learned that Zamba, in his own country, had given the French a good deal of trouble in heading a revolt that had driven away the French from Fort d'Arguin, and that when this fort was recovered by M. Périer de Salvart (a brother of Governor Périer), one of the principal articles of the treaty that followed was that Zamba should be sold into slavery in America. He also learned that Zamba, while on his way to Louisiana on board the ship *Annibal*, had plotted with others of his race aboard to kill the ship's officers and crew; but the latter, becoming aware of this, had put them all in irons until the arrival of the vessel at New Orleans.

The facts thus developed regarding Zamba were set forth by M. Le Page in a statement which he submitted to the Criminal-Lieutenant. The next day this functionary had Zamba brought before him. He read to him M. Le Page's statement, again threatening him with the torture of the *mèches ardentes* in case of a refusal to confess.

"*Qui mouri dit vous ça ?*" (Who told you that?) asked Zamba when the Criminal-Lieutenant had read the statement to him.

"Never mind who told me of these things," replied the officer. "Are they not true?"

Zamba, however, persisted in asking him for his source of information. Finally he was told that it was M. Le Page.

"*Ah !*" he exclaimed, "*Miché Li Page—li djabe !*" (Ah! M. Le Page is the devil!) "*Li connaît tout !*" (He knows everything!)

Having thus admitted tacitly the truth of the accusations against him, Zamba made a clean breast of the plot in all its ramifications. The other prisoners were then brought forward, and they in their turn confessed. Thereupon sentence was passed upon them. The men were condemned to be broken on the wheel, and the woman was sentenced to be hanged in their presence. They were executed in the public square of the city—afterward called the Place d'Armes, and now known as Jackson Square—where in the colonial days all the executions took place. With their death the alarm and perturbation of spirit that the plot had caused passed away.

Some evidence of the extent of this plot may be obtained from the pages of "Martin's History of Louisiana." After describing how emissaries had been sent from the negroes who, after the Natchez massacre, had taken refuge among the Chickasaws, to those of their race in Mobile, New Orleans, and along the coast, urging them to rise against the French, the author continues:

"On the plantation opposite the city, lately the property of the Company, but now of the King, there were upward of two hundred and fifty hands. Several of these were seduced, and the contagion spread with considerable rapidity up the coast, where, in the vicinity of the city, there were some estates with gangs of from thirty to forty slaves. Meetings were held without the notice of the French, the blacks improving the opportunity, unsuspectingly furnished them by their owners, to assemble in nightly parties for dancing and recreation.

"At last, a night was fixed on, in which, on pretexts like these, the blacks of the upper plantations were to collect on those near the city, at one time, but on various points, and entering it from all sides, they were to destroy all white men, and securing and confining the women and children in the church, expecting to possess themselves of the King's arms and magazine, and thus have the means of resisting the planters when they came down, and carrying on conflagration and slaughter on the coast. \* \* \* Fortunately, the motions of an incautious fellow were noticed by a negro woman, belonging to a Dr. Brasset; she gave such information to her master as led to the discovery of the plot. Four men and a woman, who were the principal agents in it, were detected and seized. The men were broken on the wheel, and their heads stuck on posts at the upper and lower end of the city, the Tchoupitoulas and the King's plantation: the woman was hung. This timely severity prevented the mischief."

NEW ORLEANS, La.

*Charles Drury.*

## "TOM THE TINKER" IN HISTORY

The aim of this paper is to avoid theorizing upon the tariff question. The public are sated with that mode of treatment. It is proposed to briefly exhibit the continual changes in tariff legislation which have occurred since the formation of the government, and to indicate what kind of protection it was that statesmen and thinkers supported during various national crises. Although the great crime of nullification or secession cannot be palliated, and although the Southern people may have desired by the establishment of free trade to supply their slaves with cheap clothing and cheap food—to make free trade, in short, a prop beneath the tottering institution of slavery—still it may be suggested that burying their motives and forgetting their act, their leaders did advance some telling arguments against the "American system." The further attempt is here made to group some historical facts and present them in unassuming sequence, demonstrating that protection, gauged by the light of events and common sense, cannot be called a "system"—since the tariff laws have been changed on an average once in every three years from the meeting of the first Congress of the United States. It cannot be proved that when protection has been the highest the prosperity of the country has always been at the lowest ebb; for neither protection nor free trade can alone decide a country's condition, but rather a happy combination of such forces as public and private confidence, bountiful crops, good and plentiful money, widely extended and cheap transportation facilities, and a sufficient and steady demand for home products and manufactures. Several of these elements combined may produce "good times" in spite of high protective duties or pure free trade; if several of them are missing, neither policy might bring prosperity; if all of them are absent, neither of them possibly could.

The first Congress under the constitution met at New York City, March 4, 1789. For twenty-five days the House of Representatives was without a quorum, and the Senate failed to organize for twenty-nine days. Finally on the 11th of April, the Chief Justice administered the oaths of office in the Lower House; but before the rules of order had been perfected and while the solemn measure was pending "to regulate the appointment of chaplains," a species of legislation was rudely precipitated upon the country which has vexed it ever since and at times well nigh ruined it as a nation. The first action ever taken by Congress in response



to a direct request of the people was upon a petition of the tradesmen, manufacturers and others of the town of Baltimore, "praying an imposition of such duties on all foreign articles which can be made in America, as will give a just and decided preference to the labors of the petitioners; and that there may be granted to them, in common with the other manufacturers and mechanics of the United States, such relief as in the wisdom of Congress may appear proper." The petition was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union. On the 13th the shipwrights of Charleston stated that they were in great distress and prayed to be protected. The mechanics and manufacturers of the city of New York represented, on the 18th inst., that their affairs were also in a deplorable state. They looked with confidence to the operations of the new government for entire relief, and subjoined a list of such articles as could be manufactured in the State of New York. The Committee of the Whole House soon reported, presenting a schedule of duties to be imposed upon goods imported into the United States and a heavy tax upon foreign vessels. The printer's ink was hardly dry before complaints commenced to pour into Congressional ears from the various interests which the government would protect. The merchants and traders of Portland, Maine, asserted that the duty on molasses operated injuriously on all the New England States, would be attended with pernicious results to their manufactures, and prayed that this article should be free. The distillers in and near Philadelphia suggested that a greater difference in the proposed duties on imported rum and molasses would be of advantage to the whole United States. Thus the clash of conflicting interests was already heard and the "tinkering" of the tariff had been inaugurated. Commerce, agriculture and manufactures, puny sisters in distress, all lifted up their voices and begged to be cared for by government. This first tariff bill, which would now be considered "pure free trade," received the signature of President Washington on the Fourth of July, 1789, and was the second act approved by him. It is such a bill as might have been expected at a time when Alexander Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury and Thomas Jefferson Secretary of State, and neither had a preponderance of influence in the nation's councils. And thus it happened, for a brief period, that the fatherly and benign nature of Washington was grounded upon the blessed belief that \* equal protection to all industries had become the settled

\* See the following from Washington's first annual address of January 8, 1790: "The advancement of agriculture, commerce and manufactures by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation; but I cannot forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement, as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions in skill and genius in producing them at home."



policy of the country and that she had bravely and generously resolved to welcome to her young bosom the skill and genius of the world. But the pressure of just Revolutionary claims and the expenses of the Indian campaign were causes of serious embarrassment to an almost empty treasury, and notwithstanding the unqualified attitude previously assumed by Mr. Hamilton \* a foolish attempt was made by the General Government at direct taxation and the enforcement of an excise law. The result was the revolution which extended over a large portion of the then western United States and threatened in 1794 to disrupt the nation. The rebels took the name of "Tom the Tinker's" party, and although subdued, their spirit passed into the souls of many legislators, who, in after years, strove after the impossibility of patching up an artificial system of protection which should satisfy the most diverse interests.

The Jay treaty brought about a better feeling between Great Britain and the United States, and it is also certain that the degree of firmness with which amity was cemented between these two countries determined the extent of the rupture between America and France. When John Adams took the reins of government from President Washington, in 1797, war seemed inevitable, and his policy, as announced in his inaugural address of March, was to "improve agriculture, commerce and manufactures for necessity, convenience and defense." But France had too much to attend to at home to give us serious trouble, and with the establishment of a formal peace and the fall of the Federal Administration, Jeffersonian ideas succeeded the Hamiltonian reign. The leader of the Republican party cast aside all the trappings of aristocracy which so fittingly adorned the serene and dignified administration of Washington, and declared war against high taxes in times of peace. "Sound principles," he said in his annual address of December, 1801, "will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure for wars to happen, we know not when, *and which might not perhaps happen but from the temptation offered by that treasure.*" \* \* \* "Agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are most thriving when left free to individual enterprise. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be seasonably interposed."

The peace brought about by the Jay treaty expired by limitation in 1802, and remembering the conflict between France and England, the Embargo act of this country, retaliatory measures by Great Britain, and the oppressions of our commerce by both the belligerents, there was no period from that time up to the actual declaration of the War of 1812

\* Alexander Hamilton "Concerning Taxation" in "Federalist," No. XII.

when the country would have been surprised at the breaking out of hostilities with either of the nations across the water. The tariff bill of 1804 was a decided increase of duties over that of 1800, and was to remain in force eight years. About two weeks before war was declared a tariff bill was passed increasing the percentage on imports about ten per cent. over that of 1800, and seven per cent. over that of 1804. Madison, therefore, in 1809 declared that the country should "promote by authorized means improvements friendly to agriculture, to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce."

Before the triumphant conclusion of this war one of the great statesmen of modern times had taken the lead in the policy which was to be the cause of so many sad and almost fatal heart-burnings. At the Congressional session of 1809-10, Henry Clay made his first speech for protection upon the bill appropriating money for the national defense, one clause instructing the Secretary of the Treasury in purchasing cordage, sail-cloth, hemp, etc., to give preference to that produced in America. The war came, and peace followed in 1815. The infant manufactures of the country were paralyzed, and such enormous quantities of English goods were imported that our markets were glutted. The tariff of 1816 raised the duties on cotton goods, and Mr. Clay now had the able support of John C. Calhoun, who believed that the price of the raw material would advance with the increase in cost of the manufactured goods. In this tariff the foundations of the protective system were more firmly laid; and for forty years pressed on by powerful corporations which were daily growing in wealth the great compromiser applied the force of his splendid genius to the up-building of the "American System" and the healing of Southern wounds. The Monroe administration was charmed into the adoption of these harnessed but unmated policies, and committed itself to the task of driving them together and drawing the nation along in peace and prosperity. The "era of good feeling" was the calm before the coming storm whose rumblings were heard upon the passage of the high tariff of 1824. The South now saw her mistake in supporting the system which had for its object the exclusion of those foreign goods manufactured from her raw material. But Mr. Clay still fought for his "system," and maintained that the distress of the country would be relieved by creating a home demand for labor, provisions and material. New England had not then become the undisputed manufacturing mart, and led by her giant champion, Daniel Webster, took the most advanced ground for free trade.\* He disputed Mr. Clay's

\* In one of Mr. Webster's speeches in the House opposing the bill of 1824 occurs the following philosophical and manly passage: "The best apology for laws of prohibition and laws of mo-

charge of universal distress, and also the efficacy of his remedy, intimating that his high protection was worthy only of dark and sluggish ages. Massachusetts voted against the measure of 1824, with the exception of one member. She spoke through her greatest leader and voted from principles of justice, not from motives of selfish and immediate gain. Pennsylvania with her iron, New York and Ohio with their wool, Kentucky with her hemp, Missouri and Illinois with their lead, cast their votes for the policy of sectionalism and future hatred and sedition. However much representatives in Congress might be opposed to the patchwork called the "System of Protection," the pressure upon their individuality was fatal to any expression of their honest sentiments at the time; at least one honest and prominent advocate, however, in the fearless retirement of old age has left upon record the naked truth of his position, could it have been determined by principle.\* The "Solid South" opposed the bill, which nevertheless passed; for Henry Clay was the Alexander Hamilton of his times.

What, then, had been the result of "Tom the Tinker's" work up to 1824? The East and the South were arrayed against the Middle and the Western States.

The Adams administration was but the virtual continuation of Mr. Clay's policy, his influence in national affairs being formally recognized by his appointment as Secretary of State. The country waxed daily in strength and increased in population. The hardy and growing people of New England had partially abandoned their sterile fields and were giving their attention to their manufactures. The nation was at peace and was not even threatened with foreign complications. The crops were good in the Southern and Middle States. In addition to the natural stimulus given to all branches of industry, government had specially taken manufactures in hand as her favorite child; consequently when the tariff came up again for periodical treatment, New England was for "fair play and an open field" no longer. Her powerful monopolies had even pressed down the philosophy and independence of Daniel Webster. New England had held back and opposed the policy of protection, he said; but it was

monopoly will be found in that state of society not only unenlightened but sluggish, in which they are most generally established. Private industry in those days (the early and rude days of England) required strong provocatives, which government was seeking to administer by these means. Something was wanted to actuate and stimulate men, and the prospects of such profits as would in our times excite unbounded competition would hardly move the stock of former ages. \* \* \* But our age is wholly of a different character, and its legislation takes another turn. Society is full of excitement; competition comes in place of monopoly; and intelligence and industry ask only for fair play and an open field."

\* Thomas H. Benton's "Thirty Years in the United States Senate" page 97.

forced upon her by the will of others. While the bill of 1828 was before the Senate he thus explained her change of attitude: "New England, sir, has not been a leader in this policy. On the contrary she held back herself, and tried to hold others back from it from the adoption of the constitution to 1824. Up to 1824 she was accused of sinister and selfish designs, because she discountenanced the progress of this policy. It was laid to her charge, then, that having established her manufactures herself, she wished that others should not have the power of rivaling her, and for that reason opposed all legislative encouragement. Under this angry denunciation against her, the act of 1824 passed. Now the imputation is precisely of an opposite character. The present measure is pronounced to be exclusively for the benefit of New England; to be brought forward by her agency and designed to gratify the cupidity of her wealthy establishments. \* \* \*

After a whole winter's deliberation the act of 1824 received the sanction of both houses of Congress, and settled the policy of the country. What, then, was New England to do? She was fitted for manufacturing operations by the amount and character of her population, by her capital, by the vigor and energy of her free labor; by the skill, economy, enterprise and perseverance of her people. I repeat, what was she, under these circumstances, to do? A great and prosperous rival in her near neighborhood, threatening to draw from her a part, perhaps a great part, of her foreign commerce, was she to use or to neglect those other means of seeking her own prosperity which belonged to her character and her condition. Was she to hold out forever against the course of the government and see herself losing on one side, and yet making no efforts to sustain herself on the other? No, sir. Nothing was left to New England, after the act of 1824, but to conform herself to the will of others. Nothing was left for her, but to consider that the government had fixed and determined its own policy; and that policy was protection."

How was the mighty fallen! In other words, the genius to see aright is quite another thing in a philosophical statesman from *acting* aright when he observes that the action according to the right is the ruin of his ambitious hopes. With New England, his constituency, demanding protection, the lion was in the hands of a cruel god. What was he to do? Forget his grand and free utterances of 1824 and become a part of the machine. That is what he did.

The bill of 1828 passed, and the Solid North was arrayed against the Solid South. Then was firmly planted the seeds of nullification; then was conceived the hideous Rebellion of 1861.

The popular verdict, as indicated by the presidential election of 1828,

was against a further continuation of the "American System"; for the Adams-Clay administration gave place to the Jackson-Calhoun régime. President Jackson, noting the rapid reduction of the national debt and the bitter spirit growing up in the South, molded his sentiments after the fatherly, compromising disposition of the early rulers.\* He wished to combine the economical democratic policy of Jefferson with the equal-protection-to-all-interests of Washington, Adams and Monroe. With Calhoun as Vice-President, who stood second in popular favor with the people of the country, it would certainly appear that every one had just grounds for expecting that the immediate future of legislation would tend toward a reduction in the revenues. A bill looking to this end did pass in July, 1832, and was to take effect in March of the next year. But, the election over and Jackson being returned for a second term, the people declared themselves in favor of a general lightening of taxes and the abolition of the high protective system. The country demanded a more radical measure than the petty reduction of \$3,000,000 in revenue. But the "system" had been saddled upon the North as firmly as the hideous institution of slavery was fixed upon the South. As had been noticed by Webster, the truth was now more than ever apparent that the energy, the industry, and the hardy genius of the North fitted it for manufactures; while the easier disposition and the slave labor of the South made it an agricultural section. To protect the North from the competition of foreign markets, Congress had closed those same markets to the products of the South. The institution of protection was as repugnant to the South, in a business way, as the institution of slavery was, in a moral sense, to many of the people of the North. In vain, during the four years from 1828 to 1832, had the Southern leaders in Congress and the legislatures of Virginia, Georgia, North and South Carolina and Mississippi sent forth their protests and breathed forth their threatenings. But although the infant manufactures of the North had already reached grand opulence, the cry now was, "Remove the tariff, our protection, and you ruin us and the country." The South replied, "Do something of the kind, or *we* are ruined people." The triumphant re-election of Jackson in 1832 determined the rash course of the agriculturist. South Carolina fired the first gun in the great conflict between the North and the South and proclaimed in her nullifying ordinance of November, 1832, that "the tariff must go." Addresses were issued by the South Carolina convention declaring for free markets and free trade, but setting forth the suicidal doctrine that any State had the right to oppose the General Government by force of arms

\* See his inaugural of March, 1829.

should it attempt to carry out the laws which a majority of the people, through their representatives, had approved. President Jackson's proclamation of December set forth his just determination to enforce the laws and crush the heresy of nullification, and that stern and sensible state paper was warmly approved by Southern and Northern States alike. The South asked for a positive change in the tariff, by which the country should be made to bear merely the light burdens of peace; the North generally expressed a mild predilection for a reduction of existing duties, there being one marked exception to the rule. The fanciful politician of the present may find food for comment in the fact that in 1833 the State of Maine approached nearer to the standard of Free Trade than any other commonwealth of the North.\* Although the President and every State in the nation had "shown their colors" on the unsound and unsafe doctrine of nullification, there was an evident disposition in Congress both to conciliate Mr. Calhoun and the South and to meet the popular demands, as evinced by the late general election. Consequently a measure was introduced (the Verplanck bill) which proposed a reduction of \$13,000,000 from the existing revenue and to bring the standard of taxation down to the light burdens of 1816. In February it was upon the point of passing, when suddenly, almost without notice, it was thrown aside and Mr. Clay's famous Compromise was rushed through during the last hours of the session; but as the measure received the support of Mr. Calhoun himself, it really seemed as if Mr. Clay was to be "the ministering angel visiting the troubled waters of political dissensions." His bill provided for a series of annual reductions so as to reach twenty per centum on the value of all imported goods on the 30th of September, 1842. But the country provided no additional means of raising revenue, and the currency of the realm was probably

\* On the first of February, 1833, the joint committee of her State Legislature appointed to draft resolutions on national affairs presented its views, which were afterward embodied and adopted in a series of formal resolutions that said: "Viewing with the deepest feelings of regret the excitement which pervades our sister State, and the rash and presumptuous measures to which it has led, and deprecating these measures as utterly inconsistent with the spirit of forbearance and compromise in which our Union had its origin, and by a perseverance in which it can alone be maintained, we cannot at the same time forget that this excitement, this disturbance of the public tranquillity, and all the dangers which this unnatural controversy threatens to bring upon the country, have for their origin and moving cause the policy of the protective system. Under this aspect of public affairs it has seemed to your committee the more useful course to respectfully interpose the voice of this State for conciliation and forbearance. There are none among us who would justify the untimely and ruinous resistance which South Carolina threatens against the existing laws of the United States, of whose injustice she complains. On the other hand a large majority of the citizens of Maine ever have entertained—they still entertain—the most undoubting convictions of the impolicy and oppression of high protective duties."

never more unstable than during Van Buren's administration. Speculation, over trading and rotten currency had their effect upon the public credit at home and abroad; so that although by 1842 there was a large deficit in the Treasury, it was impossible to borrow money, and the revenue from imports was already inadequate to the wants of the government, and according to the terms of the compromise, decreasing. A bill had already passed to distribute among the States the revenue derived from the sale of lands, *provided* the tariff should not be raised in 1842. But even that inducement and the binding nature of the compromise of 1833 could have little weight against the bankruptcy which stared the country in the face. To abide by the compromise under the circumstances, seemed sure death. Therefore Congress passed a tariff bill raising all duties twenty per cent., and made the land bill a dead letter.

From that time on for many years the general tendency of legislation was toward a reduction in duties. During fifteen years succeeding the establishment of the tariff of 1842 the country was racked with internal commotions—boundary disputes with Great Britain, annexation schemes, war with Mexico, the admission of new States, conquests of southwestern territory, etc—"but the color line" run through all the tumults of that period, and daily threatened to become red with blood, as the South saw the free territory extend and crowd her toward the sea. The patriots of the country North and South vainly endeavored to suppress discussion on the slavery question. Henry Clay at last came forth with his Compromise which Whigs and Democrats agreed to regard as the final settlement of the whole matter. But in the meantime around the positive leaders of the controversy there were forming little knots of independent thinkers and workers. First there was a liberal party, then a Garrison party. Next a few Whigs and Democrats commenced to fall away from their organizations. Finally the different factions left the dead issues behind them, forgot that they had been aught but brothers, and the living party of Republicanism absorbed the Free Soilers, most of the Whigs and many of the Democrats. It arose as a grand moral agent, a glorious "one-idea" party, and found blankly opposed to it a party with two ideas, slavery and free trade. Republicanism was destined to one more defeat before entering upon a long career of glorious achievement. Compromises were of no more avail, and happily Henry Clay did not live to see the day when the North and the South became rent asunder. It would appear that, for the present, those who were in authority did not dare to urge upon the South both high protection and anti-slavery measures; so that, as stated, legislation tended toward a low tariff.



A few years previous to the panic of 1857 the exodus to the West was at its height, and internal improvement was the rage. The country was flooded with paper, upon which foundation rested pioneer railroads and canals. But the people at length came to their senses, and the financial crash of 1857 was the result. Confidence at home and abroad was almost destroyed. Imports decreased, exports decreased, business of all kinds decreased. Clouds of war threatened to drift to us from abroad, rotten currency poisoned the channels of trade, political dissensions interfered with home industries, the foundations of the nation trembled with the coming revolution. All these disturbing elements combined during the fifteen years preceding the great panic of 1857 to check the country's prosperity, despite her greater freedom of trade.

By the latter part of 1860 it became evident that the soul of Henry Clay on the tariff question was still marching on, and that a bill was to be introduced which was the beau ideal of high protection. As a war measure it was a masterly stroke of statesmanship on the part of the North; for it was a declaration of war! In December South Carolina seceded from the Union. In March the constitution of the Confederacy was adopted, making a revenue tariff one of its cardinal principles.\*

Most of the Southern representatives having withdrawn, the Morrill tariff bill became law April 1, 1861. It aroused a storm of indignation, not only in the South but in England, and undoubtedly it hastened the war. During the next four years several high tariff bills were passed by the Federal Government as war measures.

Up to 1868 the record of "tinkering" which marked legislative history on this question is long and tedious. It is enough to the present purpose to say that the Morrill spirit permeated it all. In 1870 a slight reduction commenced. A ten per cent. reduction followed in 1872, which was restored in 1875. The average percentage up to March, 1883, when the last tariff bill was passed, equaled about 42 per cent. According to a report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, made in April, 1884, the act of the previous year caused a reduction on the average ad-valorem rate of duty on imports of about six per cent.

It is not to the present purpose to discuss in detail the recent attempt made at a horizontal reduction of the tariff. It is well known, however,

\* Article 1, Section 8, provides that Congress "shall lay and collect taxes, imposts and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense and carry on the government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industries."

that in May, 1884, the form of protection under which the country now suffers, was nearly overthrown. The split on the question was far more marked between Eastern and Western Democrats than between Eastern and Western Republicans. But the Republicans, as a party, assumed the aggressive in the succeeding campaign, smothered the tariff issue, and having no other live matter at home upon which to stand, called upon foreign countries for relief, and again revived the old Federal idea of a grand naval establishment and a "brilliant foreign policy." Whether or not its leaders were inspired with true American patriotism in marking out this policy, it is quite certain that it would effectually dispose of that "surplus revenue" which is now a standing protest against the continuation of the present protective duties.

With the exception of this proposed grand naval establishment there were few marked points of difference between the Republican and Democratic platforms. They both declared against the importation of "cheap labor," and although the Republicans issued a high sounding manifesto against the imposition of duties "for revenue only," it is quite singular that, though one platform stood for economy and the other for glory, they both solemnly bound themselves to arrange the tariff so that labor and capital should be equally satisfied. The Democratic platform, in its endeavor to compromise between the protectionists of the East and the free traders of the West, may have actually relegated the tariff issue to secondary importance for the time. The party certainly showed its cowardice by failing to definitely declare itself in answer to the specific requests made by its million of would-be supporters within the pale of the labor organizations. Assuredly, in trying to bind the party together, its statesmen, of whom much was expected, too closely followed the lead of the Republicans. The platform, in a word, was a grievous disappointment, and was wholly dishonest, because it was purposely indefinite. In marked and refreshing contrast to it was the minority report presented by Benjamin F. Butler, unfortunately not in *rapport* with the general spirit pervading the Chicago convention. But the declaration of principles which he presented in so able a manner, clothed in such direct and forcible language, was labeled "General Butler's Platform," and consequently buried out of sight. It was quite certain, as the matter stood, that the campaign would be fought upon personal grounds, and be decided by the strength of individual following which the party leaders might draw to themselves. Thus it has been up to date. The demand of the Republican party that their leader must be a man of "personal magnetism," was charged with great political wisdom. The Democratic party also has

thrown away its grand opportunity of reviving the glory of the old organization, when campaigns of principle were fought by men of less ability than she now reckons among her leaders.

There is, however, one criticism upon the policy of the Republican party which deserves extended notice. It is thus embodied in a plank of the Democratic platform :

"Under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in Old World monarchies—their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world."

As all Americans ought to fully realize, in comparison with England we have ceased to be a great commercial nation, and are rapidly being degraded from our once proud position of food supplier to the world. The assertion is ventured that should a high tariff and grain gambling be continued in this country for the next ten years, there will go up a universal cry of distress from the producers of cereals in the West. Even now Chicago does not control the wheat market of the world, and America is no longer indispensable as a feeder to England and Europe. The former is tired of having her manufactures restricted by us, while at the same time she buys freely of our grain. India and Russia together nearly equal the United States in wheat-producing capacity, and year by year Europe and Asia are being bound with railroads. Into these countries and into the prolific territory of Australia, into Argentine Republic and South Africa, improved machinery is being introduced, and upon their products Great Britain and Europe are depending more and more. That the policy of the party which has been in power for the past quarter of a century is responsible for this decadence in commerce and agriculture no one can deny. As a consequence the agricultural West is being firmly set against the manufacturing East. Farmers look upon manufacturers as a class favored at their expense, and ere long may consider them as enemies. The troubles of 1833 may repeat themselves, except that the West instead of the South will be arrayed against the East. The responsibility for this sectional and class antagonism rests with the Republican party.

The two great parties must crumble unless they fairly meet the industrial and commercial problems which are forced upon them. For the past

few years each has attempted to smother these issues under an avalanche of honeyed words cast upon capitalist and laborer alike. But, as in the case of slavery, the time will come when there can be no more compromises; when morality and humanity will force themselves into politics, and voters must advance like men and declare plainly where they stand. Among these issues free trade and protection will soon appear as paramount. The elements are combining into bodies of nearly equal strength, and within a decade the decisive battle will be fought. Already are grouped in sentiment, as they will soon be in action, the free workingmen, the broad-minded and patriotic thinkers of the East, and the farmers of the West, with their political representatives; on the other hand appear the powerful manufactories, corporations and monopolies—agricultural and otherwise—with the many voters and able minds which they control.

The time is coming when a man will be ashamed to say that he is a free trader in theory, but that the country is too much of an infant yet to put his principles into practice. The Carey philosophy, which looks upon free trade as the ideal, and protection the means of arriving at it, does not now apply to our stalwart manhood. Even the Massachusetts school of free traders, the members of which take their position more as anti-protectionists than as positivists, will give place to those who stand for the abolition of all burdens upon trade, commerce and manufactures, and for the imposition of taxes for revenue upon articles of luxury, upon gigantic incomes, upon hoarded and unimproved lands, upon stocks and bonds, and all idle capital.

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## COLONIAL COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN VIRGINIA


In the second charter to the Virginia Company the Governor was authorized "to use and exercise martial law in cases of rebellion or mutiny in as large and ample manner as our lieutenants in our counties within this realm of England." \* This sentence calls attention to the difference between the settlement of New England and that of Virginia. Many of the early settlers of New England had been townsfolk, or easily adapted their mode of living to the township idea, which was necessary among so few to insure mutual protection and assistance. The transfer of the governing power to the colony and the nature of the country still further strengthened the natural tendency to reproduce the older and smaller local independencies of the homeland. The settlement of Virginia, however, seems to have been conducted upon another principle. The clause in the charter which conferred upon the governor the powers of a county lieutenant indicates that it was designed for the colony to become in course of time a kind of county dependent, through the Company in London, upon the Crown. From certain circumstances, similar in many respects to those which later affected the northern colonists, a small local life was absolutely required in Virginia, but this did not continue for any great length of time. As more colonists arrived, they extended their settlements over the fertile country by means of its natural highways—the rivers, that had for ages been preparing the soil for easy cultivation by rich alluvial deposits. Little by little the new comers subdued or pacified by force or policy the original proprietors, and, encroaching upon the wilderness, amassed large estates, which were destined to become greater on account of the system of entail and primogeniture that, as some writers assert, was developed in Virginia to a higher degree than in England itself. With the retreat or extermination of the Indians disappeared the necessity of living in or near small fortified hamlets, and as population spread over wider territory the town broadened into the county, and people, institutions, soil, and climate began to exercise upon each other a modifying influence, the result of which was Virginia of the Revolution. Imbued by birth or training with aristocratic notions, Virginia's founders allowed them full play in the land of their adoption, where there was no controlling class above or below them, and where every circumstance favored them. Where almost every

\* Hening's Statutes, i., p. 96.

extensive plantation had its own "landing," and the planter was his own factor and possessed and trained his artizans, there was no reason why towns should be built. Even when attempts to lay off towns in every county were made, they were delayed and resisted upon the plea that tobacco culture would be hindered. The consequence of a small population scattered over a large area was that the county obtained predominance as a political unit, though smaller divisions retained a *quasi* recognition. A brief review of the history of the first fifteen years of the colony will show in some degree the causes of the origin and growth of the county system.

When one considers the relation of Virginia to the English Crown after the dissolution of the Company, that had controlled their affairs for economic purposes, he sees the Governor representing the King, the law, and to all intents the Church. This was a great advance beyond the idea of an agent for a company, or of a county lieutenant, and the change in the attributes of the governor had been brought about by the increase of population and wealth in the colony, and the consequent subdivisions of power all concentrated into the Governor's hands.

After a few years' experience the mere merchant venture, with its servants, tools and provisions in common, was found to be impracticable. Community of goods under most favorable circumstances has resulted in poverty or disintegration. What was true about many later pure communistic experiments was equally true in regard to the attempt in Virginia. Many of the adventurers unused to manual labor took it for granted that they would be fed from the common store; consequently they were not incited to make very great efforts for their own support, but were glad of any opportunity that might enable them to shirk work. The result was that they not only did not produce enough to repay the outlay of the Company, but were often hard put to provide food for themselves. Sir Thomas Dale hit upon a half plan to remedy this evil, *i.e.* granting, to each man three acres of land, which he could cultivate one month in the year for himself and devote the other eleven months to the service of the colony, receiving for the same corn from the common store. At Henrico a more liberal arrangement was made, for a man was allowed to work eleven months for himself upon the payment of a certain amount of corn into the store, and was liable to be called on for one month's service to the colony at any time except in planting or harvesting seasons. The institution of private property in land, however greatly it may be deplored by modern socialists of the Henry George stripe, gave the colonists a feeling of permanence suited to their English instincts, and encouraged a man to depend upon his own resources. A man could thus see his labor



affecting directly himself, and, as land may be justly considered the basis of all property, it is not surprising that there soon began to be material comfort and a degree of prosperity which, in spite of set-backs from Indian wars and internal struggles, caused Virginia to be regarded as the granary of the North. The allotment of fifty acres for each person brought into the colony gave it greater stability, and the people having obtained a basis for operations, began to be restless under military rule, and, true to education, to desire a government more akin to English law and practice.\* The Company thought fit to acquiesce in this desire, and accordingly sent back as Governor Sir George Yeardley, with instructions to summon a body to make laws for the colony. In answer to his summons there assembled in the church at Jamestown, July 30, 1619, the first English legislative body in America. The members of the Assembly, as it was afterward called, sat together in the church, the Governor and Council occupying the choir or chancel. The larger portion was composed of twenty-two burgesses—two elected from each of the various hundreds, plantations or corporations situated along the Powhatan or James River from Henrico to the Bay, and even from the small settlement in Accomac.† The represent-

\* "The earliest mode of acquiring land in the colony was in virtue of five years' service to the London Company, at the expiration of which the adventurer was 'set free' and entitled to a 'divident' of one hundred acres, which, if planted and seated by the building of a house upon it within three years, entitled the planter to an additional hundred acres; if not, it reverted to the crown. Later each one coming into the colony, or transporting thither or paying the passage of others, was entitled for himself, each member of his family, or other person thus transported, to fifty acres of land, which was called a 'head right,' and was transferable. Still later lands were granted upon the condition of paying an annual 'quit rent' of one shilling for every fifty acres, and of planting and seating within three years." R. A. Brock, *The Spotswood Letters*, vol. i, p. 23. *Virginia Historical Register*, vol. ii., p. 190. *Jefferson's Works*, vol. i., p. 138.

† By hundreds must not be understood a definite amount of territory inhabited by a body of persons represented originally by a hundred men or families. The term was used loosely in Maryland, but more loosely in Virginia. In 1609 Captain Francis West led a hundred and odd men up the James river and settled near the Falls, while Captain John Martin was in command of a hundred men on the south side of the river in the Nansemond country [*Force's Tracts*, vol. iii., p. 14]. When this fact is connected with the instructions to Governor Wyatt in 1621 to allow none but heads of hundreds to wear gold in their clothes, it seems to give the hundred a personal character. In the first Assembly there were representatives from Martin's Brandon and Martin's Hundred, the former the plantation of Captain Martin, the latter evidently the place of his original settlement, which had been abandoned after a few months' occupation, but had afterward been revived. If this be so, the place took its name no doubt from the number of men who first seated there. But the territorial idea absorbed the personal, for Sir Thomas Dale "laid out and annexed to be belonging to the freedom and corporation (of New Bermudas) for ever many miles of Champion and woodlard in severall Hundreds, as the upper and nether hundreds, Rochdale hundred, West's Sherly hundred. Diggs his hundred." [*Hamor's Narrative*, pp. 31-32.] Other hundreds were afterward laid off with no apparent regard to uniformity, and the name was gradually re-

ative idea was expressed in the beginning, and did not, as later in Maryland, develop through the proxy system. As this assembly was most important as marking an era in Anglo-American history, and as the body afterward represented the counties taken collectively, it may be well to treat the topic at this point. \*

This primitive Assembly first turned its attention to the qualifications of its members. Captain Warde's seat was disputed and objection was raised against Captain Martin's burgesses. Warde was admitted, but the burgesses of Martin were excluded, because he refused to yield the claim in his patent, exempting him and his followers from the laws of the colony's charter.† On Monday the laws which had been made up from the instructions to Yeardley and his two immediate predecessors were passed; religion, morality, relations with Indian, planting, manufacturers, were

stricted to the actual settlement or collection of houses, in which form it has been preserved in Bermuda Hundred.

\* Mr. Arthur Gilman in his "History of the American People," p. 601, states that "The documentary basis of the Representative government established by Governor Yeardley in Virginia has not been preserved." This is a great mistake, for the Virginia Historical Society published, some years ago, under the supervision of Messrs. T. H. Wynne and W. S. Gilman, the records of this Assembly, with an account of the discovery of and the transcription of the MSS. in England.

† Captain Martin was a member of the Virginia Company and created considerable trouble in the colony. Martin's Brandon had been given him in at private meeting of the company which, after many protests, revoked his charter and offered him a new one, which after some delay he accepted. On October 22, 1623, he voted in England for the surrender of the Virginia Charter, and in December of the same year the privy council recommended that "more than ordinary respect should be had of him," and that he and all under him should not be oppressed, but allowed to enjoy their lands and goods in peace. [Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, edited by Sainsbury, p. 55.] The dispute about the rights of his delegates to seats calls attention to the existence of manorial rights in Virginia, for his patent for his possessing lands "in as ample manner as any lord of any manor in England." The Assembly very honestly confessed its ignorance of the prerogatives of all English manors. Martin and his people were free from all service to the colony except in case of war. He seems to have exercised his power, for there was a complaint made against him that he had made "his owne Territory there a Receptacle of vagabonds and bankrupts and other disorderly psons (wherof there hath bin made publique complaint) \* \* \* who hath presumed of his owne authority (no way derived from his Ma<sup>tie</sup>) to giue uniust sentence of death up on diuers of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> subjects and euer the same put in cruell execution." This, however, may have been an exaggeration due to the bitter feeling against him. Somewhat similar grants were offered in 1679 by the Assembly to Major Laurence Smith and Captain William Bird. For the defense of the frontiers, Captain Bird was to settle at the Falls two hundred and fifty men, of whom fifty were to be always ready to arm, and Major Smith was to do the same way at the head of the Rappahannock River. Upon the fulfillment of these and certain similar conditions, the two commanders were to possess full powers to execute martial discipline, and each, with two other inhabitants of this settlement who should be commissioned by the Governor, were to be intrusted with the rights of a county court, and could with six others elected by a majority of the inhabitants make by laws. There is no definite record of these settlements having been made, though there is an implication of it in the language of Colonel William Byrd some years later.



provided for. On Tuesday the Assembly sat as a court to try Thomas Garnett for indecent behavior, and he was sentenced by the Governor "to stand fower dayes with his eares nayled to the Pillory \* \* \* and euey of those fower dayes should be publiquely whipped." \* After passing more laws on Wednesday and trying Henry Spelman for endeavoring to stir up trouble among the Indians, and providing salaries for the speaker, the clerk, and the sergeant, the Assembly was prorogued by the Governor.

Although many things may have been said and done contrary to laws and customs of England, the Assembly should always be studied with great interest by the constitutionalist and historian, for with it began the real prosperity of Virginia, which encouraged the planting of other settlements in America. The laws which were enacted were characteristic of the men and of the times, and the Company in London could abrogate them, although it was petitioned that they might pass current until the Company's further pleasure was known. The growth of the Assembly is a question rather of constitutions than of institutions, but the relations of the county to it after it had become determined cannot be omitted in this paper. When the governor called an Assembly, burgesses were elected from each county and from some parishes. The number allowed to each county was for a time indefinite, and was probably reckoned according to population. But in 1660 the number was reduced to two for each county and one for Jamestown, it being the metropolis, and if a county should "lay out one hundred acres of land and people itt with one hundred tithable persons," that place could send a Burgess. † The right of representation was afterwards conferred upon Williamsburg, Norfolk, and other large towns or cities. The election was held at the court-house, and the sheriff presided and took the votes which freeholders cast, and those who were absent from the poll were liable to be fined. ‡ "All voted openly

\* Colonial Records of Virginia, 1619-80, p. 24.

† Hening's Statutes, ii., p. 20. In South Carolina a similar plan was proposed. Governor Johnson was directed in 1730 to encourage the building of towns. "Each Town shall be formed into a Parish, the Extent whereof shall be about 6 miles round the Town on the same side of the River, and as soon as a Parish shall contain 100 masters of Families, they may send Two members to the Assembly of the Province." [A Description of the Province of South Carolina, Drawn up at Charlestoun in September, 1731, p. 125 of Carroll's "Hist. Col., S. C."] This plan seemed to have been unsuccessful, for in a work published in 1761, it is stated that "some towns, which by the king's Instructions have a right to be erected into Parishes, and to send two members are not allowed to send any." Carroll, etc., p. 220.

‡ The qualifications of voters were for some years shifting, but at last settled down to freeholders, and at the beginning of the Revolution the voters were those "possessing an estate for life in 100 acres of uninhabited land or 25 acres with a house on it, or in a house or lot in some town." Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, p. 160.

and aloud without the intervention of the sneaking ballot. The candidates sat on the magistrates' bench above. The sheriff stood at the clerk's table below ; called every voter to come, and how he voted. The favored candidate invariably bowed to the friend who gave him his vote, and sometimes thanked him in words. All over the Court-House were men and boys with pens and blank paper, who kept tally, and could at any moment tell the vote which each candidate had received \* \* \* The election over and the result proclaimed by the Sheriff from the Court-House steps, forthwith the successful candidates were snatched up, hoisted each one on the shoulders of two stalwart fellows with two more behind to steady them, and carried thus to the tavern \* \* \* where there was a free treat for all at the candidate's charge." \* This is an account of an election in the beginning of this century, and it may be considered as characteristic of others earlier and later. The old time practice of marching in squads to the polls is still continued, if reports regarding the election of 1883 in Virginia were true. The people took great pride in sending a clever man to the Assembly, and expected him to look after his county's interests before those of the colony or of the crown. Such remarks as "I expect we shall have another election, as I am certain Mr. T—— will not be allow'd to take a seat in the house, where none but gentlemen of character ought to be admitted," show the sentiments of high-minded Virginians about their representatives.† Before going to the Assembly the burgesses received the wishes and complaints of their constituents, and upon their return were wont in later times to report upon their own actions and the proceedings of the Assembly, which was composed of burgesses and the members of council, who after 1680 sat as an upper house. Burgesses were free from arrest during its sessions, and were paid by the county which sent them. The Assembly, called frequently to pass some act favorable to the Crown or its representative, the Governor, seized every opportunity to strengthen its rights—the power of laying taxes in the colony, for instance, which has always been deemed an assertion of the right of self-government.

Notwithstanding the instructions to Governors for setting up various forms of government in the colony, no county was created before 1630. The unsettled state of the public mind on account of fears of assaults from the Indians, who hovered about outlying plantations, ready to fall upon the unprotected, the gathering together of the people into "great families" after the great Indian massacre, caused extensive powers to be granted

\* W. O. Gregory : from the *Farmer and Mechanic* of Raleigh, N. C., in the *Baltimorean*, Oct. 27, 1883.

† Bland Papers, i., p. 12.


to the commissioners of the plantations, and in those persons were combined military and civil jurisdiction. But in 1634 there were created eight counties, which were to be governed as shires in England, with lieutenants, elected sheriffs, sergeants and bailiffs. They were James Citty, the country around Jamestown, Henrico, around the settlement of Sir Thomas Dale, Charles Citty and Elizabeth Citty, around the forts, Warwick River, Warrosquayack, Charles River, and on the eastern shore, Accomac. That these counties, as a rule, took their names from and embraced the settlements is a curious phase in English institutions—for it was nothing more or less than the towns growing into the counties. This was very different from the origin of counties in England and in New England. In the former they represented the original divisions of petty kings or a collection of such small principalities under one strong hand; in the latter the county arose from a combination of townships for judicial purposes, it is supposed, for the origin of counties in that section has not been definitely ascertained. This peculiar feature of the Virginian county history is easily explained. Planting having originally been along the rivers, as transportation and intercourse required, was confined to a small area. As Indian scares became less frequent, people ventured forth beyond stockades, and gradually went away from the towns, in their pursuits of agriculture imposed upon them by inclination and the nature of the country. New planters came in and settled at once in comparatively remote regions, and population thus became too scattered to be ruled by a few military leaders. The complications arising from the new conditions, the importations of servants, the introduction of negro slavery and the settling of new lands, required a court and its proper ministers to secure harmony. The wishes of the original settlers had great influence in the selection of sites for court-houses, so that in some of the older counties many of the inhabitants were often considerably inconvenienced by having to travel forty or fifty miles to attend court, and saw a better alternative in submitting to injustice and injury. In the counties afterward created the attempt was made to place the court-house as near the center as possible, but as long as population remained in cismontane regions there was a natural desire to seek the river banks for sites. The great point to be remembered is that at first the counties were the outspreading of towns, not that the towns, as later, were the results of the people in the county seeking a place for the transaction of business necessary even in a planting community. \*

In 1680 there were twenty counties, a word introduced into the laws in 1639, and the number increased as it became necessary. For Englishmen

\* Spotswood Letters, Brock, p. 37.

were not content to remain always in piedmont regions, but crossing the mountains gave names to vast tracts of territory, out of which were afterward carved states. In the formation of new counties natural boundaries were adopted whenever it was possible to be done. When the county had finally become crystallized, it was divided into parishes, precincts for the constables, and walks for the surveyors of highways, the last two divisions being subject to such rules and alterations as the county court thought fit to make. Every county bore its share of the public levy, was obliged to pay the charges of its convicted prisoners, to make and clear its roads, and to keep the rivers free from underbrush and other obstructions. The public roads were made by the inhabitants under the guidance of the surveyors of highways and were extended to the county lines. The obligation to work on the roads finally devolved upon laboring tithables, who were summoned by the surveyors. Bridges were in the care of surveyors of highways, and when a bridge was built between two counties, the expense was shared by those counties. In the absence of bridges many ferries were established at convenient places along deep rivers.

Turning now from a consideration of the county in general to a study of the particular officers in the county, one is struck almost at first glance by the prominence of the lieutenant, anciently the commander, who besides being the chief of militia in his county, was a member of the Council, and as such, a judge of the highest tribunal in the colony. In early days he was charged with the duty of keeping sufficient powder and ammunition in each plantation, of seeing that people attended church regularly and refrained from work and traveling on Sunday; of levying men to battle with dusky foes who might be lurking in the vicinity of bogs; of making annually a muster of men, women and children, and of reporting to the governor the names of new comers. He was obliged also to see that there were no infringements of the tobacco laws, a most important duty in Virginia. With commissioners of the Governor he held monthly courts for the settlement of suits not exceeding in value one hundred pounds of tobacco, and from this court appeal was to the Governor and Council. This court also heard petty causes and inflicted proper punishments. But as the head of the militia the lieutenant was most important. The military character imposed upon the colony in the beginning was for some years necessary, but the practice of arms seems to have been neglected for a time after Yeardley's return to the colony. The record of the reorganization of the militia is found in the law made in 1624-25: "That at the beginning of July next the inhabitants of every corporation shall fall upon their adjoining salvages as we did the last yeare, those that shall be hurte upon service to



be cured at the publique charge; in case any be lamed to be maintained by the country according to his person and quality." \*

This order finds explanation in an account of the plantation written in 1624 by some of the surviving planters. It states that on March 22, 1621-22, the savages, who had been allowed many liberties in their intercourse with the whites, fell upon them without warning and slew many. Falling upon the savages was retaliation and self-protection in their weakened condition. The laudable and Christian design of converting and educating the savages, as set forth in the writings of the first twenty years of the century, was changed to a plan of extermination, in which the planters were still actuated by Christian motives, if one relies upon their own statements, "Our gov<sup>r</sup> Counsell and others have used their uttermost and Christian endeavors in prosecuting revenge against the bloody salvadges, and have endeavored to restore the Collonye to her former prosperitie, wherein they have used great diligence and industrie, imployinge many forces abroad for the rooting them out of severall places that thereby we may come to live in better securitie, doubtinge not but in time we shall clean drive them from these partes, and thereby have the free libertie and range for our cattle." † This was the same kind of spirit as that shown by most of the colonies in their relations with the red men. So long as it was convenient or politic, treaties were observed, but little was required to change the feeling of brotherly love to the conviction that the "dead Indian is the best Indian." The seemingly heartless but necessary decision, "the Indian must go," was made at that early date and by a community whose members in a century's time had learned to be proud of Indian ancestry. But fear of Indians kept the militia together, and in 1690 it consisted of 6,570 horse and foot; in 1703 of 10,556; in 1715 of 14,000; and in 1755 of 28,000. It was during the rule of Spotswood that the militia reached a high state of perfection, the effect of which was noticeable in the French and Indian War. The Governor was the commander-in-chief of the militia, and he appointed in each county a lieutenant, upon whom was conferred the honorary title of colonel, when he was a member of the Council. To this system of honorary titles has been traced by some the abundance of military titles in the South. The custom must have developed rapidly, for a writer in 1745 felt called upon to remark, "Wherever you travel in *Maryland* (as also in Virginia and Carolina) your ears are constantly astonished at the number of *Colonels*, *Majors* and *Captains* that you hear mentioned." ‡

\* Hening's Statutes, i., p. 123.

† Col. Rec., Va., p. 83.

‡ Itinerant Observations in America, London Magazine, 1745-46.

The ancient planters—that is, those who came into Virginia before or with Captain Gates—and their posterity were exempted from military service, unless as officers; new settlers were not obliged to serve for one year after their arrival, and no person could be forced to exercise in arms outside of his parish or his county. In February, 1645, it was decreed that in certain counties every fifteen tithables should furnish and equip one man for service against Indians. This provision was afterward modified in a law that every forty persons should provide an able man and horse “with furniture, well and compleatly armed with a case of good pistols, carbine or short gunn and a sword, together with two pounds of powder and tenn pounds of leaden bulletts or high swan shott, and alsoe that each respective forty tythables doe provide and send up to the severall storehouses five bushells of shelled Indian corn and two bushells of meale, eighty pounds of well salted porke, or one hundred pounds of good, well salted beefe for fower months’ provision such man and his horse.” \* The bodies of troopers raised in this manner were called rangers, and from time to time patrolled districts likely to suffer from Indian invasion.

Governor Berkeley reported in 1671 that all freemen were bound to drill every month in their counties, but this rule was not always strictly followed. Governor Dinwiddie paid a great deal of attention to the proper training and regular exercise of his militia, and he divided the colony into four districts, each commanded by an adjutant to drill first the officers, then each company separately. † Certain persons were excused from militia duty; but if an overseer of slaves who had been excused should appear at muster without arms or not participating, he was liable to a fine. The celebrated William Byrd, while traveling with a surveying party to North Carolina in 1734, witnessed and recorded a parade as follows: “It happened that some Isle of Wight militia were exercising in the Adjoining pasture, and there were Females enough attending that Martial Appearance to form a more invincible corps.” ‡ General musters were held annually, and company drills monthly, or once in three months. At intervals of ten or

\* Hening, i., 292, ii., 435.

† On August 27th, 1763, Sir Jeffery Amherst wrote to Sir Wm. Johnson: “Colonel Stephen with a body of 4 or 500 men of the Virginia militia is advanced as far as Forts Cumberland and Bedford with a view not only of covering the frontiers, but of acting offensively against the Savages. This publick spirited Colony has also sent a body of the like number of men under the command of Colonel Lewis for the defence and protection of their South west frontiers. What a contrast this makes between the conduct of the Pennsylvanians and Virginians highly to the honor of the latter, but places the former in a most despicable light imaginable.” Documents relating to the Col. Hist. of N. Y., vii., p. 546.

‡ Capt. Byrd’s Narrative of the Dividing Line, vol. i., p. 70.

twelve years acts were passed to increase the efficiency of the militia on account either of Indian troubles or pressure from abroad. But there were frequent complaints of the neglect of muster duties, the difficulties in the way of summoning the militia, and the partial futility of the laws. The whole system may be summed up as follows: Officers similar to those in England, a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, captain, were commissioned by the Governor or commander in the county, the cornets for cavalry, ensigns for infantry, sergeants, corporals, and other minor officers being appointed by the colonel or the captain. Indians and negroes were allowed to act as drummers, trumpeters, pioneers on a march, "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The number of men in a company ranged from fifty to seventy-five, and there were from seven to ten companies in a county. An examination of militia accounts gives a fair idea of the state of the colonial militia. Payments were claimed for horses, cattle and articles impressed for provisions and ammunition supplied. It was the custom to draft soldiers in the eastern counties and to conduct them under guard to Fredericksburg or Winchester. The guards were paid, as was also the sheriff, "for maintaining drafted soldiers in Gaol." \*

Connected with the militia was an interesting institution which began to take form in 1738. The number of slaves had by that time become very great, and occasionally there arose from this source slight troubles causing anxiety to owners and rulers. As early as 1710 a negro slave was freed by the Assembly for having discovered to the authorities a conspiracy among negroes of Surrey county looking to insurrection. Even at that early date were brewing troubles that afterward did occur, as Gabriel's War in 1800 and Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831. To prevent insurrections, unauthorized meetings, wandering from one plantation to another without passes, measures had to be taken by the government. The chief of militia in each county was ordered to appoint an officer and four men, called patrollers, to visit at any time negro quarters or places suspected of harboring unlaw-

\* In 1758 a bill was presented by Abraham Maury for "28 days service in riding to forts and settling townships." In Virginia before the Revolution there were no townships in the New England sense, but the use of the word by Maury is explained in a letter written in the same year by him to Colonel Theoderick Bland, Sr., as follows: "I took a tour to the forts \* \* \* those who had land of their own freely embraced so fair an opportunity to defend their possessions and readily agree to associate and collect themselves together in small townships, but when I went to fix upon the most convenient places to erect the said townships every person insisted that his own place was most convenient: \* \* \* and I accordingly made choice of Mayo Fort, Hickey's, Black Water, and Snow Creek as the most proper places for the said township(s) \* \* \* I have since my return heard that Blair township at Snow Creek is in great forwardness, but that the others are not yet begun, the people being yet too busy about tending corn \* \* \* I demanded \* \* \* 80 men to garrison the said townships." Bland Papers, i., p. 11.

ful assemblies. These "paterollers," as the negroes learned to call them, could arrest offenders and send them to the nearest justice, who, if the offenders deserved it, could have them whipped.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the militia was reorganized and nomination of officers was placed in the hands of the committees in counties, and their appointment came from the Committee of Safety. From the militia and volunteer troops were raised minute men, and the militia was drafted into the Continental Army. The subject of the militia has been treated first, because it naturally preceded local courts as protection against outside foes, was at first more necessary than protection against each other, and as long as men were fearful of attacks from without, internal disputes had to be laid aside for the general welfare.

But monthly courts were established, but as they were changed in 1643 to county courts, and the commissioners changed to commissioners of county courts, it is best to study them under the latter title. The number of commissioners, who were afterward called justices, and in 1770 magistrates, was for some years undetermined; in 1661, in view of the contempt in which the place was held, and on account of disorders arising from the large number, the court was reduced to eight men in each county who should in succession exercise the sheriffalty. This law was not successfully carried out and fell into disuse, and there were often as many as fifteen justices in a single county. As a rule the courts nominated their successors, who were appointed by the Governor. Not always, however, did he follow their suggestion, though neglect to do so was met by such vigorous protests as: "But y<sup>t</sup> now we despair of M<sup>r</sup> Stapleton being a member of our Court, a person most notorious by abusive, profane, and Imoral Qualities so misbecoming the seat of Justice, y we humbly desire to be excused Setting w<sup>th</sup> him, beleiving him designedly represented to make both us and ye County in generall uneasie

The rest of y<sup>e</sup> Gent<sup>s</sup> we should have comply'd w<sup>th</sup>, and would not have presum'd to have given yr Excy. this trouble at this time had we not Just reason," "W<sup>m</sup> Johnston, Gent. being asked whether he would accept & swear to the Commission of the Peace; now Produced, Answered, That he would not accept and Swear to sd: Commission because Anthony Struther, William Hunter, and William Lyne are put in the Commission without a Recommendation from the Court." Six other members of the same court refused to serve for similar reasons, one of them expressing the belief that Lyne had begged for the Commission.\* These extracts show the sentiments of justices about their associates, and insomuch as

\* Palmer. Calendar, Va., State Papers, i., pp. 88, 237.



there was no compensation for serving, right seems to have been on the side of those justices who set up a high standard of admission to their membership. The courts were commissioned at their own request or at the Governor's pleasure. An account of Virginia, written about 1698, by one evidently hostile to the Governor, states that "he renews that commission commonly every year, for that brings new fees, and likewise gives him an opportunity to admit into it new favorites and exclude others that have not been so zealous in his service."\* Four of this court constituted the quorum, and met at the court-house monthly, or if necessary more frequently. Court-day was a holiday for all the country side—especially in the fall and spring. From all directions came in the people, on horseback, in wagons, and afoot. On the court-house green assembled in indiscriminate confusion people of all classes—the hunter with his backwoods air, the owner of a few acres, the grand proprietor, and the grinning, heedless negro. Old debts were settled and new ones made; there were auctions, transfers of property, and if election time were near, stump-speaking. Virginia had no town meeting as New England, but had its familiar court-day.

When they had been commissioned the justices took the oaths of allegiance, of office, etc. In 1634 it was directed that one member of the Council should assist at the monthly courts; this rule was changed in 1662, when the Governor undertook for himself and the Council to visit all the county courts, that he might be able to give the King an exact account of the government. It was enacted, therefore, that he and one of the Council, or two of the Council commissioned by him for every river, should "sitt judge in all the county courts, and there hear and determine all causes then depending in them by action or reference from any other preceding court in that county Provided noe councellors be appointed to goe the circuite in the river wherein he doth inhabit." But in a few months the institution was abolished on account of expense. Though short-lived, it is interesting as a phase of the system of itinerant justices whose existence has been traced back to Alfred's time, through the eyres, the provincial circuits of the officers of the Exchequer, and the visitations of Edgar and Canute. The system arose and was continued for centuries for purposes of taxation, but the judicial features were added from time to time and tended to absorb the financial.

County courts could hear no cases for debts involving less than 20 shillings, and to prevent the expense of traveling to Jamestown they had final jurisdiction of causes under £16 sterling. But needs of the colony

\* Mass. Hist. Coll. Series i., vol. v., p. 150.

increased the powers and duties of the county courts, and at the Revolution they settled all cases at common law or chancery, except when loss of life or limb or law protection were involved. They were also courts of administration, had the care of orphans, and appeal was from them to the general court. The general court was originally the quarter court held by the Governor and Council in March, June, September and November. The June term was abolished in 1659, and on account of the absurdity of calling a court meeting three times only in the year a quarter court, the name general court was adopted in 1662. But November was too late in the year to allow planters to attend court with any degree of comfort, and September was too early, inasmuch as trading vessels did not arrive until later, and the tobacco trade was dull; hence, after 1684 the terms were held in April and October.

To return to the county court, probably one of its most important functions was the laying of the county levy, for Virginians paid three kinds of taxes—parish, county and public. For the laying of county taxes the court met and ascertained the county expenses for roads, bridges, buildings, burgesses' salaries, etc. To determine each man's proportion, the whole sum was divided by the number of tithables, for after a brief experiment during the years 1645-48 of taxes directly upon property, the authorities reverted to the poll system.\* The court established rates of ordinances or inns, recommended attorneys to the governor, and paid fees for the destruction of wild beasts. Jones wrote in 1724: "The wolves of late are much destroyed by Virtue of a Law which allows good Rewards for their Heads, with the Ears on, to prevent Imposition and cheating the Public, for the Ears are crop'd when a Head is produced."† The court had the yearly appointment of surveyors of highways, for whom it divided the county into precincts, that all county and church roads "might be kept clear, respect being had to the course used in England."‡ But waterways were used in preference to land routes, and the road system of Virginia was for a long time imperfect. The surveyor-general of the colony was appointed by the president of William and Mary College. The land surveyors were in general examined and recommended by the same person

\* The following is a list of tax rates in 1645, taken from Hening's Statutes: 1 cow 3 years old 4 lbs. tobacco, horses, mares, and geldings, at 32 lbs. a piece, a breeding sheep 4 lbs., a breeding goat 2 lbs., a tithable person 20 lbs.

† Hugh Jones. *Present State of Va.*, p. 51.

‡ It is rather curious to note the expenses of a survey. In the bill for the Fairfax survey of 1736 among the items of expenditures embracing feed and shelter for horses, lodging, meals, etc., amounting in all to £37, are found claret, madeira wine, beer, punch for gentlemen, tea for gentlemen, and liquors for surveyors, costing over £11.

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or by the surveyor-general, and having been approved of by the Governor and Council took the oath of office before the court of the county where they were to serve. Although at one time there was a statute allowing county courts, with the consent of a majority of the inhabitants, to divide counties into parishes, it was the custom for parishes to be created by act of Assembly. The court made its own by-laws, and with representatives from the parishes could make by-laws for the county; it nominated inspectors of tobacco, granted divorces, regulated the relations of whites to the Indians, tried cases of piracy, erected ducking stools, pillories, whipping-posts and stocks, appointed collectors of county levies, and regulated the relations of master to servant. For instance, in August, 1751, the sheriff of Augusta County "having informed the court that Henry Witherington, a servant boy belonging to John Stevenson, was in jail and that he had an iron lock in his mouth, it was ordered by the court that he immediately take off the same."\*

When an Assembly had been called and the county had elected its two burgesses, the court sat as a court of claims, to take proof of debts and complaints which were to be presented to the Assembly by the burgesses, "and to know the pressures, humours, common talk, and designs of the people of that country, perhaps there is no better way than to peruse the journals of the house of burgesses, and of the committee of grievances and propositions."† When circumstances arose for which laws were not expressly provided, the court was empowered to attend to them. Thus in Lancaster county, in the lack of a vestry, the court with the minister of a parish appointed churchwardens and sidesmen or assistants. The jurisdiction of this court over slaves was varying. The court of Isle of Wight County had a slave, in 1709, receive forty lashes upon his bare back for being accessory to a negro insurrection; and a free negro, who had entertained some of the runaway negroes at his house, received twenty-nine lashes "well laid on." Information of offenses was laid before the court by the grand jury, consisting of impaneled freeholders possessed of at least fifty pounds in real or personal estate, or by churchwardens. An idea of the state of justice in the eighteenth century may be derived from the records of grand jury presentments: "We present Thomas Sims, for traveling on the road on the Sabbath day with a loaded beast;" "William Montague and Garrett Minor for bringing oysters ashore on the Sabbath," etc. Persons were also presented for cursing, swearing, bastardy, and one for "drinking a health to King James and refusing to drink a health to

\* Virginia Historical Register, iii., p. 76.

† Mass. Historical Coll. Series v., p. 149.

King George."\* If the accused desired he was tried by a petit jury consisting of from six to twelve persons, for the practice of the general court was followed by the lesser. In 1672 the sheriff of Henrico County was ordered to impanel six men to try a woman for stabbing to death her fellow servant; six men were summoned to try a traitor, and a cattle thief. In certain cases the old English custom of the appointment of a jury of matrons prevailed. Very early in the colony's life the jury consisted of ten and of fourteen men, notwithstanding the clause in the charter providing for a jury of twelve. But that there was an attempt at least to copy after English practice, may be inferred from the following enactment: "And the jurors to be kept from food and releise till they have agreed upon their verdict according to the custom practised in England." The county courts had great regard for their dignity, as has been shown where the court refused to sit with an unworthy member; and to prevent misconduct in a justice it was enacted "that whatsoever justice of the peace shall become soe notoriously scandalous upon court dayes at the court house, to be soe farre overtaken in drinke that by reason thereof he shalbe adjudged by the justices holding court to be incapable of that high office and place of trust, proper to inherett in a justice of the peace, shall for his first such offence be fined five hundred pounds of tobacco and cask and for his second such offence one thousand pounds of tobacco." If he was again guilty, a heavier fine was to be imposed and he should lose his position. One court passed a by-law that an attorney who interrupted another at the bar should be fined five shillings. At one session of this court the justices were in a quandary about the treatment of an old lawyer who had long practiced in the county, and who had been urged over the precipice of profanity by the sarcastic witticisms of a younger man. After considerable consultation they decided "that if Mister Holmes did not quit worrying Mister Jones and making him curse and swear so, he should be sent to jail."† This court had some time before committed a man to the stocks for two hours and fined him twenty shillings "for damning the court and swearing four oaths in their presence."

Very petty cases were heard by one or by two justices, from whom appeal was to the county court, in which case the justices who had had original jurisdiction were not allowed to participate in the trial. In the absence of a coroner a justice could act in his stead.

The executive officer of the court was the sheriff, who was not so much

\* Meade. *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, i., pp. 230, 254, 365; *Va. Hist. Reg.* iii, 77.

† *Va. Hist. Reg.* iii., p. 17.

the representative of the Governor in the county court as he was the representative of the county to the Governor. He was appointed as follows: the justices nominated three persons, generally from their own body, one of whom was, as a rule, commissioned by the Governor, though the practice varied. The sheriff or his deputies had to serve writs, superintended elections of burgesses, collected public and county levies and sometimes parish tithes, impressed men for service on shipboard, sold estates of suicides at public outcry, made arrests, sometimes resorting to the old "hue and cry" in pursuit of runaway servants or slaves, collected fines, and carried the public levy to the capital. Sheriffs as well as other officers of the law adopted the practice of attending parish churches for the purpose of serving writs, warrants, etc. This was, no doubt, easy and agreeable for the sheriffs, but the worshipping delinquent could not have relished such an interruption to his devotions. Persons liable to such visitations neglected their church duties, so that a law had to be passed forbidding sheriffs to make arrests on Sundays or muster days. This law did not prohibit, however, the pursuit on Sunday of an escaped felon. By special warrant from the Governor, a councillor, or two justices, a sheriff could make arrests on shipboard. When peace was concluded between Queen Anne and the King of France, in 1713, Governor Spotswood ordered a proclamation to be "openly read and published at the principal Church of each parish immediately before divine service by the Sheriffs of the respective Countys, their officers, or substitutes on horseback." The sheriffs had also to see that copies of the special collect for the occasion should be distributed in time. The sheriffs or their deputies executed the orders of the courts, and in some cases they were sore let and hindered in running the race set before them. Peyton gives examples of writs returned with indorsements such as—"Not executed by reason there is no road to the place where he lives;" "not executed by reason of excess of weather;" "by reason of an axe;" and "of a gun;" "because the defendant's horse was faster than mine;" "because the defendant got into deep water—out of my reach."\* Such were the duties and cares of the sheriff, who, in the exercise of his various functions, from executing an order of the Governor to ducking a witch, was but the old shire-reeve of England, with powers changed to suit a new order of things.† The other officers of the county were the coroner, who was commissioned by the governor to view corpses, and, if necessary, to act as sheriff, and the constables, who were the assistants of the sheriffs in giving

\* Peyton, Hist. of Augusta Co., p. 58.

† For an account of the ducking of Grace Sherwood, the so-called Virginia witch, see *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, November, 1883 p. 425.

notice of court meetings and of levies, in looking after runaway slaves, in transferring paupers from parish to parish, and in pursuing criminals.

The county system of ante-revolutionary Virginia has been studied thus minutely in view of the fact that it served as a model for, if it did not directly influence, similar institutions in the South, South-west, and even in some States of the West.

In this system the dominant idea was gradation of power from the governor *downward*, not upward from the people. The necessary tendency to strong centralization was counteracted, however, by the individuality of officers, high and low. But the system offered many loop-holes for corruption, and possessed real evils. The justices, serving at the Governor's pleasure, might be wrongly influenced by him; the sheriff, his appointee, might use corrupt means to return, as elected to the Assembly, burgesses who could be used as tools by the Governor. Few, comparatively, were allowed, by reason of property qualification, to effectively raise their voice against corruption. In view of these chances it is somewhat remarkable to find how few instances of malfeasance in office are recorded. Many changes have been introduced in the county system since the Revolution; but, as long as Virginia remains a largely agricultural State, so long will her local political life be molded upon the plan which has prevailed for two centuries.

Edward Ingle

HISTORIC PORTRAITS  
THE HUNTINGTON COLLECTION OF AMERICANA

(FIRST PAPER)

The munificent gift of Mr. William H. Huntington to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of the varied and interesting portraits of Washington, Franklin, and Lafayette, which he has been many years in collecting from every available European source, is an event of more than ordinary interest



and importance, since it gives the American public the opportunity of participating in an instructive enjoyment hitherto confined to erudite scholars and collectors. Mr. Huntington has placed us all under obligations, and we congratulate the museum on so valuable an accession to its treasures. It is said to be worth \$12,000, which seems a low estimate when we remember that every object in the collection, however insignificant, will become more and more rare and precious with each passing year.

*George Washington*

*[From the Cameo head painted in 1789 by Madame De Brihan, Sister of the French minister, then residing in New York City.]*

The collection is divided into three distinct sections, the Washington, the Franklin, and the Lafayette, although apart from these are portraits of other worthies, curious allegorical compositions, a mass of antique prints, and

some rare cipher letters of the revolutionary period. Only a portion of the collection is as yet on exhibition, owing to the crowded condition of the museum, but enough can be seen and studied to judge of its extent and merits, and to illustrate the extraordinary admiration of foreign artists for the celebrated trio. In France, particularly, Washington was exalted

## THE REPLY.



A Complimentary Hieroglyphic Epistle from the  
Hon<sup>ble</sup> H-N-Y L—R-N-S, Esq. to L<sup>d</sup> G-O-E G-RD-N.

My L—d

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the obligations I am under to you for your kind letter to me on the subject of my present unhappy situation. Undoubtedly I am most sensible of the consolation you give me my L—d I feel much for your sufferings as my own. I consider myself only alluded to being the offspring of the same parent whom I once revered with the most filial affection; conceiving the obligation my country laid under from those whose duty it was to have afforded them the possible assistance & regard I highly acknowledge & am most obliged to you to adopt such measures as I fear I am justifiable by the laws of reason & nature. Happy in these sentiments, I regard the threats of my persecutors & will never fear the prosperity of my fate to furnish my days with those inextinguishable pleasures.

Permit me my L—d to hope that the excellent principles inculcated by the Holy Religion for which I now suffer persecution will enable me to support the terrors of approaching trial & to notwithstanding the malicious rancor of my enemies as I may favorers in the good cause. I have embraced so firmly the defeat the wicked designs of those who have concerted for destruction.

I have the honor to be with the most respect

My L—d your Lord's sincere & warmest

L — R — N S



as a hero and statesman; Franklin was lionized as a philosopher and diplomat; and Lafayette was the pride of the people. Thus every French painter, sculptor and engraver, of every rank and school, seems to have been seized with the mania for trying his hand on their portraiture. Some of these artists were favored with originals, and with the best examples from artists who were accredited with life studies, while others accepted such models as were available, or based their productions wholly upon the varied fancies of inner consciousness.

The *Washingtoniana*, to which this paper is more especially devoted, embraces examples in oil, bronze, marble, ivory, zinc, wedgwood, tortoiseshell, wax, pewter, cornelian, glass, gold, silver, alabaster, gilt-bronze, and faience, as well as in etchings, pen and ink sketches, and choice engravings. We find the well-known face of the great "Father of his Country" on buttons, rings, medals, snuff-boxes, plaques, bowls and pitchers. There are interesting statuettes life-size busts, bas-reliefs and intaglios. One of the gems of the collection is the original miniature of Washington at twenty-five (as shown in the accompanying sketch) exquisitely painted



WASHINGTON AT TWENTY-FIVE..

on ivory, which came directly from the Washington family to Mr. Huntington, having been given by Washington to a favorite niece, and until within a few years has never been out of the possession of her descendants. It represents a handsome blue-eyed young man in military costume—coat blue, vest embroidered buff, and blue scarf. It is supposed by many to have been the work of Charles Wilson Peale, and Mr. Huntington inclines to that opinion. Others believe it was executed by Copley on the occasion of Washington's famous journey of five hundred miles to Boston, on horseback in the winter of 1757-1758. It is a

fact worthy of notice in this connection that Charles Wilson Peale was only sixteen years of age when Washington was twenty-five, and had not yet turned his attention to art; while Copley was twenty, and had

already distinguished himself in miniature painting. It is an interesting question, and we trust that some one will yet be able to discover the truth as to who really did execute this little work of art.

In the absence of a catalogue it is not practicable to define with precision the most interesting features of this part of the collection. A miniature by Savage is placed near its reproduction by a French artist, and the refined manner in which the Frenchman has followed the rugged American's brush is amusing. Savage never attained special eminence as an artist, but his portrait of Washington—copies of the one painted for Harvard College, 1790—seems to have been very acceptable in France, if the number of times it is found reproduced in this collection is any evidence. It has on the left lapel of his coat the jeweled order of the Cincinnati, which may in some degree account for its popularity. There are two cabinet miniatures here, one a Stuart and the other a Trumbull, which if not originals are very careful reproductions. Houdon is generally followed in the heads in bronze and other metals. A bronze gilt statuette on a clock is a work of curious interest. Among the eight statuettes the most valuable is undoubtedly a small military equestrian example, thought to be an original of Houdon, as he made studies for an equestrian work when in America in 1785, expecting the commission would be given him by Congress for the statue of Washington, in pursuance of a resolution passed August 7, 1783. Mr. Huntington says of this statuette, "in the manner of—let us hope by Houdon. Who else in the time could have done it?" It has certain characteristics and marks indicative of Houdon's work and foundry. This great artist, whom Jefferson called "the first statuary of his time," is known to have worked in miniature. Many of these profile heads and intaglios clearly reveal his strong lines, and everything conceded to be in his manner will elicit close scrutiny, with the hope of discovering an original. The medals are chiefly Houdon following; the most important, that of "Washington Before Boston," having been engraved by Duvivier—a beautiful example. Other notable medals are the Washington, Rochambeau and La Fayette, the Manly, the Eccleson, the Voltaire—these being departures from Houdon. The life-size wedgwood-basalt bust may be trusted—its lines of truth dispelling all doubt as to the mind, if not the hand, that produced it. Among the curiosities may be noticed a Washington head carved in ivory once utilized as an umbrella handle. Occasionally, Peale, Trumbull, Stuart, and Wright have been followed; but the most valuable lesson learned in this examination is that any departure from Houdon in metal, marble, or gem is a mistake.



The collection of engraved portraits is invaluable, although very few of them are yet displayed; and there are many lithographs and wood-cuts. It is a significant fact, that of the prints after originals, more than one-third included in Mr. Huntington's gift are from Stuart's paintings, full length, two-thirds, busts and heads. These prints begin with T. Holloway's beautiful folio, 1795, and come down with occasional interruptions to H. Wright Smith's, and Wm. E. Marshall's recent contributions. Of the unhappy Campbell there are eighteen illustrations. The better the engraver has executed his work the more vivid are the errors in portraiture. Of Trumbull there are some sixteen, the most desirable of which is Cheesman's full length rendering of the military portrait. Savage is fully represented, including one very handsome print of his "Washington Family," and Robert Edge Pine, Wertmuller, Robertson, Du Simitière, Rembrandt Peale, Birch, Wright, St. Memin, and Madame De Bréhan, can be studied in turn and compared. One of the finest heads in the collection is a St. Memin, mounted in a mourning ring, of which six are said to have been executed.

As a matter of curiosity, one of the cipher rebus of the Revolutionary period in the collection is given in this connection; the reader will recognize in the writer the celebrated Henry Laurens, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London. The Franklin and the Lafayette divisions of the collection will form subjects for future papers in the Magazine.

*Elizabeth Bryant Johnston*

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

[The following extracts are from the original Order Book of Colonel David Waterbury, of Stamford, Connecticut, in the early part of the Revolution.]

Head Quarters New York 10<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1776

### General Lee's Orders

Before the stores are delivered out to the men They are to Return to Col.<sup>a</sup> Waterbury all their Damaged Cartridges.

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New York Feb<sup>y</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1776.

The Parole { Countersign Morris }

Col.<sup>a</sup> Waterbury's the Volunteer Connecticut Companies and General Lee's Party to parade cleanly dressed to-morrow Morning in Order to attend Divine Service.


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Head Quarters N. York 11<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1776

Parole Scott {  
Countersign Lewis }

The General having observ'd great Negligence In the drummers not doing their duty, Orders For the future that drum Majors of Lord Stirling's And Col. Waterbury's Regiments (Including his own Guard and the Independant Companies) shall do Duty in Rotation—the whole Corps of drums & fifers To Parade every morning at 9 O'Clock before the General's Quarters for Troop beat & the same at 5 o'Clock In the afternoon for Retreat beat.—The Reveille Is to be beat every morning at day-break at both Barracks, and the Taptoo from the Barracks. Lord Stirling's drums at the South Part & Col Waterbury's at the North part of the City —any Drumer or fifer Neglecting his duty to be Reported by the Drum Major and will be Severely Punished,—A Subaltern & twenty four to march from the upper Barracks to the post gaurd—the gaurd of the upper to be Eas'd—forty of said Gaurd to Return to thier Quarters—thirty Six being sufficient for this Nights duty——

Isaac Sears, Deputy Adjutant General.



New York 11<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1776.

Regimental Orders ;

It is ordered that the Comesary M<sup>r</sup> Squire deal out four Days Provisions to Col. Waterbury's Reg<sup>t</sup> to-morrow Morning of all Species Commenceing on the 12 day & ending on the 15 day both day<sup>s</sup> Included. It is likewise order'd that each Cap<sup>t</sup> of S<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>. Give in A Victualing Return this day to the Quarter Master that they may be Ready to Receive their Provision in the Morning Without trouble, this ordered by me.

David Waterbury Jun<sup>r</sup> Col.

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New York 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1776.

Regimental Orders

It is Reported to me that Some of the Axes That have been this day taken out of the Stores Are taken away & Secreted, if the Person or persons That have taken them Return them by To-morrow morning they shall not be punished if they shall be found with any Person after that time they may expect to be punished to the Extremity of the Law and to pay for all that is missing—As it is also Reported to me That some of my Reg<sup>t</sup> have been to the Goal and Abused the people & broke the windows it Is my Express orders that no Person Shall go To the Goal on any Account whatever on Penalty of being Severely Punish'd

David Waterbury Jun<sup>r</sup> Col

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Head Quarters 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1776.

Countersign, Richmond.

The Party for fatigue Consisting of A Cap<sup>t</sup> three Subalterns & one Hundred men to parade to Morrow Morning at nine O'Clock without Arms to take their Instructions from Cap<sup>t</sup> Smith. Another Party Consisting of one Cap<sup>t</sup> two Subalterns & Sixty men to Parade at the Same Hour & take their Instructions from Col Sears—These Parties who March out of Town to keep their Ranks and files in A more Soldier like manner than They did to day the officers Commanding to be Answerable for this

Isaac Sears

Deputy Adj<sup>t</sup> General.

Doc<sup>t</sup> Townsend was employed as a Surgeon to my Regiment on the 13<sup>th</sup> Day of Feb<sup>r</sup> 1776.

Head Quarters N. York 13<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1776.

Parole Thanet.

Countersign Burk.

A Hundred & Sixty men to parade to Morrow Morning for Fatigue. With the Same Proportion of officers as this day, the men to breakfast Before they Parade, Sixty men to put themselves under the directions of Col Sears—the other Hundred under the directions of Capt. Smith. The Gaurd as usual—one Gill of Rum a day To be allow'd the Fatiged P<sup>r</sup> day

Isaac Sears

Deputy Adj<sup>t</sup> General.

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New York 14<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1776.

Reg<sup>l</sup> Orders.

It is ordered that the Several Capt<sup>s</sup> in the Regiment Commanded by Col David Waterbury Make out A Weekly Return this day of their Company<sup>s</sup> that the State of Regiment may be Known by me

David Waterbury Jun<sup>r</sup> Col.

It is also Ordered that they turn in to the Quarter Master all the Damaged Cartridges.

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Head Quarters N. York 14<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1776.

Parole Barre }  
Countersign Stanhope }

Evening Orders the Same For Fatigue to morrow as to day. The same Gaurd to Parade as usual, but if it Should Happen the Independant Battallions take the Gaurds, the Corps of Stirling, Waterbury, the Independant Company of Connecticut & General Lee's Party to appear under Arms before Trinity Church at half Past ten in Order that their Arms Accoutriments & ammunition may be Reviewed. The drum Major of Lord Stirling's & Col Waterbury's to take the Command of the Corps of drumers Alternity, if any of the drumers shew any Inclination to be Disobedient the drum Major immediately To Confine them, for the future the Serg<sup>t</sup> Major of the two Corps and Serg<sup>t</sup> Denmark of the Riflers To attend the town Major with thier Orderly Books

Isaac Sears

Deputy Adj<sup>t</sup> General.



## MINOR TOPICS

### MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN MAUNSELL, B. A.

This distinguished British officer of the former century, was a citizen of New York from about 1763 until his death, July 27, 1795.\* "He resided at Harlem Heights." Rev. Maunsell Van Rensselaer, D.D., of this city, in his courteous note, giving the above information, also states that General Maunsell "left no descendants here, but had children in Ireland." Burke says he was the son of Richard Maunsell Esq., M. P. of Limerick from 1741 to 1761, and that he was the



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN MAUNSELL, B. A.

fourth son of Thomas, who married a daughter of Sir Theophilus Eaton. The General's mother was Jane, eldest daughter of Richard Waller, Esq., of Castle Waller, County Tipperary. One of his brothers was the Rev. William Maunsell, D.D. His father died in 1773. Of General Maunsell's military career prior to his coming to this city, we are told that "he commanded the 56th regiment at the siege of Havana in 1760, and led the party which stormed the Moro." The British Army Register states that he was created colonel, August 29, 1777, a major-general, Oct. 19, 1781, and was placed on the half-pay list in 1788. The earliest recorded notice of him in New York concerns his second marriage.

The Trinity Church Register says: "John Maunsell and Elizabeth Wraxall, June 11, 1763." As his marriage was the determining cause of his subsequent life-residence in New York and the occasion of his name's being found in its honored family nomenclature, even to the present time, it is proper to speak particularly of

\* The following obituary notice appeared in Greenleaf's *New York Journal* and *Patriotic Register*, August 1, 1795:

"DIED.—On Monday, p. m., of a severe and tedious illness, in his 71<sup>st</sup> year, Gen. John Maunsell, for many years, a distinguished and meritorious officer in the British Army. He possessed many eminent virtues, and was held in high estimation by a numerous circle of friends and acquaintances. He left an amiable and much respected widow, with attached friends, to regret the loss."

the lady to whom he was united, and of her social connections. It was from the lips of her grand niece, recently deceased, Mrs. Susan Ten Eyck Williamson, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, the venerable widow of Captain Charles Williamson, U. S. N., that we learned many of the facts concerning Mrs. Maunsell. Her maiden name was Stillwell. When she married General Maunsell she was the widow of Peter Wraxall, to whom she was married December 2, 1756, and who is supposed to have been the Captain Peter Wraxall, of the merchant ship *Sampson*. Lieut. Robert Wraxall of the Foot at New York, in 1754, was probably his brother or near kinsman. The anecdote is related of Capt. Wraxall, that being a friend and correspondent of young Maunsell, afterwards general, then in England, he wrote to him from New York of his intended marriage to Miss Stillwell, and that in his reply, Maunsell said: "Pray don't bring an *American squaw* to England!"

To this pleasant protest, the gallant captain, of course, paid no attention, and shortly after took his newly wedded American wife, as *compagnon du voyage*, to his native shores, and even had the temerity to present her at court, where she is said to have been very much admired. And as the story goes, Maunsell was there on hand standing and talking with several gentlemen in one of the ante-rooms, as the usher announced Captain Wraxall and lady, and that when they passed all were struck with the remarkable beauty and elegance of Mrs. Wraxall. Captain Wraxall lived but a few years, and in due time she became the wife of his friend Maunsell, whose memory of her personal attractions may possibly have been the magnet that first drew him to colonial New York.

Mrs. Maunsell was the daughter of Richard Stillwell, who died at Shrewsbury, New Jersey, in 1743, æt. 71; and his wife, in 1746, who was the daughter of a clergyman by the name of Ray, once living at Block Island. Her grandfather, Richard Stillwell, Esq., a Cromwellian, married a daughter of Solicitor Cooke, implicated in the execution of Charles I., who with two brothers fled to America after the Restoration, and became a prominent citizen and magistrate; he settled on Staten Island. Her grandmother (*née* Cooke) is said to have been, until her father's defection, one of the maids of honor to the Queen. The reader is referred to that curious antiquarian work of President Stiles, of Yale College, published at New Haven in 1794, and entitled the "History of the Three Judges" of Charles I. of England, in which he thoroughly investigated the then current belief, as to the number of the so-called "Regicides" who fled to America for refuge after the Restoration. Having heard through a friend, who had learned the fact several years before, that there was a widow lady, named Watkins (the sister of Mrs. Maunsell), who claimed descent from one of them, he addressed a letter of inquiry to her on the subject, and received an answer at considerable length, with full particulars, which is inserted in the volume—now one rarely seen. With regard to its contents and its venerable writer, the learned doctor thus speaks: "I have since seen this very respectable lady, who is still living at Harlem, and in conversation with her received even more ample information on the subject."





This work of President Stiles set at rest the idea of some that Solicitor Cooke was one of the *Judges* of Charles I., and that he became a refugee to our shores. For it refers to the histories of that time to show, in connection with the testimony of Mrs. Watkins, that Lord Cooke, as *Solicitor* at the King's "trial and adjudication," was condemned to death and *executed* in England. Dr. Stiles had also been told of this remarkable woman, that she even "*gloried* in being a descendant of an ancestor who *had suffered for liberty*." The Stillwell family history contains biographical sketches of this eminent man, and of his brother, both of whom were condemned to a barbarous death. Letters written by them in prison, shortly before the execution, exhibit such a spirit of heroic trust in the unerring judgment of God, and of joyous faith in Christ, as to leave no room to question the entire inculpability, *in foro conscientia*.

From sources of information already quoted, and possibly needing some correction, we now subjoin genealogically as follows: One of Mrs. Maunsell's sisters, the oldest daughter of Richard Stillwell, married Lord Aflick, and lived and died in a castle built by William the Conqueror. They had no children. The second daughter married Mr. John Watkins, of the Island of St. Nevis, who came to New York long before the Revolution, and became a large landholder in old Harlem, on the North River side, where he lived with his family many years. Portions of his estate there were sold to Dr. Samuel Bradhurst, General Alexander Hamilton and others. The fourth daughter married Col. Clark, B. A.; their daughter married Lord Holland. Our memorandum also states that of the children of John and Lydia Watkins, their second daughter, Lydia, married James Beekman, of New York, whose fine family mansion on the East River side, several miles out of the ancient city limits, stood there for more than a century before its demolition.\* On the wall of a lower room in the New York Historical Society building is attached a beautiful relic of this once noted old New York residence, over which is inscribed: "Drawing Room Mantel and Dutch tiles, from Beekman House, Turtle Bay, built 1763, taken down in 1867. Presented by James W. Beekman." To the memory of the thoughtful donor, we would fain pay, in passing, the tribute of respect justly due to a man of rare historical and literary culture, and a most worthy representative, both of his honorable ancestry in this country, and of its ancient Dutch Reformed Church, of which he was a member. At the residence of his son, James

\* This famous old mansion was occupied for a while, soon after the Revolutionary War, by Chief Justice Richard Morris, it having been granted by the State to him in lieu of his own in Morrisania, seized and burnt by special orders of Governor Tryon, in 1775. Mr. Morris was Judge of the Vice-Admiralty under the crown at the commencement of the war of Independence, but promptly espoused the American cause. Governor Tryon urged him to continue in office until more quiet and profitable times. His noble answer was, that he never would sacrifice his principles to his interest, and that his office was at the Governor's disposal. Thenceforward he was a marked man, and the devastation of his fine estate followed, with the destruction of his dwelling-house on the banks of the Harlem, situated near where the elegant mansion of his grandson Lewis G. Morris, Esq., now stands

Beekman, Esq., East 34th St., several old family portraits, life-size, adorn the walls, which for generations graced the Turtle Bay house. Another daughter married a Philadelphian, whose name is not given. One of these, Elizabeth, remembered in Mrs. Maunsell's will probated in 1815,—as also "the daughters of Charles Watkins,"—is there designated as the widow of Robert H. Dunkin, Esq., of New York. Their daughter married John S. Van Rensselaer, a lawyer of Albany. Mary died single. John, their oldest son, married Judith, youngest daughter of Governor Livingston of New Jersey. Charles, a merchant, married a Miss Marshall of this city, one of whose ancestors was a Ten Eyck of the original New Amsterdam stock. He was the father of the late Mrs. Williamson, previously mentioned, and of Mrs. John Lewis, a surviving sister, in Elizabeth, New Jersey, to whose kind pen we have been indebted for material on the subject of this article. Their widowed mother, at her husband's decease, removed to Elizabeth, and for several years occupied the stately old mansion, which subsequently was long the famous residence of Major-General Winfield Scott. Another son, Dr. Samuel Watkins, lived in Jefferson, now Watkins, Schuylcr Co., New York, at the head of Seneca Lake. He was an early proprietor of that picturesque region, and married there, late in life.

The first mention of General Maunsell in the New York public prints, as yet noticed by us, occurs in "*Holl's Journal and General Advertiser*" of October 28, 1773, under the head of "Inward Entries," thus: "Ship *Grace*, from Bristol, England, Capt. Chambers; Col. Maunsell and Mr. Charles Dunn came passengers with Capt. Chambers." In the same paper, of May 11, 1775, we next find him noticed as follows: "Thursday last, the *Harriet* Packet sailed with the mail for Falmouth: went out passengers, the Hon. John Watts, and Roger Morris, members of his Majesty's Council for this Province, Isaac Wilkins, member for the Borough of Westchester, Col. Maunsell and others." This unusual leaving for England, by prominent loyalists, at the outset of the Revolution, is mentioned in the "*Edison Documents*,"—under about the same date,—printed in this Magazine [VIII. 224], which thus refers to it: "Several of our principal men are going to England immediately," etc., specifying the same names. New York was then a caldron of patriotic furor, so alarming in its ebullitions that pronounced friends of British rule began to tremble even for their personal safety. Thus the eminent Dr. Chandler, rector of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, who had come to New York to embark for England at the same time,—early in May, 1775—states in his MS. and still unpublished diary, that he was advised ~~not~~ to spend a night in the city, but to go at once on board his ship, which he did. He also mentions Col. Maunsell as his fellow-voyager to Europe, although not a fellow-passenger, and further on in his journal, viz. "August 22, 1775," speaks of him as being then in England. Relative to the disturbed condition of affairs in this country at the crisis before referred to, *Edison* again records, July 20th, 1775 (VIII. 266): "This day has been observed as a solemn fast, and sermons were preached at all the churches suitable to the times. There never was a time when fasting and

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

prayer, were more necessary, *for we are living upon a volcano which, at any time, may burst forth.*" But it is more to our purpose here to quote from official documents contained in the "Colden Papers,"—in the possession of the New York Historical Society,—Vol. X. pp. 404-5, which not only tell the same dismal story of affairs in the colonies at that epoch, but also vouch for the high character of the subject of this sketch, particularly with respect to the special object of his visit to the mother country, in 1775. These are two letters from the Honorable Cadwallader Colden, President of the King's Council, addressed respectively to Lord Dartmouth and Lord North, dated each, "New York, 4th May, 1775," and which run as follows, the first being to Lord Dartmouth: "My Lord,—The state of anarchy and confusion into which this Province has run since the actual commencement of Hostilities between the King's troops and the People of Massachusetts Bay, induced several Gentlemen to go over to England with hopes of being able to do something to stop the Effusion of Blood, and the Harms and Calamities of a Civil War, which has already had such terrifying Effects. Among these is Lt. Col. Maunsell, a half-pay officer in his Majesty's service, who with great zeal offered to carry my Dispatches to your Lordship. I have not had more than a superficial acquaintance with Col. Maunsell, but on this Occasion, I have been told by Gentlemen who Know him, that he is a man of Honor and Probity, a warm Friend to the Government, and by a Residence of eleven years in this Place, is well acquainted with the General State of the Province. He will be able to give your Lordship a minute Detail of Circumstances, which you may wish to Know. I do not, however, my Lord, deliver up public Dispatches to him, as it is possible he may be detained by sickness or some accident.—If he should arrive in London before the Mail, your Lordship may confide in his account of our present State, which is a total prostration of Government and an Association with the other Colonies to resist the Acts of Parliament and oppose Force to Force. I am &c." The second of these two official letters, addressed to Lord North, reads:

"New York, 4<sup>th</sup> May, 1775.

My Lord,

Lieut. Col. Maunsell was the person who, on the sudden change that has happened in this Province, took the Resolution of going to England, and engaged a Letter of Introduction to your Lordship. He is an officer on half-pay, served in the last war in America, and has acquired a knowledge of the state of this Colony by a residence of eleven years. He has been an Eye-Witness of the late extraordinary events in this place. So many Gentlemen have taken the Resolutions to go over in this Pacquet, that your Lordship may have the best information from a variety of hands."

This letter closes with the mention of the same distinguished persons spoken of in the preceding. General Maunsell returned to New York the next year. As to

his family residences in this city, Gaine's *New York Gazette* of Jan. 26, 1776, thus advertises one of them :

"TO BE LET, (and entered 10th of April next) The pleasant, healthy and convenient house and five lots of ground, containing 26 acres of land in six enclosures, at Greenwich, where Lieut. Colonel John Maunsell's family now lives.

Oliver De Lancey."

The New York Directory of 1794, gives his residence at that time as 11 Broadway, which was also his widow's home for several subsequent years. She is said to have lived to the advanced age of ninety-seven, and was buried in Harlem, on the family estate. Her will before mentioned contains the following clause : "Whereas I have built a vault on the East River, on a part of my farm in Harlem, where the remains of my late husband, General Maunsell, now are deposited, and wherein, I now direct my remains to be placed by his side, agreeably to his will, said vault to be forever reserved a sacred deposit for the remains of my husband and my own," &c. She speaks of this "farm," as where her "present *dwelling-house* is situate"—which our memorandum says was a frame structure, "standing nearly opposite the old Roger Morris place," adding, that the "Watkins mansion, was of *stone*, and near the 10th mile-stone." The religious clause of Mrs. Maunsell's will is sublimely concise: "I commit my soul into the hands of my Almighty Jehovah Saviour, trusting to his righteousness alone for eternal life." He was "a very handsome man, and a true gentleman." The portrait given is from the photograph of a miniature in the possession of H. M. Schieffelin, Esq., of this city, to whose courtesy we are indebted for its use. We learn from the same gentleman, that Mr. Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, who is living in Europe, has an old portrait of the General, about half-length and life-size. The Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer, has also a miniature likeness of the general, as well as his uniform coat, and his Prayer-book, with other relics ; and we are informed that Mr. Wm. Chamberlain has a handsome original miniature of our subject in a bracelet. We learn that the late Mr. Maunsell Bradhurst Field was named for John Maunsell Bradhurst, a friend of his father's, and partner in business, and, also, that his cousin, Hickson W. Field, Jr., whose name represents that of another noble old New York merchant, married Mr. Bradhurst's daughter. It has been a peculiar privilege for the writer to offer to the Magazine this record of a distinguished British officer, whose associations with old New York were of so pleasing a character, and whose name has been so long and honorably preserved in family life among us.

WM. HALL.



## POLITICAL AMERICANISMS \*

### I

It is impossible to look over the columns of a daily journal, especially during the progress of a vigorous political campaign, without encountering numerous expressions and phrases, the meaning of which cannot be learned from any dictionary, but which, to one who is familiar with the current *argot* of the period, are often quite as vigorously expressive as the most picturesque slang of the streets. The vocabulary of the American politician has indeed become copious beyond what is generally believed, and the glossary presented herewith lays no claim to completeness. It includes, however, a number of phrases which can be found in no other compilation. Some of these have passed out of current use, others are defined according to the best authorities available—often that of gray-haired veterans who may have cast their first vote for Jackson or Clay, and who were in the prime of life during the "Hard Cider" campaign.

It has not always been easy to decide upon the exact meaning of a particular phrase, indeed meanings frequently vary with localities. Doubtless, careful readers will note sundry infelicities of definitions, which in point of fact may be due mainly to local variations.

Wherever these definitions touch upon present issues, they must almost of necessity prove unsatisfactory in one way or another. Supporters of Mr. Blaine, for instance, may naturally think that a definition of the Mulligan letters is out of place in such a glossary, while his opponents will hold that a *mere* definition is ridiculously inadequate. This instance recalls the fact that while the writer was questioning a highly intelligent elderly gentleman of this city on the subject of certain phrases current half a century ago, the "Mulligan letters" chanced to be mentioned.

"What are those letters," said the old gentleman, "and who was Mulligan?"

The writer opened his note-book and read the brief explanation.

"Well," was the comment, "of course I have seen no end of stuff about it all, but I never took the trouble to read it."

He really seemed glad to learn, without spending too much time, just who Mulligan was.

If this be true of a phrase so much bewritten as this, how much less likely are people to know the meaning of such terms as "Morganize," "hunker," "loco-foco," and a hundred others, all possessing certain points of interest that may often be traced back to curious derivations?

**ABOLITIONIST.**—With this word widely divergent meanings are associated in different sections of the country. At the North an abolitionist is simply one who favors, or favored, the abolition of slavery, and the name is in itself honorable. At the South it is a synonym for all that is contemptible, mean, and dishonest, this in addition to its true derivative signification as understood at the North. Many an affray has arisen in consequence of this divergence of meaning, and the consequent misunderstandings. The history of abolition is co-extensive with that of the United States, the anti-slavery agitation having begun before the Revolution, while Vermont abolished slavery within her borders in 1777.

**ABSENTEEISM.**—Adapted into American speech from the Irish "National" vocabulary, and generally used in this country with reference to wealthy Americans who reside abroad.

**ALBANY REGENCY.**—So called from the residences of its members at the State capital of New York. It was an association of Democratic politicians organized in 1820, and including in its early membership Martin Van Buren, Silas Wright, John A. Dix, Dean Richmond, Peter Caggar, and many others. It absolutely, though unofficially, controlled the action of the party until 1854, when its opponents, having learned its methods, its power was broken.

**AMERICAN.**—The "American" party originated in New York in 1844, its avowed object being to oppose the usurpation of the city government by foreigners. Owing to the extreme views of its leaders it fell into disfavor, but came to the front again in 1853, under the popular designation of "Know Nothings" (*q. v.*).

**AMERICAN KNIGHTS.**—Knights of the Golden Circle (*q. v.*).

**ANTI-MASONRY.**—A movement precipitated by the alleged murder of Morgan (*q. v.*) by the Free Masons in 1826. Wm. H. Seward, Millard Fillmore and Thurlow Weed were among the leaders of the Anti-Masons, and the party wielded political power for several years.

**ANTI-MONOPOLIST.**—One who is opposed to existence of monopolies in the commercial world, on the ground that their political influence endangers the liberty of the people. Legislators

are often classified as monopolists and anti-monopolists.

**ANTI-RENTERS.**—The anti-rent movement bore a conspicuous part in the politics of New York during most of the decade prior to 1847. It resulted from the attempt of the heirs of General Stephen Van Rensselaer to collect rents. Laws had been passed abolishing feudal tenures in 1779 and 1785; but the tenants of Van Rensselaer—who by courtesy was styled the "Patroon" (a title never claimed) to the end of his long and useful life—still continued to enjoy the farms upon which they lived on leases for life tenures, or from year to year. Through the indulgence of the "Patroon" these tenants were all in debt. When he died they resisted the steps taken in the settlement of his estate, to collect rents, and complained that these semi-feudal land tenures were totally inconsistent with the spirit and genius of republican institutions. When the matter was pressed, they armed and disguised themselves as Indians, and offered such resistance to the civil officers that military interference became necessary. The governor sent troops to quell the riotous proceedings, and the disturbances attracted national attention. The newspapers were full of the subject, it was carried into politics, and then into the courts. In the end, the State constitution of New York, in 1846, abolished all feudal tenures. The leases were converted into freeholds—that is, the parties who had rented bought their farms, giving mortgages; and thus became freeholders instead of tenants.

**ASHLANDERS.**—A political club of rowdies identified with Ashland Square in Baltimore, which city has been exceptionally prolific in names of this character, as "Babes," "Plug-Uglies," "Dead Rabbits," "Blood-tubs," etc.

**BALLOT-BOX STUFFING.**—Originally practiced in New York, where boxes were constructed with false bottoms, so that an unlimited number of spurious ballots could be introduced by the party having control of the polling place. By mutual consent of parties this is now almost impossible.

**BARBECUE** (Spanish *barbacoda*, French *barbe-à-queue*).—To cook a large animal whole, over an open fire. The French derivation suggests that the goat, from beard to tail—*de barbe-à-queue*

—was the first victim of this species of cookery. The barbecue was formerly a conspicuous feature of political meetings, and is still common at the South and West (see "Burgoo.") This year it has reappeared in New York State, a genuine barbecue having been held in Brooklyn.

**BAR'L (Barrel).**—A wealthy candidate for office is said to have remarked, "Let the boys know that there's a bar'l o' money ready for 'em," or words to that effect. The use of the term in this sense became general about 1876.

**BARNBURNER.**—A nickname given to certain progressive New York Democrats about 1835, who were opposed to the conservative "Hunkers" (*q. v.*). The name is derived from the legend of the Dutchman who set his barn afire in order to kill the rats which infested it, the analogy being that the Democrats in question would fain destroy all existing institutions in order to correct their abuses.

**BLACK JACK.**—An army nickname of General John A. Logan, given him because of his very dark complexion.

**BLEEDING KANSAS.**—During the border troubles resulting from the passage of the Kansas Nebraska Bill (1854), there was fighting of a more or less organized description, and many "free soil" advocates were killed. "Bleeding Kansas" became a popular phrase with the Northern orators of the day, and was used scoffingly by those on the other side. It is believed to have been originally coined to serve as a newspaper headline.

**BLOODY CHASM.**—"To bridge the bloody chasm" was a favorite expression with orators who, during the years immediately succeeding the Civil War, sought to obliterate the memory of the struggle.

**BLOODY SHIRT.**—This became the symbol during the reconstruction period of those who would not suffer the Civil War to sink into oblivion out of consideration for the feelings of the vanquished. To "wave the bloody shirt" was to harrow up the exciting memories of the war.

**BOLT.**—Used as a verb to indicate the right of the independently minded to revolt against partisan rule, as, "He bolted the party nominations." Also pronominally, as "He has

organized a bolt." The word derived this meaning from its sporting application to a horse when he becomes unmanageable on the race track. It is rarely used with its dictionary meaning in political connection, and when so used is generally misunderstood by the average reader.

**BOODLE.**—A slang word adapted to political usage from the *argot* of counterfeiters. Originally it meant the main portion of the counterfeit money, and by an easy translation has come to mean a large roll of bills such as political managers are supposed to divide among their retainers.

**BOOM.**—Variously used as a noun or a verb. Derived, probably, from the nautical phrase "boom-out," signifying a vessel running rapidly before the wind. Within a few years it has made its appearance in a variety of combinations, as "the whole State is booming for Smith," or "the boys have whooped up the State to boom for Smith," or "the Smith boom is ahead in this State," etc., etc.

**BORDER-RUFFIANS.**—This came prominently into use during the Kansas-Nebraska troubles of 1854-5, and was originally applied to bands of voters who crossed the border from the slave States in order to carry the elections in the Territories.

**BOSS.**—The political "Boss" is the leader whose word is law to his henchmen. "Boss" Tweed of this city is believed to have been the first to wear the title in a semi-official way. The phrase "Boss Rule" is said to have been invented by Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, and employed by him in political speeches in Chicago. It is now in common use in this sense. Originally the word is Dutch (Baas), and is still used in New York and vicinity in a semi-respectful way.

**BOURBON.**—A Democrat of the straitest sect. A "fire-eater" (*q. v.*). Applied for the most part to Southern Democrats of the old school. This use of the word probably ante-dates the Civil War, but no instance of such use has been found in print. Bourbon County, Kentucky, is popularly associated with this kind of Democrat, but we must look to the old Bourbon party in France—uncompromising adherents of political tradition—for its true paternity.

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES

SOLICITING VOTES IN 1758—The following interesting item is copied from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Dec. 28, 1758. "From the *London Magazine* for September, 1758. As many people are unacquainted with the Family of the late brave Lord Viscount Howe, this advertisement may inform them that he left two brothers, the commodore, now Lord Howe, and lieutenant-colonel Howe, at present with his regiment at Cape Breton. So extraordinary an address from the Mother of these truly noble Brothers, must strike every one with mingled Grief and Pleasure, and no doubt will have a due effect upon the persons to home it is addressed :

'To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders and Burgesses of the Town and County of the Town of Nottingham :

As lord Howe is now absent upon the publick service, and lieutenant-colonel Howe is with his regiment at Louisburg, it rests upon me to beg the favour of your votes and interests that lieutenant-colonel Howe may supply the place of his late brother as your representative in parliament.

Permit me, therefore, to implore the protection of every one of you, as the mother of him, whose life has been lost in the service of his country.

CHARLOTTE HOWE."

HAMBURG, N. J.

M. W. L.

SULKY LITTLE RHODY—Extract of a letter from Newport, to a gentleman in Boston, dated July 5, 1787. "Yesterday being the Fourth of July—how was it celebrated in Boston? Here, every one was to his farm and to his merchandize."

[Perhaps Rhode Island was in sack-cloth and ashes, bewailing her unjustifiable conduct. It is hoped that, by the next anniversary, she will fully repent of all her misdemeanors ; be virtuous and honourable, become a strong link in the chain of union, and participate in all its joys.]—*New York Packet*, July 17, 1787.  
PETERSFIELD

FRANKLIN COUNTY, PA., IN 1773—From a letter published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for October, 1884, we copy the following picturesque description : "It was in April, 1772, that I settled on this plantation. It is situated at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from Philadelphia, and is just as far from Fort Pitt ; it lies in a large and beautiful valley, which runs all through Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia ; it consists of about four hundred and thirty acres, and there was a house of two stories high, and office house upon it. The house is built of square blocks of wood, worked or indented in one another ; it is well plastered, so that it is warm enough, and I have six convenient rooms in it. My plantation, which I call Cockerhill, after the name of the farm where my father lived and died, and where I lived so long 'near Glasgow, Scotland, a short distance from Crookston Castle, consists wholly of limestone land, and in general, limestone land is reckoned the best in the country. I bless God that I came here and I heartily thank every man of you who encouraged me, and helped me to get the better of that that a man is under when he is to venture over so wide a sea."



NO MORE WAR : A PROPHECY FOR 1761 —“THE PROPHETIC NUMBERS of *Daniel* and *John* calculated ; in order to show the DAY of JUDGMENT for this first age of the GOSPEL, is to be expected ; and setting up the Millennial Kingdom of *Jehovah* and his Christ. By Richard Clarke, minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. ‘He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.’ AMEN. [In which is predicted—‘The anger of God against the wicked in the year 1759’—God will be known by many in the year 1760, and this will produce a great war.

Asia, Africa and America will tremble in the year 1761.

A great EARTHQUAKE over the whole world in 1763.

God will be universally known by all ; —Then general Reformation and Peace for ever ; when the People shall learn War no more.

Happy is the man that liveth to see this DAY.”]—BRADFORD’S *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 10, 1759.

HAMBURG, N. J.

M. W. L.

THE COUNTRY EDITOR—The printers wish, as their Wood-Pile is already reduced to freezing point, and will shortly be down to 0, if not replenished, that such of their customers *as have promised wood for the papers*, may not neglect to improve the present good sleighing in fulfilment of their engagements.—*Catskill Packet*, Feb. 4, 1793.

PETERSFIELD

THE ART OF LISTENING—In the *Men-tor*, by Alfred Ayers, some very useful hints are given in regard to conversation. “One must avoid interrupting,” says the author, and “one must learn to listen.

It is not sufficient to keep silent. You should be attentive, seem to be interested, and not wear the expression of a martyr. There are those whose mien when they listen seems to say : ‘Will he ever get through and let me give breath to the words of wisdom !’ or, ‘Poor me, how long will this torture last !’ or, ‘When you get through, I’ll show you in a word or two what nonsense you talk !’ Such listeners are generally persons that think their utterances much more heavily freighted with wisdom than other people think them.”

#### THE GARFIELD MONUMENT FUND—

The State Committee appointed by the Governor to collect funds in aid of the Garfield National Monument at Cleveland, Ohio, of which Gen. James Grant Wilson is the chairman, have completed their duty, by forwarding to the association, of which ex-President Hayes is a prominent member, the sum of \$10,183.44, as New York’s contribution to the martyr’s monument. This amount was collected in the following thirty-eight counties, the other twenty-two having failed to respond to the committee’s appeal :

Albany.	Kings,	Queens.
Cayuga,	Lewis,	Rensselaer,
Chautauqua,	Madison,	Richmond
Chemung,	Monroe,	Rockland,
Chenango,	New York,	Saratoga,
Cortland,	Niagara,	Schenectady,
Dutchess,	Oneida,	Seneca.
Erie,	Ontario,	Sullivan.
Fulton,	Orange,	Tioga.
Green,	Orleans,	Washington,
Hamilton,	Oswego,	Wayne,
Herkimer,	Otsego,	Westchester.
Jefferson,	Putnam,	

The monument is now being erected in Lake View Cemetery, Cleveland, on a commanding eminence, and will cost, when completed, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. J. G. W.

QUERIES

CAPTAIN WASHINGTON—The following item is from a Philadelphia newspaper of March 3, 1763: "Capt. Washington, in a Privateer belonging to Kingston [Jamaica] carried a Dutch sloop in there."

Can any of your readers give any information of this member of the Washington family?

MINTO

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—In my search for copies of the publications issued by order of the Continental Congress I have not met with the one authorized by the following resolution of October 26, 1778:

*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to superintend the publication of such matters relating to the disputes, petitions, and negotiations to and with the court of Great Britain, and such notes and explanations thereon as to them shall appear proper, and that they agree with the printer for 1,300 copies of such publication, on account of Congress; the members chosen Mr. G. Morris, Mr. Drayton and Mr. R. H. Lee.

I presume the book was duly printed, and would feel indebted for a copy of the

title, or reference where the book could be seen.

COLLECTOR

HARLEM HEIGHTS PROPERTY—Aaron Burr's advertisement of Real Estate for sale on Harlem Heights in 1785. Where was it exactly?

In Kollock's *New York Gazetteer and The Country Journal* of July 1st, 1785, appears the following: "To BE SOLD—THE FARM on the Heights of Harlem belonging to the estate of the late John Watkins, containing about three hundred acres, bounded by the East and North Rivers, where are plenty of fish, oysters, &c., and is remarkably well watered by living springs. The healthfulness of the situation, with the beautiful prospect it commands; the goodness of the land, and the large quantity of hay ground on the farm, renders it an inviting purchase to a gentleman. It will be sold as it is at present, or divided into such parts as will suit the purchasers. For terms apply to Aaron Burr, Esq., corner of Nassau and Little Queen Streets. June 25th, 1785." Where exactly was the farm? Who was "the late John Watkins"? Was the Jumel farm any part of it?

WESTCHESTER

REPLIES

GRAY-COURT [xii. 472]—Notwithstanding the assurance "It can't be so" of your correspondent "Historicus," permit me to say, on the authority of records official, that Daniel "Cromeline" was the owner of the "Gray-Court" tract in 1704, having purchased the same from Hendrick Ten Eyck by deed dated Dec. 8 of that year. William Bull

built the "Gray-Court" house for Daniel Cromeline in 1715-16. Why Daniel Cromeline named the place "Gray-Court" must remain a matter of conjecture, but he did so name it. There is sufficient record in reference to Charles "Crommeline" in 1720, and Daniel Crymline" in 1710. I have supposed that the Charles of 1720 was the son

of the Daniel of 1704. Certainly the Daniel of 1704, 1710 and 1716 must have been more than two years old.

E. M. R.

NEWBURGH, Nov., 1884

ELECTION EXPENSES IN THE LAST CENTURY [xii. 413]—Now that our Presidential election, with its enormous expenditure, has become a thing of the past, it may not be uninteresting to see how history repeats itself, and from the following bill, catch a glimpse of what constituted some of the expenses one hundred and forty-eight years ago. It would probably be difficult to find an *itemized bill* of the present campaign. "General expenses" is a safe expression and a good substitute for disagreeable detail.

The bill alluded to, is indorsed "election expenses for 1738-9," and was divided equally between James Alexander and Eventhus Van Horne.

To 56½ Gall Jamaica Rum for Punch,  
5½ Gall Ditto for drams ye morning,  
62 Gall a 3/3 p £10. 1. 6.  
To Cash for 3½ Gall Brandy at 7 1. 4. 6.  
To Cash for 8 Gall Lime-juice at 4s 1. 12.  
To 73½ lb Single refined Sugar  
whereof is Left 9½, Remn 65½  
lb at 14 p 3 16 1

To 3 Barrill for Wine & Shrub 9  
To 104 Bottels for Wine & Rum  
whereof there is 3 returned, Re-  
mains 101 Bot a 40 pg 1 8. 1  
To 7 pds Candles at Two nights 5. 3-  
To the Carting Wine & Shrub 2.  
To 2 Loads woode and carting 9 3-  
To 4 Case Bottels broke 6  
To 3 Tapes 1  
To 1 Gugs 2. 6. }  
To Mr. Smith for 6 Bottels 1. 8. } 4. 2  
To Mrs. Lancelett acct for earthen  
& Glass Broak 3 5 9  
To John Benck acct for pipes & mugs 0 17 3  
To John Berback for bread 0. 17. 8  
To John Outhout acct barrills de-  
ducted 4. 1. 0  
To John Brashers acct for Tobaco 15  
To Garrad Duyke mending glass 5. 3  
To William Walton for a pyd wine 16. 0. 0.  
To yi hornpipes 2. 0. 0  
To Robin the fidler 12. 0.  
To y<sup>e</sup> other 3 each 9 1. 07. 0.  
To the Drum 12.  
To tunis Teahut for a spad, stolen 7.  
To Mr Alexander for Chease, to  
John Wright 2. 16. 10.  
To Zenger & Golett 2. 5. 6  
To Angeneta Adolph 5.  
To W<sup>m</sup> Langford 1. 4. 4  
To Mr Alexander 1. 9. 7½

£72. 5. 1½  
Alexander 36. 2. 7.  
Van Horne 36. 2. 7.

£72. 5. 2.

NEWARK, N. J.

C. L. R.

## SOCIETIES

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY held its semi-annual meeting for the election of officers at Worcester, Massachusetts, on the 21st of October. Considerable time was spent in eulogizing the character of the late Stephen Salisbury, who had been president for many years, and suitable resolutions were adopted. Dr. Trumbull read an article upon paper currency, giving a history of the scheme. The Treasurer's report showed a balance in the treasury of \$77,663. In the afternoon the election of officers was held, and resulted in the choice of as President, Hon. George F. Hoar, LL.D., of Worcester; Vice-Presidents, Hon. George Bancroft, LL.D., of Washington, and Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester; Council, Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D., of Boston; Joseph Sargent, M.D., of Worcester; Samuel A. Green, M.D., of Boston; Hon. P. Emory Aldrich, of Worcester; Rev. Edward H. Hall, of Cambridge; Rev. Egbert C. Smyth, D.D., of Andover; Samuel S. Green, A.M., of Worcester; A. P. Peabody, D.D., of Cambridge; Charles A. Chase and Hon. Edward L. Davis, of Worcester; Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., of Hartford; Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, Charles Deane, LL.D., of Boston; Recording Secretary, John D. Washburn, A.B., of Worcester; Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, of Worcester; Committee of Publication, Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D., of Boston, Charles Deane, LL.D., of Boston, Nathaniel Paine, of Worcester, Charles A. Chase, A. M., of Worcester; Auditors, Charles A. Chase, A. M., of Worcester, William A. Smith, of Worcester.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY —At the meeting of the Executive Committee of this Society, held on the 25th of October, a large number of gifts of books, manuscripts, maps, relics, etc., were reported, among which was an original ambrotype of Robert E. Lee, at about the age of fifty years. A number of communications were read; one from Charles B. Norton, secretary of the commission for holding the American Exhibition in London, to begin May 1, 1886, asking that the Society be represented in a meeting of the leading historical and scientific bodies of the United States, to be held in London during the exhibition; and another of great interest from John T. Hassam, of Boston, giving information of the valuable results of the researches of Mr. G. F. Waters among the archives of Great Britain during the past two years, under the auspices of the Historic, Genealogical Society, and transmitting a list of unpublished documents, illustrating the early history of Virginia, recently discovered by Mr. Waters. So broad is the field of investigations of Mr. Waters, and so important in their promise to the whole field of American history, and evidently to that of Virginia, that Mr. Hassam thinks it probable that the Legislature of Virginia, or the enlightened of its citizens, might be disposed to contribute toward the expense of a further prosecution of the valuable labors of Mr. Waters.

Orin L. Cottrell, Esq., was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Society *vice* Colonel Thomas H. Ellis, removed from the city and resigned.

## BOOK NOTICES

THE DIARY AND LETTERS OF HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS HUTCHINSON, ESQ., B.A. (Harvard), LL.D. (Oxon.), Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of His late Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay in North America. Compiled from the Original Documents still remaining in the possession of his Descendants. By PETER ORLANDO HUTCHINSON, one of his Great-grandsons. 1 vol. 8vo, pp. vi., 594. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884.

This is a handsome, well-printed octavo volume, from the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., so widely distinguished for the good taste and high character of the workmanship of their issues.

Governor Thomas Hutchinson was one of the ablest of the Massachusetts men of his day. Born in 1711, and bred, in Boston, a graduate of Harvard, a merchant by occupation, and the son of a father in easy circumstances, he was a selectman of Boston and one of its representatives in the General Court at the age of twenty-six. Three years later, in 1741, he was chosen the agent of the inhabitants and proprietors of the great tract of land given to New Hampshire by the determination of the boundary between it and Massachusetts, and sent to England with their petition to the King to be restored to the jurisdiction of the latter. Elected annually from Boston to the General Court from 1742 to 1749, he was its Speaker from 1746 to 1748; and in 1749 was chosen into the Council of the Province, in which he remained continuously till 1766. In 1752 he was made Judge of Probate and Judge of the Common Pleas of Suffolk County. When Lieut.-Gov. de Lancey of New York, by order of the King, convened the Congress of 1754 at Albany, Hutchinson was appointed one of the five commissioners from Massachusetts, and took a very active part in its proceedings. Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts in 1758, he succeeded to the chief command of the Province during the interval between the departure of Gov. Pownall in June, 1760, and the arrival of Gov. Francis Bernard in August of that year. Chief-Justice Sewell having died about a month after Bernard's arrival, the latter, shortly after, appointed Hutchinson Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, to the intense disappointment of James Otis and his father, the latter of whom desired the office—a disappointment which caused the Otises to take the active part they subsequently did against the Government in the disputes which preceded and finally led to Independence. On Bernard's departure in August, 1769, Hutchinson again succeeded to the command of the

Province, and in March, 1771, was commissioned Governor of Massachusetts, and so continued till 1774, in which year he went to England, by leave of the King, to endeavor to induce the Government to adopt a more lenient policy toward the colonies, and especially toward Massachusetts. In this he failed, and never returned to America. He died at Brompton, June 30, 1780, and was buried a few days later in Croydon church, near London, of which his friend, the Rev. East Apthorp, formerly of Boston, was then the Vicar.

Holding high office in Massachusetts continuously for forty-eight years, and after that until his death for six years in close and confidential intercourse with the Ministry of the day and the public men of England of all parties, admitted to the Court and the highest circles of English society, of pleasing manners, an agreeable talker and a close observer, his experience was as great and varied as it was unique. During this long period he preserved his correspondence, kept letter-book copies of his own letters, and during his residence in England wrote a daily diary. These his descendants carefully guarded, and now, after the lapse of more than a century, we have in this volume that part of the Diary covering the years 1774 and 1775, and interspersed with it very many letters to and from him during those years. The information about men and events on both sides of the ocean is great, and often of the highest interest. We are admitted to the private conversation of the leading men in England and that of the King, and see exactly the ideas and facts and opinions which led to the procrastination, folly, and unstatesmanlike action which cost England her American empire; we learn how the interests and rights of America were sacrificed to the temporary interests of British politics and politicians.

The Diary reflects credit on its author, and shows him to have been a singularly just-minded and good-tempered man. There is no abuse, fierceness of speech, or undue acidity of language; but while speaking clearly and decidedly, he never indulges in any vindictiveness or displays of prejudice or anger, such as we have just seen that Carlyle delighted in. Contrasted with the diaries of John Adams and John Quincy Adams, overflowing, as both do, with bile, envy, jealousy, vanity, and, if the word must be said, meanness, often expressed in the strongest and most violent terms, this of Hutchinson shines as light to darkness. And the fact is the more singular, for, as his editor says, "No servant of the Crown ever received more slander, personal abuse and misrepresentation than Thomas Hutchinson in Massachusetts;" and he might have added, greater

loss of property. And he well continues : " Yet his descendants have allowed a whole century to elapse without making an effort to defend his character. Time will show that it did not need defending, and this delay is an advantage to all parties, for we can now examine the situation calmly and dispassionately, which it was impossible to do during the prevalence of political excitement."

It has been said by American writers that Hutchinson was received coldly and neglected in England. This volume proves the contrary. In a letter of 1st November, 1774, to his brother, Foster Hutchinson, occurs this passage :

" Lord Dartmouth very early spoke to me from the K. (king) to know what mark of honour he should confer upon me, and advised me to think of nothing short of an hereditary honour. I considered there was not an estate to support a title. If I had had but one son I might better run the risk, but shall decline it as my family is circumstanced, unless my eldest son shall think I hurt him by the refusal. I tho't it not amiss, however, to ask his Lordship if I should be reproached with being slighted in England whether I might say I had the offer of such an honour. He answered immediately, ' Most undoubtedly. I venture to assure you it will be conferred immediately.' And so the matter rests, and I have said nothing about it since. But all claim to this honour and all the effects I have in the Province I would cheerfully part with to see it restored to the orderly state it was in when I first came to the General Court " Numerous entries show how well he was always received both at Court and in society.

The effect of the Suffolk Resolves, and the action of the Philadelphia Congress indorsing them, upon his efforts to terminate the controversy, or mollify the Government, is striking :— " These proceedings," he writes, " alone are enough to put it out of my power to contribute to any accommodation. \* \* \* It is out of my power any longer to promote a plan of conciliation. I cannot think any exception can be taken to my shunning all share in a plan of hostilities—a plan which, if determined upon, I hope will never be executed. I saw Lord Dartmouth yesterday ' Why, Mr. H., ' says his lordship, ' if these Resolves of your people are to be depended on, they have declared war against us ; they will not suffer any sort of treaty.' ' I cannot help it, my Lord. Your Lordship knows I have done everything in my power to close the breach between the Kingdom and the Colonies, and it distresses me greatly that there is so little prospect of success.' " In still another letter, he gives this very different character of the Ministry and of Lord Dartmouth, from what our historians have told us :

" I will make one observation to you of a

political nature. I have more than a hundred times, in New England, heard the Ministry spoke of as a set of men combining to deprive the Colonies of their liberty, and to introduce an arbitrary and despotic Government ; and sometimes it has been said Popery. I verily believe there never was an Administration with less views of that sort, or more disposed to concede to every claim of the Colonies which can consist with their continuing united to the Kingdom. Lord Dartmouth, who is at the head of the American Department, is as amiable a man as you know—a man of Literature as well as good natural sense. His greatest foible is an excess of humanity, which makes him apt at times to think more favorably of some men than they deserve ; and as for his Religion, he would pass in New England for an Orthodox good Christian ; but here every man who is not ashamed to own himself a Christian, is called a Methodist. I had been often in his company before anything passed on that subject. At length, one day, when nobody was present, — Mr. H., says he, ' the old Puritans who first went over to your Colony were certainly a set of serious godly men ; is the same sense of religion which they carried over with them still remaining there, or does infidelity prevail there as it does here in England ? ' The long conversation which followed I will not commit to writing. The introduction will give you some idea of the man. I seldom see him but he laments that the people in the Colonies have put it out of his power to do what he never would have come into his Office, if he had not hoped to do, towards a reconciliation. Lord North, Lord Suffolk, and the Lord Chancellor, appear to me to have the same dispositions. To say this to a man deep in party would be *canere surdis* [to sing to the deaf], but this is not the case with you."

The mystery of the affair of his private letters, obtained surreptitiously by Franklin, and sent by him to Boston and there published, is not cleared up. The Ministers and others ascribe the taking of them to Temple in spite of his denial, but Hutchinson himself seems to have been in doubt, and gives Temple the benefit of it. Dr. Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, then a student in London, told Dr. Hossack, as the latter states in his memoir of Williamson, that he obtained them, handed them to Franklin, and immediately left London and went over to Holland. The Diary throws no light on this story. Franklin's allegation that he obtained them from a member of Parliament, was probably made for a purpose, and the truth of the matter is yet to be discovered.

There is a full and striking account of the remarkable conversation of George III. with Hutchinson on his arrival in London, which, however, was known before, through what the

editor says was a surreptitious copy made by Mr. Rives when Edward Everett was American Minister in London, for Mr. Bancroft, without the knowledge of the Hutchinson family.

Space will not permit of further extracts, but this from the entry of May 3, 1775—twelve days only after Bunker Hill, and twenty-five before the arrival of the news of the battle in England, is too curious to be omitted.—May the 3d, Lord North opened his budget in the H. of Commons, where no opposition remains. Out of doors every artifice is used to keep up a spirit against the Minister for American Measures; and a report has been current to-day that there has been a battle, and that Gage has lost 1,000 men, etc. [the italics are ours]. This almost makes us believe in second sight.

A blemish of the work is the insertion in the text of many inconsequential observations of the editor himself made during a journey in America a few years ago, which are of no value whatever. Otherwise his work is fairly done, and the book is one of great and lasting value. It is to be praised for having an Index, but it should have been a fuller one, especially as to names. The editor promises us at a future time the continuation of the Diary to the death of its author in 1780, which will be looked for with eagerness by every one interested in American History.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ALBANY, NEW YORK, from the discovery of the Great River, in 1524, by Verrazzano, to the Present Time. By ARTHUR JAMES WELSE, M.A. 8vo, pp. 526. 1884. Albany: E. H. Bender.

This work covers a period of three hundred and sixty years, and is the first complete history of our State capital that has been written. It is fully illustrated with buildings old and new, valuable maps, and explanatory diagrams. It treats of discoveries and explorations, early settlements and experiences, the rise and development of the little hamlet and village of Albany, the manners and customs of its inhabitants, Indian hostilities, the Colonial Congress, affairs of the Revolution, the general progress of the city during the present century, and the new Capitol. The author graphically describes Albany, in 1685, as "surrounded by a fence of thick planks and heavy posts, thirteen feet long, and planted upright in the ground. . . . The houses in the village, about one hundred in number, were mostly structures of logs or of framed timber, weather boarded. There were some that were built of brick. The few stone buildings were of rough masonry. Many of the houses were thatched with reeds, some were covered with shingles, and others were roofed with glazed tiles. Very few of the steep gable-roofs had

eave-troughs, hence the occasional use of the descriptive phraseology 'free drip,' in the early conveyances. Frequently small square dormer windows were set in the roofs to admit light to the garrets, which were commonly used as sleeping-rooms. The chimneys were mostly built on the outside of the houses, at their gable-ends, and were made wide and deep at the bottom for large fire-places. For warmth in winter, long and thick pieces of wood were burned on these ample hearths, particularly in the kitchens, which in cold weather were usually the only rooms that had fire in them. Wide, arched brick bake-ovens were often built at the back sides of these spacious kitchen fire-places, and the part projecting into the house-yard was generally covered with a shed-roof. House doors were mounted with long iron hinges set on strong iron staples. Windows contained one or more sashes filled with small panes of glass set in grooves of lead. Stoops—low, wooden platforms with backed benches—were generally placed before the front doors. These porches, on fair summer evenings, were the favorite out-door sitting places of the villagers."

Every page of this excellent historical work gives unmistakable evidence of careful and painstaking research, and the varied data gathered by the accomplished author from an infinite number of original sources, are grouped and presented in the most skillful and felicitous manner. The book is printed in clear handsome type, on choice paper, in elegant binding, and forms a beautiful volume. It is sold only by subscription, but we predict for it a large and appreciative audience outside of the city of Albany. Every citizen of the State of New York who possesses a library, or who has a desire even to be classed among the intelligent of this generation, either with or without a library of his own, cannot afford to miss it from his possession.

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REFORMS: THEIR DIFFICULTIES AND POSSIBILITIES. By the Author of "CONFLICT IN NATURE AND LIFE." 12mo, pp. 229. 1884. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The perplexing problems of life are discussed in this volume with rare ability, and from a new point of view—that of conflict in the constitution of things. The author sympathizes with the laboring classes, not because they labor, but because they are more liable than others to suffer injustice and wrong, and because whatever may have determined their lot, it is at best a hard one. But he thinks even the working-man wants a clearer view of the economic situation as it relates to himself. "There is something more needed than mere earning and saving. Laboring men must cultivate a brotherly sympathy

with one another, and learn to act in concert with intelligence and prudence; not to cripple and destroy capital." The book is strong and rich in suggestion. The writer's name is withheld, but his erudition and impartiality, his charming style, and his skill in reasoning convince us that he has given years of profound thought to these and kindred topics. He wields the pen of a master. And he says so much that is worth while to read and think about, that it is difficult even to enumerate the good points in the volume. Speaking of education for the farmer, he says it should be specially directed to the strengthening of practical common-sense. "What the farmer really wants is discipline in the application of means to ends. It is not economical to direct heavy ordnance against small game. Learned men may not make the best farmers. And boys very naturally refuse to qualify for such an isolated, lonesome, and contracted sphere as that of simply managing a farm." The third chapter, on "Monopoly," is one of exceptional interest—as is also the sixth chapter, entitled "Money." In conclusion, the author bids the reformer at all times to remember how easy it is in bringing about a good, to give rise in the process to an unforeseen evil.

**THE MOUNTAIN ANTHEM.** The Beatitudes in Rhythmic Echoes. By Rev. WILLIAM C. RICHARDS. Square 12mo, pp. 42. Lee & Shepard. Boston: 1884.

We have seen nothing more beautiful for the coming Christmas season in the way of a gift-book than this fresh contribution to the "Golden Floral" library of Lee & Shepard. A year ago we had the pleasure of noticing from the same publishers an exceptionally unique little volume by the same author, containing twelve original songs and sonnets founded on the twenty-third Psalm, a new and permanent gem in the coronal of sacred Psalmody, entitled "The Lord is My Shepherd." To all who are familiar with the exquisite grace and sweetness of Mr. Richards' poems, we need only say that "The Mountain Anthem" is equally felicitous in expression and in sentiment to any of his former productions. What could touch the heart more tenderly than the closing lines of his rhythmic echo to the text "Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted":

"Every tear of grief is gladness;  
Every sob its solace brings;  
So, for sweetness in his sadness,  
Still the mourner weeps and sings."

It is so rare to find original text in holiday gift-books that we welcome this treasure from Mr. Richards' pen with enthusiasm, and cordially commend the work to those who are searching for presents of substantial worth as well as

beauty for their friends. It is illustrated from original designs in the very highest style of the engraver's art, and appears not only in the silk-fringed, dainty, "Golden Floral" manner, but is bound in a delicate blue cloth, full gilt, tastefully ornamented.

**MARYLAND.** The History of a Palatinate. By WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. (American Commonwealths. Edited by HORACE E. SCUDDER.) 1 vol. 16mo, pp. 292. Boston, 1884. Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

In the choice of Mr. William Hand Browne as an author for a trustworthy and graphic account of the rise and development of Maryland, the editor of this valuable series of historical volumes has made a very strong point. Mr. Browne's familiarity with the political and material development of the Province as well as the State, has enabled him to produce a work of more than usual excellence. He has confined himself chiefly, and we may add, wisely, to the least known period of Maryland's history, that which preceded the War of Independence; and in the prosecution of his work has had exceptional opportunities for examining the original manuscript records and archives. Much that has hitherto been obscure is now presented to the reader in a clear light. The book is well written in simple, straightforward, vigorous English, and is a substantial contribution to the history of America. The early settlement of Maryland is tinged with romance. The figures of Lord Baltimore, Governor Pott, and "Clayborne the Rebel," will ever stand out boldly, inviting acquaintance. We sympathize with Baltimore, who wrote to the Duke of Buckingham in August, 1627, "I came to build, and settle, and sow, and I am fallen to fighting Frenchmen;" and we become singularly interested in the rebellion of Clayborne, and the performances of Richard Ingle and others. We trace Maryland through these pages from a free Palatinate to the condition of a Crown colony; "and the Proprietary, from being a prince little less than a sovereign, to a mere absentee landlord."

**THE FIELD OF HONOR.** A Complete and Comprehensive History of Dueling in all Countries. By MAJOR BEN C. TRUMAN. 12mo, pp. 599. New York, 1884. Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

"Dueling," says the author of this volume, "undoubtedly took its rise from the judicial combats of Celtic nations, and was first introduced among the Lombards in 659." The custom was kept up in France some nine hundred years—until about 1547. Major Truman traces the progress, prevalence, and decline of



dueling in the various European countries and in America, and describes nearly all the noted hostile meetings that were ever recorded. He gives the reader an account, also, of the different modes of fighting, the weapons used in different climes and centuries, with many interesting details. He recites facts and incidents in connection with notable duels with the vigor, spirit, and humor of a genuine story teller. This is conspicuously the case when he comes within the domain of American dueling. He takes the manly, Christian, civilized view of the institution, which seems to have had its uses, like many other things, during the slow development of public law and individual self-restraint, but which he totally condemns in theory and practice for our present day, and treats as one of the historic forces—a thing of the past; a topic, however, full of human interest to the student, the soldier, the professional analyzer of passion and motive, and to that curious and omnivorous creature, the general reader. The book has a careful index of some seventeen hundred entries, referring almost exclusively to the names of principals in the duels recorded, and will be found exceedingly convenient as a work of reference; it is one of those specialties that necessarily find place in every library.

THOMAS CARLYLE. A History of his Life in London. 1834-1881. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. Two vols. in one. 12mo, pp. 417. New York, 1884. Charles Scribner's Sons.

When one of the most brilliant literary portrait painters of his time takes for his subject the career of such a man as Thomas Carlyle, whose writings are spread over the whole English-speaking world, we open the volume with an expectancy not easily defined. Mr. Froude possesses the double gift of accuracy and representative power. He believes in facts first and philosophy afterwards. "Before any facts of human life are available for philosophy, we must have those facts exactly as they were." History recites the actions of men. But actions without motives are nothing, for they may be variously interpreted, and only understood in their causes. "The sharpest scrutiny is the condition of undying fame." Mr. Froude esteems no concealment permissible in connection with the life of Carlyle. Thus he writes fearlessly from the broad and immovable basis of truth, and bringing into full play his wonderful powers of narration and characterization, never omitting to acknowledge the good in its proper place and proportion, presents the world, in the book before us—one of the rarest of biographical achievements—a vivid and fascinating picture of Carlyle's peculiar personality.

At the age of thirty-nine Carlyle was, says Mr. Froude, "impracticable, unpersuadable, unmalleable, as independent and willful as if he were an eldest son and the heir of a peerage. He had created no 'public' of his own; the public which existed could not understand his writings and would not buy them, nor could he be induced so much as to attempt to please it. No one seemed to want his services, no one applied to him for contributions. The fire in his soul burnt red to the end, and sparks flew from it which fell hot on those about him, not always pleasant, not always hitting the right spot or the right person; but it was pure fire, notwithstanding—fire of genuine and noble passion, of genuine love for all that was good, and genuine indignation at what was mean, or base, or contemptible." Carlyle's poverty, writings, change of position, nervous irritability, and various checkered experiences, are all delineated in these pages with a master hand, and in a style as captivating as it is informing.

ENGLISH HISTORY IN RHYME: An Aid to Memory for the Use of Schools; with Genealogical Tables of the Sovereigns of England and their Families from 1066 to the Present Time. By MRS. MARY RUSSELL GARDNER, Principal of School for Young Ladies, 603 Fifth Avenue, New York City. 16mo, pp. 38. 1885. Price, 50 cents.

We predict for this clever little volume a warm welcome in the class-room. To memorize the barren dates and events of history is commonly wearisome and distasteful to the pupil, but with a help of this character the irksome task becomes an agreeable pastime, and the lesson is quickly and effectually learned never to be forgotten. The work is an exceptionally well-constructed metrical summary of the chief features in English history, from the British and Roman period B.C. 55 to the present time. The opening lines are:

"From conquered Gaul, victorious Cæsar crossed the  
belt of sea  
To meet on Britain's fabled shore the swarming  
enemy."

And the closing lines;

"In sixty-one Prince Albert died, but still Victoria  
reigns,  
And holds a wise, impartial sway o'er all her vast  
domains."

There are convenient explanatory marginal notes, and a genealogical table, not only giving the whole line of English kings, but telling who they married, with the names of their children. Teachers as well as scholars will find the little book a valuable companion; as a work of reference it is altogether trustworthy.

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